THE

ROMAN HISTORY;

FROM THE

BUILDING OF ROME

TO THE

RUIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH

ILLUSTRATED WITH NEW MAPS.

BY NATHANIEL HOOKE, Esq.

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THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK X.

CONTINUED.

CHAP. VIII.

The War of Cæsar in Africa against Scipio, Cato, and Juba.

CÆSAR set out from Rome towards the beginning of December; and, passing the straits at Rhegium, arrived on the 17th at Lilybæum, the farthest point of Sicily. It was his design to embark immediately, though he had but one legion of new levies, and not quite 600 horse; and he ordered his tent to be pitched so near the sea-side, that the waves flowed quite up to it. This he did to take away all hopes of delay, and keep his men in readiness at an hour's warning: and, the wind proving contrary, he nevertheless suffered none of the soldiers or mariners to come on shore, that he might lose no opportunity of sailing. His view was to land and intrench himself on the coast of Africa before his enemies were apprized of his approach, or could assemble their army:[a] and he meant also to shew an utter contempt of their forces, which were greatly exagge-

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[a] We are told, that this reason prevailed with him more than the will of the gods, declared by the auspices: "Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia, profectionem adversus Scipionem et Jubam non distulit." Suet. in Cæs. c. 59. "Quid? Ipse Cæsar, cum a summo haruspice moneretur, ne in Africam ante brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit? Quod ni fecisset, uno in loco omnes adversariorum copiæ convenissent." Cic. de Divinat. l. 2. c. 24. Ratl. p. 196.

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This junction of his forces was very necessary: for Labienus was in full march towards him with a considerable army of horse and foot. Cæsar, after forming his camp, having advanced only three miles into the country with thirty cohorts to forage, was informed by his scouts and some advanced parties of horse, that the enemy was in view. Upon this intelligence, he ordered his horse, and a small number of archers which attended them, to advance, and his cohorts to follow and prepare for battle. Labienus drew up with a very extended front, consisting mostly of horse, with whom he intermixed light-armed Numidians and archers, and formed them in such close order, that Cæsar's army at a distance mistook them all for infantry; his right and left were strengthened with a numerous cavalry. Cæsar was forced to draw up his army also in one line, on account of the smallness of its number; ranging his bowmen in front, and his cavalry in the wings; and he gave them particular instructions not to suffer themselves to be surrounded. Both armies stood some time expecting the signal: at length the enemy began to extend themselves, and to spread out upon the hills with a view to surround Cæsar's cavalry. The main bodies advancing then to engage, the enemy's horse intermixed with the light-armed Numidians, suddenly sprung forward from among the legionaries, and threw their darts. Upon this they retreated with all speed, leaving the legionaries to sustain the attack of Cæsar's troops, and soon after returned to the charge with fresh vigour. Cæsar, perceiving that his ranks were in danger of being broken by this new way of fighting, which enticed his men to pursue the horse, gave express orders that no soldiers should advance above four feet beyond the ensigns. But he soon found himself surrounded on all sides, his cavalry being altogether unable to resist those of the enemy; and, in this perplexity, he formed his whole army into an orb. Labienus, to encourage his men, advanced

on horseback to the front of the battle, and, addressing Cæsar's legions, upbraided them with their inexperience in war, and their infatuation in following him to their certain destruction. One of the soldiers answered, "that he was no new soldier, but a veteran of the tenth legion." "Where then is your standard?" said Labienus. "You shall know me presently," answered the soldier: then, pulling off his helmet to discover himself, he launched his dart with all his strength against Labienus. The dart wounded his horse in the breast, and the veteran called out, "Learn, Labienus, to respect a warrior of the tenth legion." However, the whole army, particularly the new levies, began to be terrified; and, casting their eyes on Cæsar, expected their deliverance from his experience. Cæsar, to disengage himself, directed the cohorts of the right and left wings to extend themselves as much as possible, and push forward alternately; by which means he broke the enemy's circle at both his wings; and, attacking one part of it now separated from the other, with almost all his forces, easily put it to flight; and, with the same success, having repulsed the other part, he immediately gave orders for the retreat. But M. Petreius and Cn. Piso brought up in this moment 1100 select Numidian horse, and a considerable body of foot; and this succour recovering the enemy from their terror, they fell again on the rear of the legions. Cæsar was forced to order his men to wheel about, and renew the battle; but, perceiving that the enemy still pursued their former plan, and avoided a close engagement, and considering that his horses, fatigued with their late voyage at sea and the business of the day, were unfit for a vigorous and long pursuit, which the approach of night rendered also impossible, he ordered both horse and foot to fall at once briskly upon the enemy, and follow them beyond the next hill, and not to stop till they had taken possession of it. This scheme was immediately executed; and

Year of ROME 707. B.C. 45. 406th consulship. Cæsar, having kept that post for some time, retired slowly in order of battle to his camp. The enemy thought proper to do the same, having been rudely handled in this last attack, in which Petreius was also dangerously wounded, and obliged to quit the field. The battle lasted from eleven till sunset. Cæsar made a great many prisoners, and many deserters flocked to him after the action, by whom he was informed that Labienus brought against him 1600 Gallic and German horse, who had served under Pompey, with 1100 Numidian troopers commanded by Petreius, 8000 Numidian foot, and four times that number of light-armed soldiers, with a multitude of archers and slingers; and that he had designed to have astonished Cæsar's raw levies, and few legionaries, with the new and uncommon manner of fighting of his troops; and, after surrounding them with his cavalry, to have cut them to pieces, as Saburra did Curio's army. He had said in council, that he would lead such a numerous body of men against Cæsar's legions, as should fatigue them with the very slaughter, and defeat them even in the very bosom of victory. This is Plut. App. Dio. Hirtius's account. The Greek historians tell us, that Cæsar had the worst of it in this day's battle; and it Val. Max. 7. 14. appears from a passage in Valerius Maximus, that Labienus and Scipio rewarded their soldiers for their bravery; and they also probably gave out, that the victory was on their side, since Cæsar retreated to his camp.[c]

Cæsar was also informed, that within three days Scipio was expected with his forces, which consisted of eight legions and 3000 horse. He therefore fortified his camp and the forts about it with the great-

[c] Appian's account is as follows: Cæsar, upon his landing in Africa, being informed that Scipio was gone to meet king Juba, took the opportunity of his absence, and drew up his army before the enemy's camp. Labienus and Petreius, Scipio's lieutenants, accepted his defiance, and vigorously beat back Cæsar's men, driving them before them with contempt, till Labienus's horse, wounded in the belly, having thrown him, he was obliged to quit the fight. Petreius, who took the command, contenting himself with having tried the courage of his soldiers, caused the retreat to be sounded, saying to those about him, "We must not deprive Scipio, our general, of the honour of beating Cæsar."

est care, and threw up two intrenchments; one from Ruspina quite to the sea, and the other from his camp to the sea likewise, in order to secure the communication, and receive his supplies without danger. He took out of his fleet a great number of the mariners, Gauls, Rhodians, and others, of whom he formed companies of light-armed troops to fight, after the example of the enemy, among the cavalry. Having thus strengthened his army, he stationed his fleet along the coasts and isla ndsfor the security of his convoys, wrote to Sicily and Sardinia to press for supplies of all kinds, and sent Sallust to seize Cercinna, an island upon the coast, where Scipio had a magazine of provisions. But notwithstanding what was brought from thence, he found himself soon in a very great scarcity, and particularly of forage. He was not master of six miles in Africa, and was obliged to keep within his intrenchments: it was the winter season, and navigation was very dangerous; and his ships of burden were often taken by the enemy's fleets: the veteran soldiers, however, and cavalry, who had been accustomed to hardships of every kind, were no wise dismayed; and with sea-weed, washed in fresh water, they subsisted the horses and cattle of the army.

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Cn. Pompey set out about this time upon a particular expedition. Cato, who commanded in Utica, never ceased exhorting and urging the youth in words to this effect: "Your father, when he was arrived at your age, and saw the commonwealth oppressed by wicked and daring men; and the honest party either slain, or driven by banishment from their country and relations; instigated by magnanimity and the love of glory, though then only a private man, had yet the courage to rally the remains of his father's army, and to deliver Italy and Rome from the yoke of slavery and tyranny under which they groaned. He recovered, with amazing dispatch, Sicily, Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, and by

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that means gained an illustrious and extensive reputation among all nations, and triumphed at three-and-twenty, while but a Roman knight. Nor did he enter into the world with those advantages which you enjoy; the exploits and dignity of his father reflected on him no considerable lustre. Do you, dignified by your descent, bestir yourself and call together your friends, and vindicate your own liberty, that of the commonwealth, and of every good and honest man." Roused by the remonstrances of a man of such gravity, young Pompey collected about thirty sail of ships, of which a few were galleys, and, sailing from Utica to Mauritania, invaded the kingdom of Bogud, who was in alliance with Cæsar; but he had little success in this attempt. With an army of 2000 men, composed of freedmen and slaves, of whom some were armed and some not, he approached the city of Ascurum, in which the king had a garrison. The inhabitants suffered him to advance to the very walls and gates, and then, sallying out of a sudden, they drove him quite back to his ships. This defeat determined him to leave that coast, and he steered directly to the Balearian islands, and Spain, whither he was invited by a party which had declared for him; and there he raised a force sufficient to appear against Cæsar the following year, and to dispute with him the Roman empire.

Scipio, having left a strong garrison in Utica, under the command of Cato, had marched to Adrumetum, and, a few days after, joined Petreius and Labienus, whose camp was but three miles distant from Cæsar's. Juba also was advancing at the head of a great body of horse and foot, when news was brought him that P. Sitius[d] and king Bogud had united their forces, entered

[d] P. Sitius was a Roman knight, who, having made himself obnoxious to the laws, had been obliged to leave Italy, and retired into Africa. There he got about him a great number of Italians and Spaniards, of whom he formed a small army, and, in the wars between the petty princes of Africa, he let himself out to the best bidder: and it being remarked, that the side he espoused always came off victorious, he gained great reputation, and was much courted. He was in alliance with Bogud, who favoured Cæsar.

Numidia, and taken Cirta, the most opulent city of the country, by storm, with two other towns of the Getulians, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. He therefore marched immediately back to hinder the farther devastation of his territories, leaving only thirty elephants behind him; but as soon as he had put his kingdom in a better posture of defence, ordering Saburra to make head against Sitius, he returned again to Scipio with three legions, 800 horse, a body of Numidian cavalry, thirty elephants more, and a great number of light-armed infantry. Both armies for four months were continually observing each other's motions; during which time there happened frequent engagements between detachments from the two camps, in which Cæsar had commonly the advantage. Scipio, on his arrival, had appeared very desirous of coming to a general battle, and brought out his troops every day; but Cæsar had not collected all his forces, and he was sensible from the last encounter, in which he had so much difficulty to bring off his men, that, having to do with an army so superior in number, and commanded by experienced officers, it was necessary to use the greatest caution. He therefore kept within his intrenchments, and applied himself to gain over to his interest the people of the country, and to encourage desertion in the enemy's camp. He succeeded in his intentions; and the Africans, in particular, came to him in crowds when they understood that he was related to C. Marius, for whose name they had the greatest respect. The Pompeians, at the same time, were diligent in disciplining their elephants; and Cato was daily enlisting freedmen, Africans, slaves, and all that were of age to bear arms, and sending them to Scipio's camp.

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When Cæsar, however, saw all his forces drawn together, and had taught them how to fight with elephants, and with troops who never stood their ground, but, after a fierce attack, retreated to return again, he was as

Year of ROME 707. B.C. 45. 406th consulship. desirous to give battle, as he had been formerly averse to it. But Scipio, in his turn, had changed his scheme, and resolved very prudently to protract the war. On the 14th of April, Cæsar, to force him to an engagement, decamping at midnight, marched to Thapsus, a sea-port town of the utmost importance to the enemy, and where Vergilius commanded with a strong garrison. The very first day after his arrival he began the circumvallation, and soon raised all the forts necessary both for his own security, and to prevent any succours from entering the town. Scipio and Juba, to avoid the disgrace of abandoning Vergilius and the Thapsitani, who had all along remained firm to their party, followed Cæsar without delay, and posted themselves in two camps eight miles from Thapsus. They attempted first to throw troops into the place, but, finding that to be impossible, they resolved to give battle.[e] For this purpose Scipio approached with his army, and began to intrench himself about 1500 paces from the sea. Cæsar immediately, leaving two legions to guard his camp, marched all the rest of his forces with the utmost expedition to the place where the enemy was posted. At the same time, he ordered part of his fleet to make as near the shore as possible towards the enemy's rear, and observe the signal he should give them; upon which they were to raise a sudden shout, that the enemy, alarmed and disturbed by the noise behind them, might be forced to face about. He found Scipio's army in order of battle before the intrenchments, which were not yet perfected, and the elephants were ranged in the two

[e] Plutarch in Cat. tells us, that Cato opposed this resolution with the greatest earnestness, and insisted upon protracting the war; but that Scipio rejected his advice with disdain; and, in a letter he sent him, taxed him with cowardice, and told him, that he ought to be satisfied with being safe in a good city, behind strong walls; and that it was taking too much upon him to dissuade others from following the dictates of their courage. Cato, nettled at the reproach, replied, that, if he would give him back the troops he had brought, he was ready to march at the head of them into Italy, and that it was more for their interest so to do, than to risk all in Africa. Plutarch adds, that he then sorely repented the having given up the command to a man who was incapable of a prudent conduct in war, or of any moderation in victory: and indeed Hirtius has given us several instances of his cruel disposition.

wings. Upon this he drew up his army in three lines: he placed the second and tenth legions in the right wing, the eighth and ninth in the left, and five legions in the centre: he covered his flanks with five cohorts posted opposite to the elephants, and disposed the archers and slingers in the two wings, and the light-armed troops, which he intermingled with his cavalry. He himself, on foot, went from rank to rank to rouse the courage of the veterans, putting them in mind of their great reputation for bravery; and to exhort the new levies to emulate the valour of the veterans, and attain the same degree of glory. As he spoke to his soldiers, he observed the enemy to be very uneasy, hurrying from place to place; one while retiring behind the rampart, then coming out again in great tumult and confusion; and his officers, making the same observation, begged that he would give the signal for battle. While he hesitated whether he should restrain the eagerness of his troops, a trumpeter in the right wing sounded, of a sudden, the charge, and all the cohorts rushed forwards. The centurions strove in vain to keep them back, and Cæsar, perceiving that their ardour could not be checked, spurred on his horse and charged the enemy in the centre. On the right wing the archers and slingers poured such a volley of arrows and stones upon the elephants, that these animals, which were not perfectly disciplined, turning upon their own men, trod them down, and rushed into the camp through the gates, which were but half finished. The Mauritanian horse followed them; upon which the legions pushed on to the intrenchments, which they soon carried; and the greatest part of the troops that defended them fled to the camp which they had quitted the preceding day. Thither they were followed, and finding neither general to command them, nor any security, they made towards Juba's quarters. This being likewise forced by the victorious troops, they

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retired to a hill; where, seeing their case desperate, they endeavoured to soften their enemies, saluting them with the name of brethren: but the veterans, transported with rage, were not only deaf to their cries, but even killed and wounded some persons of distinction of their own army, whom they suspected to wish well to the contrary party. Ten thousand of the enemy were slain upon the spot; the rest were dispersed, and their three camps carried sword in hand with the loss of only fifty men killed, and a few wounded.

The garrison of Thapsus, during the battle, had sallied out of the town with a view either to assist Scipio, or to make their escape; but had been beat back by the servants and followers of the camp. Cæsar, in his return from the battle, stopped before the town, and ranged the sixty elephants he had taken, with their trappings and castles, in full view of the place. He was in hopes, by this evidence of his success, to induce Vergilius to a surrendry; and he farther invited him to it by reminding him of his experienced clemency. No answer, however, being given, he retired from before the town; but, next day, after returning thanks to the gods, he assembled his army before it, and, in sight of the inhabitants, praised his soldiers from his tribunal, and rewarded them according to their deserts. Then leaving C. Rebellius, one of his lieutenants, with three legions, to continue the siege, he sent Cn. Domitius, with two, to invest Tisdra, where Considius now commanded, and marched himself towards Utica.

Scipio's cavalry had taken the same road in their flight, and arriving at Parada, were refused admittance, the inhabitants being already apprized of Cæsar's victory. They thereupon forced the gates, and, lighting a great fire in the market-place, threw all the inhabitants they could seize into it, without distinction of age or sex, with all their effects: and thence they marched directly

to Utica. Cato, who commanded there, knowing the common people to be well affected towards Cæsar, who had formerly procured them great privileges, had turned them out of the town, and obliged them to encamp without the walls, under the protection of a slight intrenchment, round which he had placed guards. The cavalry attacked first this camp, but the people, animated with the news of Cæsar's victory, and enraged at the ill usage they had met with, repulsed them, though they had no other arms than clubs. Disappointed in this attempt, they entered the town, and began to sack it. Cato, unable to prevail with them to abstain from rapine and undertake the defence of the place, gave each of them a hundred sesterces, and Faustus Sylla gave them as many more, to retire in peace: and he marched them into the territories of Juba. Many of the other fugitives had by this time arrived at Utica, and Cato, having assembled them with the 300 Roman merchants settled in the town, and of whom he had formed a council, he exhorted them to set their slaves free, and join with him in the necessary measures for defence; but, finding them averse to this resolution, he furnished them with ships to make their escape. He himself, having settled all his affairs with the utmost care, and recommended his children to L. Cæsar, his quæstor, without the least indication, which might give cause of suspicion, or any change in his countenance and behaviour, privately carried a sword into his chamber, when he went to sleep, and stabbed himself with it. The wound, however, not proving mortal, and the noise of his fall creating a suspicion, a physician, with some of his friends, broke into his chamber, and endeavoured to bind it up; which he no sooner was sensible of, than, tearing it open again with his own hands, he expired with undaunted resolution and presence of mind. The Uticans, though they hated his party, yet, in consideration of his singular integrity, his behaviour, so different

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from that of the other chiefs, and the wonderful fortifications he had erected to defend their town, interred him honourably. This is the account we find of Cato's conduct and death in the Memoirs concerning the African War, and it contains the substance of Plutarch's longer narrative. As the Greek historian's circumstantial relation, however, has passed hitherto for authentic, and is the groundwork of all the panegyric which has been written upon Cato, it might look like partiality, if we should omit it. It is as follows:

Plut. in Cat.

The news of the battle of Thapsus, and the utter ruin of Scipio's and Juba's armies, caused the greatest consternation in Utica. Cato applied himself first to quiet the minds of the people, by representing to them, that the reports were greatly exaggerated; and, as he went from street to street, his presence appeased for a time their apprehensions. His next care was to assemble the 300 Roman merchants or bankers, with whom he used to consult, and who had been very serviceable to his cause: and, after bestowing due praises upon their past fidelity and services, he exhorted them above all to a strict union, as the only means by which they could support themselves, or make themselves considered by the conqueror. He then told them to consult together what was proper to be done, and that, if they thought fit to submit to fortune, he would ascribe their resolution to necessity; but that, if they resolved to persist in the defence of their liberty, he would be their leader in such a glorious cause. " Rome (he said) had often emerged out of greater difficulties; the conqueror was perplexed in many difficult affairs: Spain had revolted to Pompey's sons; and the Romans would unanimously throw off a yoke which they wore with indignation." His speech had the desired effect: all appeared zealous for the prosecution of the war, and promised to arm themselves; but a little reflection soon cooled their ardour. " Who are we? (said they,) and to whom do

we refuse submission? Is not Cæsar vested with the whole authority of the Roman empire? Does he not command its forces? Shall we dispute the possession of Utica with him to whom Pompey and all his adherents were forced to abandon Italy? And, when the whole earth submits to his yoke, shall we undertake the defence of the Roman liberty?" They made a declaration of these sentiments to Cato, and many of them even formed a design of seizing the Roman senators, and delivering them up to Cæsar, the better to ingratiate themselves with him. Cato, sensible that it was impossible to keep Utica, gave notice of it to Scipio and Juba; the first had escaped to his fleet at sea, and then lay concealed behind a promontory not far from the city; and the other was hid in the neighbouring woods, and had sent messengers to him. The arrival of Scipio's cavalry gave Cato fresh hopes, and he went out to meet them, attended by all the Roman senators except M. Rubrius, whom he left to watch the motions of the 300 during his absence. He addressed the commanders of this body of cavalry, and entreated them not to give themselves up to a foreign prince, but to prefer Cato to Juba, representing to them the dishonour of such a conduct, and that, by affording a protection to him and the senators with him, they would provide for their own safety in a town so well furnished with provisions and every thing necessary to hold out a siege. The officers replied, they would consult their troopers, and Cato sat down on an eminence waiting their answer. Here Rubrius came to him, complaining of the audaciousness of the 300, who had revolted, and raised a commotion in the city. Cato sent him back to beseech them to wait his return. The answer of the cavalry added to his perplexity. They sent him word, "that they had no inclination to serve under Juba; nor any apprehensions of Cæsar when under Cato's command: but that they would not put their trust in the inhabitants of Utica,

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whom, therefore, he must consent to murder, or expel the city, if he would make use of their assistance."[f]—Cato's answer was, "that he would consult with the 300." Upon his return into the town, he found that these men were come to a resolution of having recourse to Cæsar's mercy, and explained themselves pretty clearly on their design of delivering up the senators; and, at the same time, notice was given him that the cavalry were making off. Cato, fearing lest the 300 should immediately execute their threats, when they saw themselves delivered from the cavalry, called for a horse and rode after them, and by his entreaties, which he accompanied with tears, he with much difficulty prevailed upon them to halt one day; and, having brought them back, posted them at the gates of the city, and put them in possession of the citadel. The 300, alarmed at this proceeding, assembled, and invited Cato to their meeting. The senators were very earnest to dissuade him from putting himself into their hands, but he knew that he had nothing to fear from them. They began by making their acknowledgments for the confidence he reposed in them, and gave him the strongest assurances of their respect and of their attachment to his person; but told him, that they were not Catos, and could not attain to his exalted sentiments. They added, that they had come to a resolution to send deputies to Cæsar to implore his clemency; but that the first and principal object of their solicitation should be Cato's safety, which if they could not obtain, they would fight in his defence to the last moment of their lives. Cato thanked them for their good-will towards him, approved of their design of submitting to Cæsar, and advised them to lose no time, but desired them to make no solicitation in his favour. "It is proper

[f] We are told by Plutarch, that Juba had proposed, in the beginning of the war, to destroy the city and exterminate the inhabitants, and that Scipio had consented to this massacre; but that Cato opposed it with so much vehemence and indignation, that the barbarous project was not carried into execution.

(said he) for the vanquished to have recourse to prayers, and for those who have committed faults to sue for pardon. As for me, I have been invincible during the whole course of my life, and even now I am victorious, and triumph over Cæsar by the superiority of justice and equity. It is he that is conquered: this day is he attainted and convicted by undeniable evidence, notwithstanding what he has said to the contrary, of plotting against his country." Cato, as he came out from this conference, was informed that Cæsar was on his march with the greatest part of his forces to besiege Utica. "Alas! (says he) he pays us a compliment we do not deserve: he takes us for men." Another message was brought him presently after from M. Octavius, who sent to let him know that he was near Utica with two legions, and was ready to join him, but it was necessary first to settle who should have the command in chief. Cato returned no answer to the message, but addressing himself to his friends, "Well (says he) ought we to be surprised that our affairs have not succeeded, since, when upon the brink of ruin, we are contending for the vain honour of command." His only care now was to hasten the departure of the Roman senators before the cavalry retired; and, having ordered all the gates of the town to be shut, except that which led to the port, he appointed ships, and furnished every thing requisite to those who were to sail. The cavalry, now looking upon Utica as a town of their enemies, had begun to plunder it; but Cato, interposing, wrested, out of the hands of those he met first, the spoils they were carrying off, and the rest threw away of their own accord what they had seized, and departed in silence, ashamed of what they had done. He then called together the citizens of Utica, and recommended it to them to act in concert with the 300, and seek their common safety together with them. Having done this, he went to the port and took leave of the senators who

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were about to embark. His son, however, remained with him, and Statilius, a young man remarkable for his hatred to Cæsar. He did not insist upon his son's departing, but endeavoured to persuade the other to go with the rest: and, upon his refusing to do it, he turned to Apollonides and Demetrius, two philosophers who constantly attended him: "It is your business (said he) to bend that stubborn spirit, and give it a more useful turn." Cato then returned to his affairs, and dispatched business all that night and the greatest part of the following day. L. Cæsar, being appointed deputy for the 300, begged of Cato, that he would assist him in drawing up the speech for the occasion; and declared, at the same time, that he would be also mediator for him, and would throw himself at the dictator's feet, and embrace his knees to obtain his pardon. "By no means (replied Cato); were I disposed to owe my life to Cæsar, I should myself go to him, but I will not be beholden to the tyrant for any act of his injustice: for it is unjust in him to pretend, as a master, to pardon those over whom he has no lawful power. But, if you please, let us consider what it is proper to say in behalf of the 300." They then conferred together on this subject, and Cato at parting recommended to him his son and the rest of his friends. These being assembled at his house, among other discourses, he forbade his son to take any share in the administration of public affairs; "for to act as became him was now impossible, and to do otherwise was dishonourable." Towards evening he went into the bath, and there calling to mind Statilius, he inquired of Apollonides whether he had succeeded with him; "And is he gone (said he) without taking leave of us?" "No (replied the philosopher); I have discoursed much with him, but to no purpose: he is resolute, and declares that he will stay and follow your example." Cato smiled, and answered, "of that we shall soon judge." After bathing he supped with his friends

and the magistrates of the city. They sat late at table, Year of ROME 707. B.C. 45.
and the conversation was lively: the discourse falling
upon this maxim of the stoics, that the wise man alone
is free, and that the vicious are slaves, which Demetrius, 406th consulship.
who was a peripatetic, undertook to confute from the principles of his school, Cato, in answer, treated the matter very amply, and with so much earnestness and vehemence of voice, that he betrayed himself, and confirmed the suspicions which his friends had already conceived of his design to kill himself. When he had done speaking, a melancholy silence ensued; and Cato, perceiving it, turned the discourse to the present situation of affairs, expressing his concern for those who had been obliged to put to sea, as well as for those who, having determined to make their escape by land, had a dry and sandy desert to pass. After supper, the company being dismissed, he walked for some time with a few friends, and gave his orders to the officers of the guard; and, going into his chamber, he embraced his son and his friends with more than usual tenderness, which farther confirmed the suspicions of the resolution he had taken. Then laying himself down on his bed, he took up Plato's Dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul. Having read for some time, he looked up, and, missing his sword, which his son had removed while he was at supper, he called a slave, and asked who had taken it away; and, receiving no pertinent answer, he resumed his reading. Some time after, he asked again for his sword, and, without shewing any impatience, ordered it to be brought to him: but, having read out the book, and finding nobody had brought him his sword, he called for all his servants, fell into a rage, and struck one of them with so much violence on the mouth, that he very much hurt his own hand, crying out in a passionate manner, "What! do my own son and family conspire to betray me, and deliver me up naked and unarmed to the enemy?" Immediately his son and friends rushed

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into the room, and began to lament, and to beseech him to change his resolution. Cato, raising himself, and looking fiercely at them, "How long is it (said he) since I have lost my senses, and since my son has become my keeper? Brave and generous son, why do you not bind your father's hands, that, when Cæsar comes, he may find me unable to defend myself? Do you imagine, that without a sword I cannot end my life? Cannot I destroy myself by holding my breath for some moments, or by striking my head against the wall?" His son answered with his tears, and retired. Apollonides and Demetrius remained with him, and to them he addressed himself in the following words: "Is it to watch over me that you sit silent here? Do you pretend to force a man of my years to live? Or can you bring any reason to prove, that it is not base and unworthy of Cato to beg his safety of an enemy? Or why do you not persuade me to unlearn what I have been taught, that, rejecting all the opinions I have hitherto defended, I may now by Cæsar's means grow wiser, and be yet more obliged to him than for life alone? Not that I have determined any thing concerning myself, but I would have it in my power to perform what I shall think fit to resolve upon: and I shall not fail to ask your counsel, when I shall have occasion to act up to the principles which your philosophy teaches. Go, tell my son that he should not compel his father to what he cannot persuade him." They withdrew, and the sword was brought by a young slave: Cato drew it, and finding the point to be sharp, "Now (said he) I am my own master:" and laying it down, he took up his book again, which, it is reported, he read twice over. After this he slept so soundly, that he was heard to snore by those who were near him.[g] About midnight he called

[g] There were doubtless several circumstances in this story which have the appearance of a forgery. It is not probable that a man in such a heat of passion, and taken up with the thoughts of putting an end to his life, would sleep so soundly. And it is still more strange that he should read twice over Plato's Phædo, to cofirm him-

two of his freedmen, Cleanthes, his physician, and Butas, whom he chiefly employed in the management of his affairs. The last he sent to the port to see whether all the Romans were gone: to the physician he gave his hand to be dressed, which was swelled by the blow he had given his slave. This being an intimation that he intended to live, gave great joy to his family. Butas soon returned and brought word, that they were all gone except Crassus, who had stayed upon some business, but was just ready to depart. He added, that the wind was high and the sea rough. These words drew a sigh from Cato. He sent Butas again to the port to know whether there might not be some one, who, in the hurry of the embarkation, had forgot some necessary provisions, and had been obliged to put back to Utica. It was now break of day, and Cato slept yet a little more, till Butas returned to tell him, that all was perfectly quiet. He then ordered him to shut his door, and he flung himself upon his bed, as if he meant to finish his night's rest. But immediately he took his sword, and stabbed himself a little below his chest; yet, not being able to use his hand so well by reason of the swelling, the blow did not kill him. It threw him into a convulsion, in which he fell from his bed, and overturned a table near it. The noise gave the alarm, and his son, and the rest of the family, entered the room, where they found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels half out of his body. The surgeon upon examination found that his intestines were not cut, and was preparing to replace them and bind up the wound, when Cato, recovering his senses, thrust the surgeon from him, and, tearing out his bowels, immediately expired.

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Thus died, according to his admirers, the famous Cato, in the forty-eighth year of his age. "If we consider his character without prejudice (says a celebrated

Middl. p. 162.

self in his desperate resolution: for there is not a passage in it to encourage self-murder, and many against it: indeed the whole is so, and no one, who admires the death of Socrates, can ever die like Cato.

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writer), he was certainly a great and worthy man; a friend to truth, virtue, liberty: yet, falsely measuring all duty by the absurd rigour of the stoical rule, he was generally disappointed of the end which he sought by it, the happiness both of his public and private life.[h] In his private conduct he was severe, morose, inexorable: banishing all the softer affections, as natural enemies to justice, and as suggesting false motives of acting, from favour, clemency, and compassion: in public affairs he was the same;[i] had but one rule of policy, to adhere to what was right, without regard to times and circumstances, or even to a force that could control him:[k] for instead of managing the power of the great, so as to mitigate the ill, or extract any good from it, he was urging it always to acts of violence by a

[h] What this stoical rule was, we are told in another place, p. 564. "The stoics were the bigots or enthusiasts in philosophy; who held none to be truly wise and good but themselves; placed perfect happiness in virtue, though stripped of every other good; affirmed all sins to be equal; all deviations from right equally wicked: to kill a dunghill cock, without reason, the same crime as to kill a parent; that a wise man could never forgive; never be moved by anger, favour, or pity; never be deceived; never repent; never change his mind. With these principles Cato entered into public life." These, certainly, were never the practical principles of any man; and if to live a wise man, or to be a true stoic, is to live up to them, Cato had no pretensions to that character. He was often deceived; sometimes he changed his mind, was very subject to envy and anger, and sometimes was moved by favour. There are many examples of his frailties in the foregoing pages. The account of this pretended rule, by which Cato measured all duty, is taken from the oration of Cicero pro Murena: in which the orator ridicules the stoics, and banters Cato, who was the accuser. Cato was so far from acknowledging the rule to be his, that he cried out, "What a merry consul we have got!" Cicero was consul when he spoke this oration.

[i] This made him obstinate, rather than constant, morose instead of being grave, and sour when he would be most sincere. His humour was not only always overcast, but sometimes broke out upon his best friends in indecent passions: his temper was rather stiff than steady; for he was as inflexible in the wrong as in the right; he withstood compassion as resolutely as bribery, and avoided common decency as much as flattery; he would come into the forum with nothing but his under garment on, and that loose, his bosom and feet bare; and in this condition sit upon the bench when he was prætor, and pass sentence upon those of the first quality. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, being at Rome, and desiring to speak with him, he sent word, as he was upon the close-stool, that he might come to him, if he had any thing to say to him. See his behaviour on his return from the Cyprian expedition, and after his losing the consulate. This gives a suspicion of his setting too great a value upon his actions, and being liable to something of vain-glory. Adams.

[k] Nothing is right that is not so, taking in the consideration of all circumstances of time, place, and persons. But, besides, did Cato make right the rule of his conduct, when he opposed salutary laws, because proposed by Cæsar; when, in punishing Catiline's accomplices, he extended, against the fundamental laws of the state, the prerogative of the senate; and when he refused to allow Cæsar what had been granted him by a law of the people, and a decree of the senate? Have we not seen him a riotous magistrate, violating the privilege of the tribuneship in the person of one of his colleagues, and, from personal hatred to Cæsar, approving of bribery and corruption at the elections for magistracy? See vol. 4. p. 528. 553.

perpetual defiance; so that, with the best intentions in the world, he often did great harm to the republic. This was his general behaviour; yet from some particular facts, it appears that his strength of mind was not always impregnable, but had its weak places of pride, ambition, and party zeal; which, when managed and flattered to a certain point, would betray him sometimes into measures contrary to his ordinary rule of right and truth. The last act of his life was agreeable to his nature and philosophy: when he could no longer be what he had been; or when the ills of life overbalanced the good; which, by the principles of his sect, was a just cause for dying; he put an end to his life with a spirit and resolution which would make one imagine that he was glad to have found an occasion of dying in his proper character. On the whole, his life was rather admirable than amiable; fit to be praised rather than imitated."[1]

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[1] It is said in another place, p. 564, that, "after a perpetual course of disappointments and repulses, finding himself unable to pursue his old way any farther, instead of taking a new one, he was driven by his philosophy to put an end to his life." We have seen above, a king of Cyprus, a friend and ally of the Roman people, accused of no practices, nor suspected of any designs, against the republic, yet deprived of his kingdom and estate by an iniquitous law preferred by P. Clodius; and that our stoic philosopher Cato took upon him to execute this unparalleled act of injustice, and valued himself upon this his Cyprian expedition. Ptolemy, unable to resist the Roman power, and too proud to take up with a private station after he had reigned so long, was driven by his royal philosophy to put an end to his life by poison. In what is the stoic philosophy of Cato preferable to the royal philosophy of the Cyprian monarch? What can be alleged to excuse the one, which does not equally excuse the other? Ptolemy, I should imagine, was driven to that extremity by injuries much more evidently unjust and more affecting than were those which Cato complained of. But we are told by Cicero, that it was becoming and proper in Cato to die in this way; and that otherwise he would not have kept up the decorum of life, which consists in maintaining a certain likeness in all our actions, a certain equality of behaviour: and this, he adds, is grounded upon universal and particular nature. "The difference of particular nature (says he), which forms the several characters of men, is of that force, that one sometimes ought to kill himself, and yet another in the same circumstances ought not; for was not Cato's case the very same with that of those who surrendered themselves to Cæsar in Africa? And yet, perhaps, it would have been blamable in them to have killed themselves, because their manners were gentler and easier: but as nature had given Cato an incredible bravery, and he had confirmed this by a perpetual constancy, and had always remained immovable in what he had once resolved and undertaken, it became him rather to die than see the face of the tyrant." But is not this a justification of the same desperate behaviour in every wrong-headed, obstinate, and perverse man?

The public good, in his own sense of it, required of Cato, I should think, to remain in life, and pursue the ruin of the tyrant. In his speech to the 300, after the battle of Thapsus, did he not tell them, "that if they continued firm against Cæsar, they would thereby avoid his contempt; and that Rome had fallen lower, and emerged

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L. Cæsar, to procure some advantages by Cato's death, assembled the people, and in an harangue exhorted them to throw themselves upon Cæsar's clemency, from which they had the greatest reason to hope the best.

Hirt. de Bell. Afric.

Cæsar from Thapsus had marched to Usceta, where Scipio had laid up a great store of corn and ammunition, and which immediately surrendered: he entered also Adrumetum without opposition, where he found Q. Ligarius and C. Considius the son, whom he pardoned. In his way to Utica, he was met by L. Cæsar, who threw himself at his feet, and begged for nothing more than that he would grant him his life. He obtained this favour, and it was extended likewise to Cæcina, C. Ateius, P. Atrius, L. Cella, father and son; M. Eppius, M. Aquinius, to Cato's son, and the children of Damasippus. Being informed of Cato's death, Cæsar is reported to have broke out into this exclamation: "O Cato! I envy thee the glory of thy death, since thou hast envied me that of saving thy life." On his entering the town, he summoned an assembly of the people, and thanked them for the affection they had shewn to his cause. At the same time he censured severely and enlarged upon the crime of the 300 merchants, who had furnished Scipio and Varus with money; but concluded with telling them, that they might shew themselves without fear, as he was determined to grant them their lives, and content himself with exposing

Plut. in Cic.

from yet greater dangers?" This was as true in regard to him as to them; and, though they had not spirit enough to follow his counsel, he should, however, have done himself what he exhorted others to do. He might certainly have done good service to his party in Spain: and, after Cæsar's death, a great field of action would have opened to him.

Some authors have imputed Cato's death to his hatred to Cæsar: and indeed no persons in the world were more contrary in their humours and manners. The opposition of temper between two persons engaged in the same place, about the same affairs, very naturally gives rise to enmity; and this, in the present case, was increased by family injuries. Cæsar's intimacy with Servilia, Cato's sister, was once the talk of all Rome. Cato accordingly seems to have opposed Cæsar furiously in every thing, right or wrong: and there is no absurdity in supposing that the last act of his life was directed by that principle, which so powerfully influenced him in other parts of his conduct. I do not say but that Cato died in character, but I think that his death is far from reflecting any lustre on his life.

their effects to sale; and that he would give them notice when their goods were to be sold, and allow them the liberty of redeeming them upon payment of a certain fine. The 300, who had served his enemies with zeal, and dreaded Cæsar's resentment, were very well pleased with these conditions, and begged that he would impose a certain sum in gross upon them all, and he accordingly amerced them in 200,000,000 of sesterces,[m] to be paid to the republic at six different payments within the space of three years.

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1,614,583l. Hirt. de Bell. Afric.

Juba had fled with Petreius towards Zama, his place of residence, which he had strongly fortified in the beginning of the war; but the inhabitants, who were disaffected towards him,[n] could not be prevailed upon, either by threats or entreaties, to open their gates, or even to deliver to him his wives and children. They sent ambassadors to Cæsar, to signify to him this their intention, and to desire that he would prevent by a speedy succour any attempt the king might make upon their town. At the same time Tisdra was abandoned by Considius, and Vergilius surrendered Thapsus; and the fame of his clemency brought over to Cæsar, on his march, all the Numidian officers that remained. Juba, seeing himself deserted on all sides, and that there was no longer any hope of safety, proposed to Petreius an engagement in which they should mutually kill each other. Petreius fell first, and the king immediately endeavoured to dispatch himself, but was obliged to have recourse to one of his slaves, on whom he prevailed to perform that last office. P. Sitius, in the mean time, having defeated the army of Saburra, and slain the general, was marching through Mauritania to join Cæsar,

[m] Appian writes, that Cæsar put to death all he could find of the 300 who had formed Cato's senate. This author must have invented a number of facts and circumstances of facts, which, certainly, no memoirs, how partial soever, could have transmitted to him.

[n] And they had very good reason, if, as Hirtius tells us, before he set out against Cæsar he had raised a mighty pile of wood in the market-place, and declared a resolution, in case he did not conquer, to massacre all the citizens, and destroy their bodies and effects in one general conflagration.

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and chanced to fall in with Faustus and Afranius, who had put themselves at the head of the party that had plundered Utica, and were making their way to Spain. This commander, having notice of their approach, placed himself during the night in an ambuscade, and attacking them upon their march by break of day, he either killed or made them all prisoners, except a few that escaped from the van. Afranius and Faustus were among the prisoners, with their wives and children: and our author says, that they were slain a few days after, together with L. Cæsar, in a mutiny of the soldiers. Dio and Florus report, that they were killed by Cæsar's order, or at his instigation; and Suetonius has observed, that this was the general belief. And perhaps they had no pretensions to his mercy. L. Cæsar had shewn himself his implacable enemy on all occasions, had treated several of his domestics with more than ordinary cruelty, and had ordered the beasts to be killed which the conqueror had destined for his games in Rome: and Afranius and Faustus were taken in their flight to his enemies in Spain. But since Cæsar had laid it down to himself as a general law, not to put any citizen to death in cold blood, it is not probable that he made an exception to this rule in the case of these two and his relation L. Cæsar. Cicero bestows this encomium on his clemency, "that the citizens which the republic lost were carried off by the common chance of war, and not through any resentment of the conqueror."[o] To Pompeia, the wife of Faustus, and her children, he not only granted a pardon, but permitted them the free enjoyment of all their effects. Nor had Scipio better success in his flight: he had got together twelve galleys, with a design to make for the coast of Spain, but was obliged by stress of weather to put in at Hippo, where Sitius's fleet chanced to be at that time. Scipio's vessels were most of them sunk; and, when he

[o] "Quos amisimus cives, eos martis vis perculit, non ira victoriæ." Cicero pro Marcello.

saw that there was no hope of escaping, he stabbed himself, and in his last moments behaved with magnanimity; for when one of Sitius's soldiers, who had boarded his ship, inquired what was become of the general? he answered himself, "the general is safe."

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From Utica, Cæsar marched to Zama, where he exposed to sale the goods of king Juba, confiscated the estates of the Roman citizens settled there, who had joined in the war against him, and converted the kingdom into a Roman province. Sitius, who had done him such signal service, was put in possession of Cirta, formerly the royal city of Masinissa and of Syphax; and which, from the name of its new inhabitants, was afterward called the colony of the Sitians. When he returned to Utica, he, in the like manner, confiscated and sold the effects of all who had the rank of centurions under Petreius and Juba; and he fined the several towns that had served his enemies in proportion to their revenue, but suffered none to be plundered by his soldiers. The only distinction he made between the Romans who readily submitted after the battle of Pharsalia, and those whose obstinacy forced him to conquer them a second time in Africa, was, that the first were immediately restored to all their former privileges, and the last remained in exile till after the Spanish war, when he granted a general pardon. Dio tells us, that he gave the same instance of his moderation after the battle of Thapsus, which had done him so much honour after that of Pharsalia, in burning all the papers of Scipio without reading them. Sallust, the historian, was left to govern the new Roman province of Numidia, where he amassed great wealth, which enabled him, on his return to Rome, to purchase the famous Sallustian gardens in the city, with several villas in the country, in which he spent the remainder of his life in a learned and splendid retreat from all public business.[p]

[p] As this is the last time we shall have occasion to mention Sallust, it may not be

CHAP. IX.

Cæsar returns to Rome; the honours decreed him; his four triumphs, his civil administration and clemency.

Year of ROME 707. B.C. 45. 406th consulship. Hirt. de Bell. Afric.

CÆSAR left Utica on the 13th of June, having put an end to a war of great importance, and attended with extreme difficulty, in little more than five months. He took his way by Sardinia, from whence he sent part of his fleet and legions into Spain, under the command of C. Didius, his admiral, and his lieutenants, Q. Fabius and Q. Pædius, with orders to observe the motions of the sons of Pompey. After a short stay in that island, he put to sea on the 29th; but, meeting with foul weather in his passage, he did not get to Rome before the end of July.

Dio, l. 43.

The uncertain event of the African war had kept the senate under some reserve; but they now began to

Bell. Cat.

improper to subjoin a few particulars concerning him. It appears by all his writings, as well as by the favour shewn him by Cæsar, that he was of the popular party. In his early youth, as he tells us himself, he was carried away by ambition, and sought preferment. At what time he was made quæstor is uncertain; but he was tribune of the people in 701, when Pompey was sole consul; and at first acted vigorously against Milo, though he afterward became more tractable. In 703, he was turned out of the senate by the aristocratic censor Appius, for his immoral life, and notorious debauchery; and if we believe the anonymous author of an invective against him, he left Rome to join Cæsar. As soon as the civil war broke out, he wrote an epistle to Cæsar, upon the regulation of the commonwealth; where he vents his spleen against Pompey and the faction of the nobles, and was, in the year 704, named quæstor a second time, and thus recovered his seat in the senate. He seems to have written his second epistle to Cæsar in the year 706, while the dictator was yet in Asia, who caused him to be named prætor for the following year. Cæsar then employed him in the African war, and recompensed his services with the grant of the government of the province. In this government he is accused by Dio of having exercised the most flagrant oppressions; and Cæsar, it is said by this author, gave him express orders to plunder the people, rather than to protect them. This testimony of Dio is supported by the authority of an old grammarian, and of the author of the abovementioned invective, who tells us, that on his return to Rome, he divided his spoils with Cæsar, who screened him from all prosecution. The riches he had acquired enabled him to pass the remainder of his days in a learned retreat; and it was then that he wrote the history of the conspiracy of Catiline, of the war against Jugurtha, of the attempts of Lepidus, and the war against Sertorius in Spain; which last history he carried backward twelve years to the commencement of the Social or Marsic war. In regard to the private life and character of this historian, it must be remarked, that as he had reviled the vices of the nobility with great vehemence, and had thereby created to himself many enemies, injurious aspersions would be thrown out against him. We are informed by Suetonius, that Lenæus, a freedman of Pompey, wrote a violent invective against him, because in speaking of his patron Pompey, he had said, that, with a modest exterior, he had a shameless soul: "Oris probi, animo inverecundo fuisse." Eusebius in Chron. says, he died in the year 718, four years before the rupture between Antony and Octavius.

(Margin notes: Ascon. in Cic. Mil.; Dio, l. 42.)

push their flattery beyond all bounds of decency, and decreed more extravagant honours to Cæsar than were ever given before to any mortal. It was decreed, that there should be feasts and rejoicings for forty days, to celebrate his late victory; that, when he triumphed, his chariot should be drawn by four white horses, as those of Jupiter and of the sun; and that, besides the ordinary number of lictors belonging to his offices, he should be preceded by all those of his former dictatorships. He was created dictator for ten years, and inspector of morals for three; his statue was placed in the Capitol opposite to that of Jupiter, with the globe of the earth under his feet, and with this inscription, "To Cæsar the demi-god."

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Ever since the commencement of the civil war, he had found no leisure for celebrating the triumphs which he had so justly deserved. He thought therefore the present time the most convenient for this purpose; and, in one month, he enjoyed four triumphs, which were conducted with a magnificence answerable to the wealth of the empire he was master of. His first triumph was over the Gauls; the next over Ptolemy and Egypt; the third over Pharnaces and Pontus; and the fourth over king Juba. We are told that the apparatus of each of these triumphs (by which is meant probably the pedestals and frames for the statues, pictures, and other representations) was different; that citron-wood was made use of in the first, tortoise-shell in the second, acanthus in the third, and ivory in the fourth. In that over the Gauls, which was the most splendid of the four, were carried the Rhine and the Rhone, and the captive ocean represented in gold. Dio adds a most improbable circumstance, that a multitude of prisoners preceded his chariot, among whom was distinguished Vercingetorix, the unfortunate chief of confederate Gaul, who had been reserved upwards of six years, to grace his conqueror's march to the Capitol, and was afterward thrown into a

Suet. 37.

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dungeon, and put to death with other captives. But Cæsar never acted with this barbarity against his enemies, when in the actual pursuit of conquest; and much less would he now be guilty of it towards a nation from which he had lately received so many signal proofs of their attachment to his cause and person. The axletree of the triumphal chariot broke in the way, and he did not arrive at the Capitol till night, which he ascended by the light of lustres and flambeaux carried by forty elephants ranged on the right and left: and the Greek historian, just now mentioned, tells us, that notwithstanding the divine honours decreed him, he, in a very humble and supplicating posture, and upon his knees, climbed up the steps of the Capitol. In the triumph over Egypt was represented the river Nile, and the Pharos on fire; and the death of Achillas and Pothinus in two different pictures. Dio says that Arsinoë, Cleopatra's sister, appeared there as a captive, and was afterward set at liberty. This circumstance, however, is to be found in no other author, and Hirtius has informed us, that Cæsar banished her the kingdom of Egypt before he left Alexandria. The triumph over Pharnaces had nothing more remarkable than the inscription *Veni, vidi, vici*, engraved in capitals on a tablet. In the fourth marched Juba's son, a child; who afterward gained great reputation by his learning, and was restored to the kingdom of Mauritania.[q] Appian

[q] Appian relates, that in these triumphs were to be seen representations of all the memorable events of the civil war; and portraits of all the Romans of distinction, who had lost their lives in it, Pompey only excepted; of Metellus Scipio, for example, falling on his own sword, and of Cato tearing out his bowels. But it is certain, that Cæsar imitated Sylla upon this occasion, and gave no offence by shewing the wounds of his country, and insulting over the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens; for Cicero, who in his eighth Philippic mentions the spectators' concern when they saw the city of Marseilles carried in triumph, would not have omitted those other affecting circumstances. The soldiers, on festivals of this kind, were allowed the liberty, during the procession, of singing verses, which sometimes contained the victor's praises, but were much oftener satires on him. Suetonius tells us, that they now reproached their general with his debauchery, and revived the suspicion which he had formerly lain under during his stay at the court of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia; a suspicion which gave him great offence, but which he could never get clear of, notwithstanding his oath to the contrary. Suet. in Cæs. 49. 57. Pliny says, that, dissatisfied with the rewards bestowed on them, they reproached him with the bad food that

says, that the money carried in these processions as the fruits of his victories, amounted to 65,000 talents, besides 2,822 crowns of gold, weighing together 20,414 Roman pounds. Year of ROME 707. B.C. 45. 406th consulship. 13,406,250*l.*

These triumphs were followed by rewards to his soldiers, and largesses to the citizens: to the first, besides land and settlements according to their services, he gave each veteran 20,000 sesterces, double of that sum to every centurion, and four times as much to the tribunes: 150,000 citizens received from his bounty, each ten bushels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and 400 sesterces in money; and at the same time, the whole body of the people was treated with the greatest profusion at 22,000 tables placed in the streets. To these expenses Cæsar farther added public spectacles of all sorts. For the Circensian games, the circus was enlarged on each side, and a canal sunk round it; and several young men of the greatest families ran the races in chariots, drawn, some by four, some by two horses, and some on a single horse. The Trojan game was acted by two companies of lesser and larger boys, children of the nobility. The hunting of wild beasts was represented for five days together; and at last a battle was fought by 500 foot, twenty elephants, and thirty horse on each side; to make room for which the goals were taken away, and in their room two camps pitched opposite to one another. Wrestlers too performed for three days together in a stadium provided for the purpose in the field of Mars. A lake was sunk in the lesser Codeta, in which the people were entertained with the representation of Egyptian and Tyrian galleys of two, three, and four benches of oars, and a sea-fight. He also dedicated this year his temple to Venus Genitrix; opened his new forum; and celebrated the funeral obsequies of his daughter Julia, Pompey's wife. Suet. in Cæs. 38. Above 161*l.* Above 3*l.*

they had lived upon at Dyrrhachium. Plin. 19. 8. And Dio writes that they all told him with one voice, "If you act the honest part (by resigning your usurped power) you will be punished; but if you continue to be unjust, you may continue to reign over us." Dio, l 43.

Year of ROME 707. B. C. 45. — 406th consulship. Suet. in Cæs. 39. Many Roman knights, to make their court to the dictator, and please the populace, debased themselves so far as to enter the lists of gladiators. Furius Leptimus, a man of a prætorian family, and Q. Calpenus, who had been a senator, fought a prize in the forum. Decimus Laberius a Roman knight acted a mimic piece of his own composition, in compliance with Cæsar's will; and being immediately presented with 500,000 sesterces (4036*l.*) and a gold ring, he went from the stage, through the orchestra, into the seats assigned for the equestrian order.[r]

Suet. in Cæs. 41. When these festivals and rejoicings were over, Cæsar turned his attention towards matters of state and the administration of justice. He filled up the vacancies in the senate, advanced several commoners to the dignity of patricians, and enlarged the number of prætors, ædiles, quæstors, and inferior magistrates, restoring such as had been disgraced by the censors, or condemned for bribery in elections. He admitted to the offices of the republic the sons of those who had been proscribed by Sylla. He introduced Gauls and other foreigners, who had enriched themselves in his service, into the senate; and, on this account, he has been greatly censured.[s] Dio and Macrobius tell us, that he increased the number

[r] Laberius, to get to his place, was obliged to pass over the benches of the senators; and Cicero, as he came by him, said to him, "I would make room for you on our benches, if we were not already too much crowded:" meaning to ridicule Laberius, and at the same time to reflect on the number of new senators. The poet made him this smart answer: "You surprise me; for you were wont to sit on two stools at once;" a proverbial expression to signify a trimmer. It appears that the knights were greatly disgusted to see one of their body upon the stage, and that Laberius had consented to appear there against his will. We are told, that, to make some amends, and to shew a spirit more suitable to his rank, he inserted some lines, which gave offence to Cæsar, and engaged him to award the prize to Publius Syrus, Laberius's competitor: "Romans, we are losing our liberty. He, who is feared by many, has many to fear." *Necesse est multos timeat, quem multi timent.* Macrob. Sat. 11. 3.

[s] Suetonius, c. 80. says that, on this occasion, the following advertisement was stuck up in different parts of the city: *Bonum factum. Ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit:* "This is to give notice, that persons are desired not to shew any of the new senators the way to the senate-house." And, according to Macrobius, the greater increase of senators occasioned a joke of Cicero's; who, being applied to by one of his friends for his interest to get his son-in-law made a senator in one of the municipal towns: "At Rome (said he) the thing is easy: at Pompeii it is more difficult."

of senators to 900, whereas the house formerly did not consist of above 600: and such an augmentation, we may observe, is greatly recommended in a letter to Cæsar, attributed to Sallust, the historian, concerning the regulation of the state. But we have no mention of this matter in any of Cicero's letters, or in any authentic writing; nor of the augmentation of magistrates mentioned by Suetonius; though the increase of the senate, if true, implied that of the magistrates, that there might be quæstors enough to fill up the annual vacancies of the senate without any particular creation of senators. We are told, that from this time there were fourteen prætors, and forty quæstors. Year of ROME 707. B. C. 45 406th consulship.

The choice of the magistrates he so divided with the people, that, excepting only the competitors for the consulship, they chose one half of them, and he the other half: and his way was to recommend such as he had pitched upon, by billets dispersed through the several tribes to this effect: "Cæsar, the dictator, to such a tribe: I recommend to you such and such persons, that, by the favour of your votes, they may attain to the respective honours they sue for." We do not, however, find any division of magistracies between Cæsar and the people in Cicero's letters: it appears, on the contrary, that the consuls, prætors, ædiles, tribunes, and quæstors were all elected according to the usual forms. Suet. in Cæs. 41

He restrained the trial of causes to two ranks of judges, those of the equestrian and senatorian orders, laying aside the commissioners of the treasury, who had before made a third class. Dio. l. 43. Suet. in Cæs 41

In the quality of master of manners, he surveyed the people, but not in the usual method or place. He made the census in the several streets by those called *domini insularum*; and he reduced the number of those who received corn from the public, from 320,000 to 150,000. And, to prevent all riots for the future upon account of the survey, he ordered, that, every year, a choice should Ib.

Year of ROME 707. B.C. 45. — 406th consulship. Suet. in Cæs. 42.

be made by lot, by the prætor, in the room of such as died, out of those who had not been enrolled for the receipt of corn. He reduced the number of the poor citizens, by sending 80,000 into colonies beyond seas. He enacted, that no freeman of the city above twenty, and under forty, should be allowed to absent himself three years together from Italy; that no senator's son should go into foreign parts, unless in the retinue of some governor; and that those who had pasture-ground should have no less than a third part of their shepherds free-born. He made all such as practised physic in Rome, and all masters of liberal arts free of the city, in order to fix them in it, and invite others to the place. To many, who had shewed themselves zealous in his cause, he communicated the like favour: and we have a proof from one of Cicero's letters, that, in bestowing this privilege, he acted with discretion. For, having found that some of his friends had abused his confidence by exposing this privilege to sale, he made a general revocation of such grants, and examined anew the grounds upon which they had been given. He encouraged marriages at the same time, and decreed rewards to those who had a numerous offspring.

Ep. Fam. 13. 36. Melm. 7. 45.

Dio, l. 43.

Suet. in Cæs. 42.

He disappointed the expectation of many in his regulation concerning debts. Several of his followers were in hopes that these would be wholly cancelled; a thing, as we have seen, that was frequently moved for; but he ordered that the debtors should satisfy their creditors, deducting only what interest had been paid since the commencement of the civil war, by virtue of which order, Suetonius says, a fourth part of the debt was lost.

Ib.

He abolished all companies of artificers but such as were of ancient establishment: for the corporations of later institution had been chiefly erected by turbulent magistrates, such as Clodius, with a view to have in the city so many companies to vote, or regiments to fight for them.

Luxury being carried to great excess in dress, furniture, building, eating, and sepulchral monuments, he revived the sumptuary laws, and was very desirous to carry them into execution. He laid duties on the importation of foreign commodities; and the use of coaches, jewels, and scarlet cloth was allowed only to certain persons. We are told that he appointed commissioners to inspect the markets, and seize upon all the victuals which were exposed to sale contrary to law; and that he sent officers into private houses, to take off the tables the prohibited rarities, when he heard of any prevarications in this particular. All this care, however, was to no purpose: luxury still continued to prevail. Year of ROME 707. B.C. 45. 406th consulship.

He was indefatigable and very strict in the administration of justice.[t] He enforced the laws against crimes by more severe punishments: and, because the rich were easily induced to transgress, by reason of their being only punished with banishment, he stripped parricides or murderers of their whole estates, and other offenders of one half. He turned such as were convicted of bribery out of the senate; and he dissolved the marriage of a senator of prætorian rank, who had married a woman two days after her divorce from a former husband, though there was no suspicion of any former unlawful commerce betwixt them. Ad Att. 13. 7. Suet. in Cæs. 43.

One of the most considerable as well as most useful of his laws was, that no prætor should hold any province more than one year, or a consul more than two. This was a regulation that had been often wished for, as Cicero says, in the best times; and what one of the ablest dictators of the old republic had declared to be its chief security, not to suffer great and arbitrary commands to be of long duration; but to limit them at least in time, if it was not convenient to limit them in power.[u] Cæsar Dio. 43. Phil. 1. 8.

[t] "Jus laboriosissimè ac severissimè dixit." Suet. 43.

[u] "Mamercus Æmilius.—Maximam autem, ait, ejus custodiam esse, si magna imperia diuturna non essent; et temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non posset." Liv. 4. 24.

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knew by experience that the prolongation of these extraordinary commands, and the habit of ruling kingdoms, was the readiest way not only to inspire contempt of the laws, but to give a man the power to subvert them. He secured by this law his own possession and power from the attempts of all future invaders; and, after him, it was the most proper to secure the liberties of the state, by preventing any other man from doing what Pompey and he himself had done.

It was at this time also, that he set himself to reform the calendar; a work of general benefit to mankind. The Roman year, from the old institution of Numa, was lunar; borrowed from the Greeks: among whom it consisted of 354 days. Numa added one more to them, to make the whole number odd, which was thought the most fortunate; and, to fill up the deficiency of his year to the measure of the solar course, inserted likewise, or intercalated, after the manner of the Greeks, an extraordinary month of twenty-two days, every second year, and twenty-three every fourth, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth day of February. If Numa had stuck to the lunar year of 354 days, by this intercalation his year would have been as regular as that of Cæsar, but, by adding his odd day, each year deviated from the solar one whole day too much: which irregularity he might easily have corrected, by striking out of the intercalary month, eight days every eighth year. This, however, was not done, and there appears to have been a progression of all the months in the year, relatively to the seasons: and we find, that the consuls and other magistrates entered upon their offices in different ages of the republic, in January, in December, in October, in July, and in March; though the commencement of their magistracies must have been always in the winter season. Numa committed the care of these intercalations to the college of priests; who, it is commonly asserted, partly by a

negligent, partly by a superstitious, but chiefly by an arbitrary abuse of their power, used either to drop or to insert them, as it was found most convenient to themselves or their friends, to make the current year longer or shorter. But, when the last intercalation was made in the year 701, Pompey being sole consul, the 1st of January of the following year was very near the winter solstice, and therefore in its right place; and the great confusion, in the year 707, proceeded from the omission of the intercalary months, during six successive years. Cæsar resolved to put an end to this disorder for the future, as well as for the present, by abolishing the source of it, the use of intercalations; and, instead of the lunar, to establish the solar year, adjusted to the exact measure of the sun's revolution in the zodiac, or to that period of time in which it returns to the point from which it set out: and as this, according to the astronomers of that age, was supposed to be 365 days and six hours, so he divided the days into twelve artificial months, and to supply the deficiency of six hours, by which they fell short of the sun's complete course, he ordered a day to be intercalated every fourth year, between the 23d and 24th of February.[x] But, to make this year begin and end regularly, he was forced to insert into the current year, two extraordinary months between November and December; the one of thirty-three, the other of thirty-four days; besides (add Suetonius and Censorinus) the ordinary intercalary month of twenty-three days which fell into it of course. But Dio is positive, that he added no more than sixty-seven days: and though his authority is not decisive, yet as he seems to have examined this point, and there is no probability of there having been any intercalation since the beginning of the civil war, sixty-seven days were sufficient to replace the months in their proper seasons;

[x] This day was called Bissextus from its being a repetition or duplicate of the sixth of the calends of March, which fell always on the 24th; and hence our intercalary, or leap-year, is still called Bissextile. See Middl. p. 170.

Year of ROME 707. B. C. 45 406th consulship. which sixty-seven days were lost since 701, by the omission of three intercalations. All this was effected by the care and skill of Sosigenes, a celebrated astronomer of Alexandria, whom Cæsar had brought to Rome for that purpose: and a new calendar was formed upon it by Flavius, a scribe, digested, according to the order of the Roman festivals, and the old manner of computing their days by calends, ides, and nones; which was published and authorized by the dictator's edict not long after his return from Africa. This year, therefore, was the longest that Rome had ever known, consisting of fourteen months, or 422 days; and is called the last of the confusion, because it introduced the Julian or solar year, with the commencement of the ensuing January; which continues in use to this day in all Christian countries, without any other variation than that of the old and new style.[y]

Pliny, Hist. Nat. 18. 25.

Macrob. Sat. 1. 3.

Dio, 227.

All the regulations mentioned above were not enacted merely by Cæsar's dictatorial authority: they were confirmed either by decrees of the senate, or orders of the people, according to their nature. Indeed grants to foreign princes were often made in the name of the senate, though the affair had not been referred to the house; but this had been practised before Cæsar's reign, and these jobs had been esteemed the perquisites of the consuls.[z]

[y] This difference of the old and new style was occasioned by a regulation made by pope Gregory, A. D. 1582; for it having been observed, that the computation of the vernal equinox was fallen back ten days from the time of the council of Nice, when it was found to be on the 21st of March; according to which all the festivals of the church were then solemnly settled; pope Gregory, by the advice of astronomers, caused ten days to be entirely sunk and thrown out of the current year, between the 4th and 15th of October.

[z] Ep. Fam. 9. 15. Middl. p. 152. "While I am still at Rome, and attend the forum (says Cicero, in a letter to Papirius Pætus,) the senate's decrees are all drawn at our friend's house; and, whenever it comes into his head, my name is set down as if present at drawing them; so that I hear from Armenia and Syria of decrees said to be made at my motion, of which I had never heard a syllable at home. Do not take me to be in jest, for I assure you, that I have received letters from kings from the remotest parts of the earth, to thank me for giving them the title of king: when, so far from knowing that any such title had been decreed to them, I knew not even that there were such men in being. What is then to be done? Why, as long as our master of manners continues here, I will follow your advice; but, as soon as he is gone, will run away to join you over a plate of mushrooms." Was it not a great grievance that Cæsar should grant favours, without the privacy of the senate, to men so insignificant that Cicero had never heard of them.

The dictator distinguished himself also, during his stay at Rome, by the greatest acts of clemency and generosity to his most avowed enemies. M. Marcellus, who, when consul, began the attack upon Cæsar, and prosecuted it for three years by his relations, whom he got successively into the first dignity of the state, retired, after the battle of Pharsalia, to Mitylene, where he lived in ease without making any advances to Cæsar, and it was with difficulty he consented that his friends should sue for his pardon. In an assembly of the senate, Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, undertook to broach the affair, and immediately C. Marcellus, brother to Marcus, threw himself at Cæsar's feet; upon which the whole senate, rising from their seats, seconded the request. Cæsar complained of the moroseness of Marcellus, and made a parallel of his behaviour with that of others towards him, and particularly with that of S. Sulpicius, his colleague in the consulate; but presently declared, contrary to all their expectations, that whatever offence he had received from the man, he could refuse nothing to the intercession of the senate, though he knew that he had many enemies who had designs upon his life.[a] And it was upon this occasion that Cicero delivered that ingenious and eloquent panegyric on Cæsar, in which he justifies the dictator's conduct in the civil war, and professes a personal affection for him, and zeal for the preservation of his life, insomuch that he declares himself ready to put himself between a pointed dagger and his body.[b] Marcellus, however, did not live to enjoy the

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[a] The whole history of this transaction is related by Cicero, in a letter to Sulpicius, Ep. Fam. 4. 4. Melm. 9. 17.

[b] "Now proceed I to your heavy charge and gloomy suspicions (says Cicero to Cæsar, in his speech for Marcellus), all which ought to be guarded against not more by you than by every Roman, especially by us whom you have preserved: and, though I hope they are groundless, yet never shall I endeavour, by my expressions, to extenuate them; for your circumspection is our safety; and, were I to err on any extreme, it should be that of too much caution, rather than too little prudence. But who can be such a madman? Is he of your friends? Who can be more so than they whom, contrary to their own expectations, you brought from ruin? Is he of those who followed you to the field? Where is the wretch so frantic, as not to prefer, even to his own life, the life of the man, under whose command he has risen to all that ambition could wish! But, if your friends enter into no conspiracy, may not your foes? Guthrie, vol. 1. p. 167—171. Middl. p. 167.

Year of ROME 707. B.C. 45. benefit of his pardon. He had left Mitylene in the beginning of the following year, and was come as far as

406th consulship. Where are these to be found? For all, who formerly were so, either owed their death to their own stubbornness, or their life to your mercy. Thus no man who ever was your foe is now alive, or, if alive, he is now your determined friend.

"Yet, as the mind of man is so dark and so impenetrable, we ought to increase your distrust, and at the same time, your circumspection. For, shew me the man so new to the affairs of life, such a novice in this state, so unheeding either his own or the common safety, as not to be sensible, that in your preservation his own is included, and upon your life depends the life of every Roman? For my part, when I meditate night and day on the accidents of life, the uncertain enjoyment of health, and the frailty to which nature is subjected; I tremble, I grieve, that this state, which ought to be eternal, should exist in the breath of one mortal. But if, with human accidents and doubtful events depending on the natural constitution, treason and villany shall co-operate, to me it appears, that a god, were he willing, must be unable to save this country.

"By you, alone, O Cæsar! every thing, which you see overthrown and overturned by the unavoidable calamities of war, is to be replaced: public justice must be restored, public credit must be retrieved: the lusts of mankind suppressed, the race of mankind propagated, and every drooping branch of the constitution, that now hangs its head, is to be reared and supported by the wholesome severity of laws. There is no denying that, in so fierce a civil war, amidst such a combustion of arms and opinions, in every event the state must receive a shock, by the beating down some of her most graceful ornaments and primest bulwarks. For the head of each party, in the storm of war, was forced on many measures which he would have disapproved of in the calm of peace. You alone are the physician to bind up these bleeding wounds of your country, and every application from any other hand must prove ineffectual.

"With reluctance, therefore, did I hear from your mouth that saying, which discovers at once the hero and the philosopher: that you had lived long enough either for nature or for glory. Enough, if you will, for nature; nay, I will add for glory too: but surely not for the chief purpose of life, your country! Give over, therefore, I conjure you, that philosophical contempt of death. Do not be a sage at the expense of your country: for it has often reached my ears, that it is commonly in your mouth, that you have lived long enough for yourself. True! if I could suppose that you lived for yourself, and was born for yourself alone. But now that your courage and conduct are connected with the safety of Romans, and the constitution of Rome, so far are you from having completed, that you have not yet laid the foundations of those great designs you meditate. Thus you limit your life, not by the good of your country, but the intentions of your equity: yet even that is not enough for the purposes of glory; which wise as you are, you must own to be the ruling passion of your soul.

"'Shall I then (say you) leave behind me but a scanty portion of glory?' Yes, to others it would be sufficient: but to Cæsar it is but scanty. For what considered by itself is great, may prove but little when compared with the degrees to which it may be extended. If this was to be the end of your immortal acts, that, after conquering all your enemies, you should leave the republic in the condition in which it is now; consider, I beseech you, whether your divine virtue would not excite an admiration of you rather than any real glory: for glory is the illustrious fame of many and great services either to our friends, our country, or to the whole race of mankind.

"This part, therefore, still remains; there is one act more to be performed by you; to establish the republic again, that you may reap the benefit of it yourself in peace and prosperity. When you have paid this debt to your country, and fulfilled the ends of your nature by a satiety of living, you may then tell us, if you please, that you have lived long enough: yet what is it, after all, that we can really call long, of which there is an end? For, when that end is once come, all past pleasure is to be reckoned as nothing, since no more of it is to be expected. Though your mind, I know, was never content with these narrow bounds of life which nature has assigned to us, but inflamed always with an ardent love of immortality.

"Nor indeed is this to be considered as your life, which is comprised in this body and breath; but that, that, I say, is your life, which is to flourish in the memory of all ages: which posterity will cherish, and eternity itself propagate. It is to this

Piræus on his way towards Rome; where he was killed by P. Magius Cilo, his friend and companion; who, though he had been quæstor, and was of a family which had borne some of the public offices, had attached himself to the fortunes of Marcellus, and followed him through the wars, and in his exile. After having given him two wounds, the one in his stomach, the other in his head near the ear, he stabbed himself with the same poniard. As soon as the news reached Rome, it raised a general consternation: and, from the suspicious nature of the times, all people's thoughts were presently turned upon Cæsar, as if he were privately the contriver of it;

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Id. p. 198.

that you must attend; to this that you must form yourself. which has many things already to admire, yet wants something still, that it may praise in you. Posterity will be amazed to hear and read of your commands—provinces; the Rhine, the Ocean, the Nile; your innumerable battles, incredible victories, infinite monuments, splendid triumphs: but, unless this city be established again by your wisdom and counsels, your name indeed will wander far and wide, yet will have no certain seat or place at last, where to fix itself. There will be also, among those who are yet unborn, the same controversy that has been among us; when some will extol your actions to the skies; others, perhaps, will find something defective in them; and that one thing above all, if you should not extinguish this flame of civil war, by restoring liberty to your country: for the one may be looked upon as the effect of fate, but the other is the certain act of wisdom.

"Pay a reverence, therefore, to those judges who will pass judgment upon you in ages to come; and with less partiality perhaps than we, since they will neither be biassed by affection or party, nor prejudiced by hatred or envy to you; and though this, as some falsely imagine, should then have no relation to you, yet it concerns you, certainly, at the present, to act in such a manner, that no oblivion may ever obscure the lustre of your praises.

"Various were the inclinations of the citizens, and their opinions wholly divided: nor did we differ only in sentiments and wishes, but in arms also and camps: the merits of the cause were dubious, and the contention between two celebrated leaders: many doubted what was the best; many what was convenient; many what was decent; some also what was lawful: the commonwealth, at length, got over this ruinous, this destructive war: victory favoured the man whose resentment was not inflamed by conquest, but softened by clemency; the man who did not condemn to exile, or death, the enemy against whom he was exasperated. Some quitted their arms, they were forced from others. That citizen is unjust and odious, who, when hostilities are laid aside in the field, retains them in his bosom; much more justifiable is he who lays down his life in the field of battle, and seals with his blood the cause he has embraced.

"But since all civil discord is now subdued by the arms, or extinguished by the clemency, of the victor, let us all think and act with unanimity. It is, O Cæsar, only by your remaining safe and fixed in the same principles which you have heretofore, but more particularly this day, expressed, that we can be preserved. Therefore all of us who wish the prosperity of our country beg and entreat, that you would provide for your life and safety; and all of us (I speak for others what I myself feel), as you suspect some reason to be cautious, promise not only to guard you by day, and watch you by night, but to form, with our own bodies and our own breasts, the wall of your defence."

Though all this was mere compliment in Cicero, it might have been spoken with great truth and sincerity: for certain it is, that at this time no power less than that of a dictator, as Cæsar was, could remedy the disorders of the state.

Year of ROME 707. B.C. 45. 406th consulship. and, from the wretched fate of so illustrious a citizen, every man began to think himself in danger. Cicero was greatly shocked at it, and seemed to consider it as the prelude of some greater evil to ensue; and Atticus, signifying his concern upon it, advises him to take a more particular care of himself, as being the only consular senator left, who stood exposed to any envy. But Cæsar's friends soon cleared him of all suspicion; as indeed the fact itself did, when the circumstances came to be known, and fixed the whole guilt of it on the fury of Magius. Ad Att. 13. 10. It was Cicero's conjecture that Magius, oppressed with debts, and apprehending some trouble on that score, at his return to Rome, had been urging Marcellus, who was his sponsor for some part of them, to furnish him with money to pay the whole; and, by receiving a denial, was provoked to the madness of killing his patron. Val. Max. 9 11. Others assign a different reason, as the rage of jealousy, and the impatience of seeing others more favoured by Marcellus than himself.[c]

Soon after the affair of Marcellus, Cicero had another occasion of trying both his eloquence and interest with Cæsar in the cause of Ligarius; who was now in exile, on account of having been in arms against Cæsar in the African war, in which he had borne a considerable command. Ep. Fam. 6. 14. His two brothers, however, had been on Cæsar's side; and, being recommended by Pansa and warmly supported by Cicero, had almost prevailed for his pardon; when Q. Tubero, who had an old quarrel with him, being desirous to obstruct it, and knowing Cæsar to be particularly exasperated against all those, who, through an obstinate aversion to him, had renewed the war in Africa, accused him, in the usual forms, of an uncommon zeal and violence in prosecuting that war. Cæsar is said to have privately encouraged the

[c] S. Sulpicius, who, in a letter to Cicero, gives the account above, tells him, that the Athenians refused to grant a place of burial for him within the city, saying, that it was forbidden by their religion, and had never been indulged to any man. He was therefore buried without the city in the Academy. Middl. p. 172. Ep. Fam. 4. 12.

prosecution, and ordered the cause to be tried in the forum, where he sat upon it in person, strongly prepossessed against the criminal, and determined to lay hold of any plausible pretence of condemning him: but the force of Cicero's eloquence, exerted with all his skill in a cause which he had much at heart, got the better of all his prejudices, and extorted a pardon from him against his will.[d] This Ligarius, after his return, lived in great confidence with Brutus, who found him a fit person to bear a part in the conspiracy against Cæsar; but happening to be taken ill near the time of its execution, when Brutus in a visit to him began to lament, that he

Year of ROME 707. B.C. 45. 406th consulship. Plut. in Cic.

d "The merit of this speech (says Dr. Middleton) is too well known to want to be enlarged upon: those who read it will find no reason to charge Cicero with flattery: but the free spirit, which it breathes, in the face of that power to which it was suing for mercy, must give a great idea of the art of the speaker, who could deliver such bold truths without offence; as well as of the generosity of the judge, who heard them not only with patience, but approbation." Middl. p. 173—175.

"Observe, Cæsar (says he), with what fidelity I plead Ligarius's cause, when I betray even my own by it. O that admirable clemency, worthy to be celebrated by every kind of praise, letters, monuments! M. Cicero defends a criminal before you, by proving him not to have been in those sentiments in which he owns himself to have been: nor does he yet fear your secret thoughts, or while he is pleading for another, what may occur to you about himself. See, I say, how little he is afraid of you. See with what a courage and gaiety of speaking your generosity and wisdom inspire me. I will raise my voice to such a pitch that the whole Roman people may hear me. After the war was not only begun, Cæsar, but in a great measure finished, when I was driven by no necessity, I went, by choice and judgment, to join myself with those who had taken arms against you. Before whom do I say this? Why before him who, though he knew it to be true, yet restored me to the republic, before he had even seen me; who wrote to me from Egypt, that I should be the same man that I had always been; and, when he was the only emperor within the dominion of Rome, suffered me to be the other; and to hold my laurelled fasces, as long as I thought them worth holding.—Do you then, Tubero, call Ligarius's conduct wicked? For what reason, since that cause has never yet been called by that name? Some indeed call it mistake, others fear; those, who speak more severely, hope, ambition, hatred, obstinacy, or, at the worst, rashness; but no man besides you has ever called it wickedness. For my part, were I to invent a proper and genuine name for our calamity, I should take it for a kind of fatality, that had possessed the unwary minds of men; so that none can think it strange that all human counsels were overruled by a divine necessity. Call us then, if you please, unhappy, though we can never be so under this conqueror: but I speak not of us who survive, but of those who fell: let them be ambitious; let them be angry; let them be obstinate; but let not the guilt of crime, of fury, of parricide, ever be charged on Cn. Pompey, and on many of those who died with him. When did we ever hear any such thing from you, Cæsar? Or what other view had you in the war but to defend yourself from injury?—You considered it, from the first, not as a war, but a secession; not a hostile, but a civil dissension: where both sides wished well to the republic; yet, through a difference, partly of counsels, partly of inclinations, deviated from the common good: the dignity of the leaders was almost equal; though not, perhaps, of those who followed them; the cause was then dubious, since there was something which one might approve on either side; but now that must needs be thought the best, which the gods have favoured; and after the experience of your clemency, who can be displeased with that victory, in which no man fell who was not actually in arms?"

It would have been difficult for Cæsar to have been angry with these bold truths.

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was fallen sick in a very unlucky hour; he presently, raising himself upon his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, replied: "Yet still, Brutus, if you mean to do any thing worthy of yourself, I am well." Nor did he disappoint Brutus's opinion of him, for we find him afterward in the list of the conspirators.

Cicero composed, at this time, his panegyric upon Cato,[e] which is lost; but, from the accounts given of

[e] Dr. Middleton (p. 160.) and Abbé Mongault imagine, that Cicero had been left a guardian to Cato's son, as he was also to young Lucullus, Cato's nephew. "This testimony of Cato's friendship and judgment of him (says the former of these writers), might induce him the more readily to pay this honour to his memory. It was a matter, however, of no small deliberation, in what manner he ought to treat the subject: his friends advised him not to be too explicit and particular in the detail of Cato's praises, but to content himself with a general encomium, for fear of irritating Cæsar, by pushing the argument too far. In a letter to Atticus, (12. 4.) he calls this an Archimedean problem; 'but I cannot hit upon any thing (says he) that those friends of yours will read with pleasure, or even with patience: besides, if I should drop the account of Cato's votes and speeches in the senate, and of his political conduct in the state, and give a slight commendation only of his constancy and gravity, even this will be more than they care to hear: but the man cannot be praised as he deserves, unless it be particularly explained, how he foretold all that has happened to us; how he took arms to prevent its happening; and parted with life rather than see it happen.'" These were the topics, which he resolved to display with all his force. And the doctor thinks, that this work was a remarkable proof of his being no temporizer at this time. But, since Cæsar and his friends were so much pleased with the work, it is very evident that they did not find their condemnation in it. His orations for Marcellus, for Ligarius, and afterward for Deiotarus, may be called, with as good reason, remarkable proofs of his courage and veracity, whereas they are extraordinary examples of falseness and servile adulation. If we examine his private correspondence at this period, we shall find, that he acted a double part; making his court, on the one hand, to Cæsar, and passing his whole time with Cæsar's friends, of whom he was continually asking favours; while, on the other hand, he was perpetually complaining of the state of affairs, in the bitterest and most unreasonable terms, to republicans, and to Pompeians then in exile.—The following letters accordingly will give the reader a most satisfactory account of his sentiments and way of life during Cæsar's administration: and we shall accompany them with some remarks.

CICERO TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

Ep. Fam. 9. 16. Melm. 8. 20.

"Your letter afforded me a very agreeable instance of your friendship, in the concern it expressed lest I should be uneasy at the report which had been brought me hither by Silius." [This man had brought an account from the army in Africa, that some witticisms of Cicero had been reported to Cæsar, which had given him offence.] "I was indeed before perfectly sensible how much you were disturbed at this circumstance, by your care in sending me duplicates of a former letter upon the same subject: and I then returned such an answer as I thought would be sufficient to abate, at least, if not entirely remove, this your generous solicitude. But since I perceive, by your last letter, how much this affair still dwells upon your mind, let me assure you, my dear Pætus, that I have employed every artifice (for we must now, my friend, be armed with cunning, as well as prudence) to conciliate the good graces of the persons you mention: and, if I mistake not, my endeavours have not proved ineffectual. I receive indeed so many marks of respect and esteem from those who are most in Cæsar's favour, that I cannot but flatter myself they have a true regard for me. It must be confessed, at the same time, that a pretended affection is not easily discernible from a real one, unless in seasons of distress. For adversity is to friendship what fire is to gold; the only infallible test to discover the genuine from the counterfeit: as, in all other circumstances, they both bear the same common signatures. I have one strong reason, however, to persuade me of their sincerity: as neither

the work by antiquity, it appears, that he spared no pains to adorn it. Brutus, also, composed and published

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their situation, nor mine, can by any means tempt them to dissemble with me. As to that person [Cæsar] in whom all power is now centred, I am not sensible that I have any thing to fear: or nothing more, at least, than what arises from that general precarious state in which all things must stand where the fence of laws is broken down; and that it is impossible to pronounce with assurance of any event, which depends wholly upon the will, not to say the caprice, of another. But this I can with confidence affirm, that I have not, in any single instance, given him any just occasion to take offence: and, in the article you point out, I have been particularly cautious. There was a time, it is true, when I thought it well became me, by whom Rome itself was free, to speak my sentiments with freedom: but, now that our liberties are no more, I deem it equally agreeable to my present situation not to say any thing that may disgust either Cæsar or his favourites. But, were I to suppress every rising raillery, that might pique those at whom it is directed, I must renounce, you know, all my reputation as a wit: and, in good earnest, it is a character upon which I do not set so high a value as to be unwilling to resign, if it were in my power. However, I am in no danger of suffering in Cæsar's opinion, by being represented as the author of any sarcasms to which I have no claim: as his judgment is much too penetrating ever to be deceived by any imposition of this nature. I remember your brother Servius, whom I look upon to be one of the most learned critics that this age has produced, was so conversant in the writings of our poets, and had acquired such an excellent and judicious ear, that he could immediately distinguish the numbers of Plautus from those of any other author. Thus Cæsar, I am told, when he made his large collection of apophthegms, constantly rejected any piece of wit that was brought to him as mine, if it happened to be spurious: a distinction he is much more able to make at present, as his particular friends pass almost every day of their lives in my company. As our conversation generally turns upon a variety of subjects, I frequently strike out thoughts which they look upon as not altogether void perhaps of spirit and ingenuity. Now these little sallies of pleasantry, together with the general occurrences of Rome, are commonly transmitted to Cæsar, in pursuance of his own express directions: so that, if any thing of this kind is mentioned by others as coming from me, he always disregards it. You see then, that the lines you quote with so much propriety, from the tragedy of Œnomaus, contain a caution altogether unnecessary. For tell me, my friend, what jealousies can I possibly create? Or who will look with envy upon a man in my humble situation? But, granting I were in ever so enviable a state, yet, let me observe, that it is the opinion of those philosophers who alone seem to have understood the true nature of virtue, that a good man is answerable for nothing farther than his own innocence. Now, in this respect, I think myself doubly irreproachable: in the first place, as having recommended such public measures as were for the interest of the commonwealth; and, in the next, when I found I was not sufficiently supported to render my counsels effectual, that I did not deem it advisable to contend farther by arms against a superior strength. Most certainly, therefore, I cannot justly be accused of having failed in the duty of a good citizen. The only part, therefore, that now remains for me, is to be cautious not to expose myself, by any indiscreet word or action, to the resentment of those in power: a part which I hold likewise to be agreeable to the character of true wisdom. . . . . But to turn from the serious to the jocose part of your letter.—The strain of pleasantry you break into immediately after having quoted the tragedy of Œnomaus, puts me in mind of the modern method of introducing, at the end of those graver dramatic pieces, the buffoon humour of our low mimes, instead of the more delicate burlesque of the old Atellan farces. Why else do you talk of your paltry polypusses, and your mouldy cheese? In pure good nature, it is true, I formerly submitted to sit down with you to such homely fare: but more refined company has improved me into a better taste: for Hirtius and Dolabella, let me tell you, are my preceptors in the science of the table: as, in return, they are my disciples in that of the bar. But I suppose you have already heard, that they frequently declaim at my house, and I sup at theirs."

TO THE SAME.

"Your very agreeable letter found me wholly disengaged at my Tusculan villa. I retired hither during the absence of my pupils [Hirtius and Dolabella], whom I have sent to meet their victorious friend in order to conciliate his good graces in my favour. As Dionysius, the tyrant, after he had been expelled from Syracuse,

Ep. Fam. 9. 18. Melm 3. 22.

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a piece on the same subject. Cæsar, far from expressing any resentment, affected to be pleased with them;

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opened a school, it is said, at Corinth; in the same manner, being driven from my dominions in the forum, I have erected a sort of academy in my own house; and I perceive, by your letter, that you approve the scheme. I have many reasons for approving it too: and, principally, as it affords me, what is highly expedient in the present conjuncture, a means of establishing an interest with those in whose friendship I may find a protection. How far my intentions in this respect may be answered, I know not: I can only say, that I have hitherto had no reason to prefer the different measures which others of the same party with myself have pursued; unless, perhaps, it would have been more eligible not to have survived the ruin of our cause. It would so, I confess, had I died either in the camp, or in the field: but the former did not happen to be my fate; and, as to the latter, I was never engaged in any action. But the inglorious manner in which Pompey, together with Scipio, Afranius, and your friend Lentulus, severally lost their lives, will scarcely, I suppose, be thought a more desirable lot. As to Cato's death; it must be acknowledged to have been truly noble: and I can still follow his example, whenever I shall be so disposed: let me only endeavour, as in truth I do, not to be compelled to it by the same necessity: and this, indeed, is my first reason for engaging in my present scheme. My next is, that I find it an advantage not only to my health, which began to be impaired by the intermission of exercises of this kind, but also to my oratorial talents, if any I ever possessed; which would have totally lost their vigour, if I had not had recourse to this method of keeping them in play. The last benefit I shall mention (and the principal one, I dare say, in your estimation) is, that it has introduced me to the demolishing a greater number of more delicious peacocks, than you have had the devouring of paltry pigeons in all your life. The truth of it is, whilst you are humbly sipping the meagre broths of the sneaking Aterius, I am luxuriously regaling myself with the savoury soups of the magnificent Hirtius. If you have any spirit then, fly hither, and learn from our elegant bills of fare, how to refine your own. . . . . . To encourage you to do so, you shall be honoured with a chair and cushion next to mine, and sit the second great pedagogue in my celebrated school."

Ep. Fam. 4. 13. Melm. 9. 3.

The following letter to his friend Nigidius Figulus, who was then in exile, is in a more melancholy strain:

"Though I have been long looking out for an occasion of writing to you, yet I have not only been unable to meet with any particular subject for that purpose, but find myself utterly at a loss even to furnish out a common letter. The calamities of our country have spoiled me for those jocose epistles, with which, in happier days, I used to entertain my friends: as fortune has rendered me incapable of writing, or in truth of thinking, upon any subject of a cheerful nature. There remains another species of letters of a grave and serious cast, peculiarly adapted to these miserable times. But as a letter of this kind ought to contain either some promise of assisting you to surmount your misfortunes, or some arguments to support you under them; from these, too, I am likewise excluded. Sunk, indeed, as I am, into the same abject fortune as yourself, what assistance can I possibly offer you? The truth is, I am obliged to have recourse myself to the aid of others: and I have much more reason to lament that I live upon these disgraceful terms, than to rejoice that I am still in being. I say not this from any extraordinary injuries which I have suffered in my own person: as indeed there is nothing, which in the present conjuncture I could wish for myself, that Cæsar has not voluntarily offered me. Nevertheless, the sorrows that oppress my heart are of so severe a nature, that I think myself guilty of a crime in still continuing to live. For I live deprived of many of my most intimate friends, whom death, or those public calamities which have driven them from their country, have separated from me: as I have likewise lost, by the same means, all those whose good-will I formerly conciliated, when, by your assistance, I successfully stood forth in defence of the republic. I have the unhappiness, at the same time, to be placed in the midst of the general wreck and plunder of their fortunes: and not only have the pain to hear, but, (what is far more affecting) am a spectator of the dissipation of the estates which belonged to those illustrious associates, who assisted me in extinguishing the flames of that dangerous conspiracy. In a word, I have the mortification to find myself utterly divested of all credit, authority, and honours, in that republic, where I once flourished in the full possession of these glorious distinctions. Cæsar, it is true, acts

yet declared that he would answer Cicero's; and Hirtius, in the meanwhile, drew up a little piece, in the form of Year of ROME 707. B. C. 45.

towards me with the utmost generosity: but his generosity cannot restore what I have lost by the general violence and confusion of the times. Thus, bereaved of those advantages to which I was habituated by genius, by inclination, and by custom, I imagine the world is no less dissatisfied with me than I am with myself. Formed indeed as I was by nature to be perpetually engaged in the noblest and most important occupations, I am now deprived of every means, not only of acting, but thinking to any public purpose. There was a time when my assistance could have raised the obscure, and protected even the guilty; but now I cannot so much as send a favourable promise to Nigidius; to the virtuous and learned Nigidius; to the man who once flourished in the highest credit, and who was always my warmest friend! Thus you see that I am totally disqualified from writing letters to you of this kind. 400th consulship.

"The only subject that remains to me then, is, to endeavour to draw off your mind from its inquietudes, by laying before you such arguments as may afford you a well-grounded consolation. But, if ever any man was peculiarly qualified to employ the strongest reasonings of this nature, either for his own use, or for that of others, most undoubtedly it is yourself. Such, therefore, as may be drawn from the refined sources of philosophy, I will not pretend to touch; but shall leave them entirely to your own suggestions. Whatever is worthy of a man of true wisdom and fortitude; whatever is agreeable to that character you have sustained in the world, and to those studies in which you so early excelled; whatever, in short, is expected from a great and exalted mind in the circumstances wherein you are placed, your own reflections will best supply. I will only take upon myself therefore to inform you what I have been able to discover from my being situated in Rome, and giving a particular attention to every occurrence that passes. I will venture then with confidence to assure you, that your present troubles (perhaps too I might add, that those of the republic itself) will not be of long continuance. For, in the first place, Cæsar seems well inclined to recall you from exile: and, trust me, I speak this from no hasty conjecture. On the contrary, I examine his sentiments and disposition so much the more strictly, as I am less biassed in his favour by any particular connexions. I am persuaded then that the single reason for his delaying to restore you is, that he may, with a better grace, refuse the same favour to others, against whom he is more warmly incensed. I am sure, at least, that all his most intimate friends and favourites both think and speak of you highly to your advantage. In the next place, the populace, or rather, I should say, the whole community in general, are strongly in your interest. And, let me add, that the republic herself, whose power at present, it is true, is certainly inconsiderable, but who must necessarily, however, recover some degree of credit; the republic herself, believe me, will soon obtain your restoration from those who at this time hold her in subjection. In this respect therefore I may venture even to promise you some assistance. With this view, I shall closely attach myself to Cæsar's favourites; who are all of them indeed extremely fond of me, and spend much of their time in my company: and I shall insinuate myself into an intimacy with Cæsar; to which my own modesty has hitherto proved the single obstruction. In short, I shall pursue every probable means of this kind (and some too that I dare not commit to paper) in order to obtain your return. As to other articles of assistance, I am sensible there are many who are perfectly well inclined to offer you their services; but you may depend upon me as the first and forwardest in that number."

TO CURIUS.

" There was a time when I thought you made a very injudicious choice, by preferring a foreign country to your own. I imagined that Rome (while yet, alas! it was Rome) must be far more suitable, I will not only say than Patræ, but even than the noblest city in the Peloponnesus, to a man of your amiable and elegant turn of mind. But now, on the contrary, I look upon your having retired into Greece, when our affairs were well nigh desperate, as a strong proof of your great penetration: and I consider your absence not only as a very judicious, but a very happy resolution. Yet, why do I call it happy, when it is impossible that happiness should be the portion of any man in these wretched times, who possesses the least degree of sensibility? However, that desirable privilege, which you, who were at liberty to leave Italy, enjoy by travelling, I have procured by another method: and I can, in some sort, say, no less than yourself, that I live—— Ep. Fam. 7. 28. Melm. 9. 25.

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a letter to Cicero, filled with objections to Cato's character, but with high compliments to Cicero himself; which

'Where nor the name, nor deeds accurs'd, I hear,
Of Pelops' impious race'——

For, as soon as my levee is over (which is somewhat more frequented than formerly; a patriot being now looked upon as a sight of all others the most uncommon*), I shut myself up in my library. And it is there, my friend, that I am employed in compositions which you will find, perhaps, to be animated with all that spirit which you once said so ill agreed with my dejection and despair; when you reproached me at your house, for not acting up to the fortitude that appeared in my writings, I must confess, I could not at that time forbear lamenting the wretched fate of the republic: to which I was the more tenderly attached, as I had not only been distinguished with its honours, but had greatly assisted it by my services. And even now that time (which wears out the sorrows of the weakest minds) together with reason (which ought to have the strongest influence for that purpose) have jointly contributed to compose my breast: yet I still lament to see the commonwealth thus fallen, without a hope of ever rising more! There is nothing, however, that can at present be justly imputed to him, in whom all power is now vested: unless, perhaps, it be that he has more than he ought. And as to what is past, our fate and our follies have had so large a share in all that has happened, that we cannot complain with a good grace. As little reason is there to hope that affairs will mend. I cannot, therefore, but conclude my letter as I began it, with admiring your judgment, if it were choice, or your fortune, if it were chance, which led you from this unpleasing scene."

Middl. p. 159. The ingenious author of the Life of Cicero, after having presented to his reader a few extracts from the foregoing letters, has made the following observations: "It is certain that there was not a man in the republic, so particularly engaged, both by principle and interest, to wish well to its liberty, or who had so much to lose by the subversion of it, as he: for, as long as it was governed by civil methods, and stood upon the foundation of its laws, he was undoubtedly the first citizen in it; had the chief influence in the senate; the chief authority with the people: and, as all his hopes and fortunes were grounded on the peace of his country, so all his labours and studies were perpetually applied to the promotion of it. It is no wonder, therefore, in the present situation of the city, oppressed by arms and a tyrannical power, to find him so particularly impatient under the common misery, and expressing so keen a sense of the diminution of his dignity, and the disgrace of serving where he had been used to govern. Cæsar, on the other hand, though he knew his temper and principles to be irreconcilable to his usurped dominion, yet, out of friendship to the man, and a reverence for his character, was determined to treat him with the greatest humanity; and, by all the marks of personal favour, to make his life not only tolerable, but easy to him: yet all that he could do had no other effect on Cicero than to make him think and speak sometimes favourably of the natural clemency of their master; and to entertain some hopes from it, that he would be one day persuaded to restore the public liberty: but, exclusive of that hope, he never mentions his government but as a real tyranny, or his person in any other style, than as the oppressor of his country."

Is it not amazing to hear Dr. Middleton talk in this strain? Had Cicero been used to govern Rome? Cicero, ever a slave to the great, the perpetual panegyrist of the triumvirs, and their tool to the purposes of their ambition; who was no sooner abandoned by them than he fell a sacrifice to the resentment of a young rake whom he had offended. "It is not wonderful that he should express so keen a sense of the diminution of his dignity." Was there then more dignity in his behaviour before the triumvirate, when, contrary to the views of the aristocracy, to ingratiate himself with Pompey, he defended the Gabinian and Manilian laws? After the triumvirate was formed, who was the promoter of Cæsar's power, but he? Of Crassus's, that man whom he abhorred, but he? Who was the advocate of all the miscreants of the state, but he? Cicero all his life talked of his dignity, and could give a just definition of true dignity, when he pleased: but in his actions certainly he never shewed any, if

* A true patriot was a sight in all ages too uncommon, it must be owned, not to have been worth remarking; but whether those who visited Cicero, in order to view so singular a curiosity, were disappointed or not, is a question, which does not require great sagacity to determine.

Cicero took care to make public, and called it a specimen of what Cæsar's work was like to be. Cæsar's answer dignity consists in an upright, open, generous behaviour, and not in prating to a senate or a mob right or wrong.—" He was impatient under the common misery." But was really the state miserable under Cæsar's administration? Did he not restore order and peace in a distracted government? Did he not immediately set about making the most salutary laws? Was he not so intent upon their execution, as to be inclined to delay his expedition into Parthia, to give them, by his presence in the city, a greater force? Did not the people, under his short dominion, taste all the sweets of liberty but the name? And did not that empty name, under their own government, tolerate all the outrageous barbarity and injustice of the most absolute tyranny? Were order and affluence no public blessings, because they were the gift of Cæsar? Did not Cicero himself enjoy the greatest ease and liberty, and more power by his interest with Cæsar, than he ever had in the republic? And, when we view him in this tranquillity, opposed to the late tempestuous times he had been tossed in, was it gratitude in Cicero that he still talked of Cæsar as the oppressor of his country? Or, were the recovered sweets of life, which Cicero was now tasting, all imbittered, because the generosity of Cæsar had no title to make them secure to him? If such indulgence were the effect of tyranny, what name should Cicero have given to that upright republic that banished him?

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But was not Cæsar the immediate destroyer of the Roman liberty? Certainly he was not; " Had Rome at the time of the civil war been mistress of herself, both Pompey and Cæsar must have equally obeyed her. Though her government was not legally changed, it was so visibly altered by time and accidents, that it had then as much the appearance of an elective monarchy as of a republic, its ancient liberty having scarce any one privilege left, but that of voting by the sword, what should be the name of the man that was to destroy it.—Had not the republic almost consumed itself for want of an uncontrollable magistrate? And was it better that the whole had perished, than that an uncommissioned power should have presumed to save the remains of it? Was so unasked a favour an injury, when public violence was grown too strong for the old laws; had not necessity, when she had no laws, a right to form new ones for her own use? And what possible power, but that of Cæsar, could have assisted that necessity to make them? Though form and order be indispensable in the quiet execution of laws, yet there may be critical seasons or times of danger, when the breaking through them may be equally necessary, and which the Roman republic, under their happiest settlement, thought it sometimes advisable to comply with; and in such cases made a temporary dictator, to take care the commonwealth came to no harm. Thus, by parity of reason, when Pompey had, by his intimidating army, made himself little less than such a dictator, had not Cæsar just as good a right to displace him? So that, whatever title was wanting to Cæsar's office, his office at least became necessary.—Admitting then, that, out of the ruins of this self-subverted republic, Cæsar had for some time designed to erect a monarchy, what more salutary expedient could, in their present distractions, be hoped for? Wherein was his usurpation a more public grievance, than in throwing water upon a house in flames? Would Pompey have held the imperial hand over them with more gentleness than Cæsar? This is the only material consideration, since without a master Rome could not live. Now it is agreed on all sides, that Pompey's victory would have been a cruel one; and so intent were his followers upon destruction and proscriptions, that Cæsar's clemency struck them with amazement, and they could not believe their senses."

Id. p. 198.

But should not Cæsar have restored the commonwealth, as Sylla did? Sylla's settlement was no restoration of the public liberty, or of the true democratic government; he changed the constitution of the state and made it aristocratic; which, we are told by politicians, is the worst of governments. This aristocracy subsisted but a few years; Pompey by his conquests acquired so much wealth, glory, and power, that he became of course the master of the republic; till Cæsar, by his conquests, glory, and power, became his competitor: part of the state chose to adhere to Pompey, another part sided with Cæsar. Cæsar had success, and shewed he deserved it by his moderation and clemency. To have relinquished the sovereign authority would have been to have acted as an enemy to his country, since, having it in his power to do universal good, he would have chosen to have thrown the state into the same confusions and convulsions out of which it had so luckily and so gently emerged.

Year of ROME 707. B.C. 45. — 406th consulship. was not published till the next year, upon his return from Spain, after the defeat of Pompey's sons. It was a laboured invective; answering Cicero's book paragraph by paragraph, and accusing Cato with all the art and force of his rhetoric, as if in a public trial before judges; yet with expressions of great respect towards Cicero; whom, for his virtues and abilities, he compared to Pericles and Theramenes of Athens: and in a letter upon it to Balbus, which was shewn by his order to Cicero, he said, that, by the frequent reading of Cicero's Cato, he was grown more copious; but, after he had read Brutus's, thought himself more eloquent.

Tac. An. 4. 34. Quint. 3. 7. Plut. in Cic. Ad. Att. 13. 46. Middl. p. 193.

Brutus, about this time, took a resolution of putting away his wife Claudia, to marry Porcia, Bibulus's widow, and his uncle Cato's daughter; a step for which he was much censured; since Claudia had no stain upon her character; was nobly born; the sister of Appius Claudius; and nearly allied to Pompey: so that his mother Servilia, though Cato's sister, seems to have been averse to the divorce, and strongly in the interest of Claudia against her niece. Cicero's advice upon it

Cibber, p. 200. "And why should we suppose a soul so elevated as Cæsar's could be ignorant of advantages to be derived from his greatness, or could think that the power of doing universal good could have a joy or glory superior to it?" Did not Cicero himself encourage him to keep his authority, and lay before him the strongest motives for this purpose, in his speech for Marcellus? And, if Cæsar had taken Cicero into his council, and flattered his vanity by giving him the appearance of a share in the administration, who can doubt but he would have had, in our orator, a zealous panegyrist of all his actions, who, at the time that he made the complaints which have occasioned these reflections, writes thus to his friend Aulus Cæcina, Fam. 6. 6. Melm. 9. 34. "I shall now, indeed, be enabled to employ my zeal more effectually than heretofore, as I make great and daily advances in Cæsar's friendship; not to mention my interest also with his favourites, who distinguish me with the first rank in their affection." In the same letter he raises the hopes of his friend, then in exile, by the consideration of Cæsar's magnanimous conduct: "I cannot but observe to you, that I have often occasion to admire the justice and judgment of Cæsar; who never speaks of Pompey, but in terms of the highest honour. Should it be said, that whatever regard he may shew to his memory, he treated his person upon many occasions with great asperity: let it be remembered, that these instances cannot reasonably be imputed to Cæsar, but were the natural consequences of war. But how favourably has he received many of us, and myself in particular, who were engaged in the same party? Has he not appointed Cassius to be his lieutenant? Has he not given the government of Gaul to Brutus? and that of Greece to Sulpicius? In a word, highly incensed as he was against Marcellus, has he not in the most honourable manner restored him to his friends and to his country?" Cicero succeeded so well in his application to Cæsar's favour, that, the following year, when he had any thing to ask, he wrote directly to himself: and his letters do but ill support what Dr. Middleton says of his shyness during Cæsar's administration.

was, that if Brutus was resolved upon the thing, he should do it out of hand, as the best way to put an end to people's talking; by shewing that it was not done out of levity or complaisance to the times, but to take the daughter of Cato, whose name was now highly popular: which Brutus soon after complied with, and made Porcia his wife.* And Cicero, when he separated from Terentia, in the beginning of this year, had thoughts of marrying the daughter of Pompey. Nothing shews better how much they presumed on Cæsar's mildness. He married, however, Publilia, a young woman with a great fortune, to whom he was guardian, to satisfy, says Plutarch, his creditors with her money. This drew upon him a great deal of censure; and was certainly an act of the greatest injustice to Terentia, who had lived with him upwards of thirty years, and had made him the father of two children extremely dear to him.

CHAP. X.

Cæsar's war in Spain against Pompey's sons. The honours decreed him by the senate. His triumph, and those of his two lieutenants Q. Fabius and Q. Pedius. Cicero's grief for the death of his daughter Tullia. His writings during his retreat at this time.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR,	Dictator III. Consul IV. sine Collega.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS,	Mag. Equit.

IN the end of the year Cæsar was called away in great haste into Spain to oppose the attempts of Pompey's sons. The city was left without consuls or prætors, under the government of Lepidus, general of the horse, and six prefects to administer justice. The tribunes and the ædiles were the only magistrates elected in the ordinary form. Year of ROME 708. B.C. 44. 407th consulship.

After the defeat of Afranius, Cæsar appointed to the government of Spain Q. Cassius Longinus, who was tribune with Antony when the civil war broke out, and Hirt. de Bell. Alex.

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fled with him to Ravenna. He had been quæstor there under Pompey, and was well acquainted with the country: but his violence and avarice, during his quæstorship, had rendered him the object of the public hatred; and he had been wounded in an attempt made upon his life. Invested by Cæsar with sovereign authority, he applied himself wholly to gain the hearts of his soldiers by largesses and a relaxation of military discipline, hoping to find in his army a bulwark against the resentment of the people: and, at the same time, to satisfy the demands of his avarice, he committed all kinds of acts, both of injustice and cruelty. This behaviour brought him into contempt even with the ministers of his violence, and produced a second conspiracy which broke out, when, pursuant to Cæsar's orders, he was setting out for Mauritania, in order to give king Juba employment at home, and hinder him from sending succours to Pompey, as he had already done. The conspirators, who were all of Italica, a city founded by the elder Scipio in Bætica, set upon him in open day, and gave him several wounds; but none of them proving mortal, he had the satisfaction to revenge himself on them by tortures and death. The act of the conspirators was approved by a great part of the army, as well as of the people. Two of the legions, who had formerly served under Varro, Pompey's lieutenant, soon shewed their disaffection by an open mutiny; and, their hatred to Cassius reviving their affection for Pompey, they declared for him, and engraved his name on their bucklers. Three legions continued faithful to Longinus, not through any regard for him, but purely on account of their attachment to Cæsar. The city of Corduba, where a great many Romans were settled, detested also Longinus, but were unwilling to abandon Cæsar's interest. This commotion might have proved fatal to Cæsar, had not the quæstor Marcellus Eserninus united all Longinus's enemies under Cæsar's name

Savilla laveia.

and authority: which was effected with more ease, as accounts came about this time of the victory at Pharsalia. Longinus on his side had called to his assistance Bogud, king of Mauritania, who was in Cæsar's alliance, and their two combined armies waged war for some time against Marcellus, till Lepidus, proconsul in Nether Spain, coming soon after into Bætica, with a considerable force, Marcellus readily consented to his arbitration. Longinus was forced to do the same; and a short time after being informed that Trebonius, his successor, was arrived in the province, he put immediately to sea with all his treasure, and was lost in a storm in the mouth of the Iberus. But, as popular fury does not easily subside, this calm was of but short duration. Many, conscious of their offence, were afraid of Cæsar's resentment, and were well pleased to hear that Metellus Scipio had assembled a powerful army in Africa. They sent deputies to him to offer their service and demand his protection; and Cn. Pompey was sent on this occasion, as has been related above, after he had made a fruitless attempt upon the kingdom of Bogud. The disaffected legions did not stay for his arrival, but, hearing that he was landed in the Balearian islands, and was there detained by sickness, they openly declared against Trebonius, and put themselves under the conduct of T. Scapula, and Q. Aponius, two Roman knights. As soon as young Pompey recovered his health, he joined his friends; and in a short time got together eleven legions, and drove Trebonius out of Bætica. His brother Sextus, in conjunction with Labienus and Varus, brought him the remainder of Scipio's fleet, and his land army was greatly strengthened by the fugitives from Africa; so that he was able to act powerfully both by sea and land. Cæsar, immediately after the defeat of Scipio and Juba, had sent Q. Fabius and Q. Pedius with part of his African army, and Didius with his fleet, to act against the sons of Pompey.

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Dio, l. 43.

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This admiral had engaged with success the Pompeian fleet, commanded by Varus, and forced it to take refuge in a port called by Dio, Crantia, which is probably that of Carteia: but the lieutenants could not make head against the enemy in the field; and Cæsar's presence was necessary to prevent the entire reduction of the province.

Cæsar therefore, called upon by the inhabitants that remained faithful to him, and by his own lieutenants, set out before the end of November, arrived at Obulco, near Corduba, in twenty-seven days, and surprised both his friends and enemies by his sudden appearance among them. Cn. Pompey was at this time actually besieging Ulia, the only town of Bætica which held out against him. Cæsar found means to throw some succour into it, and marched himself to Corduba, where Sextus Pompey had locked himself up. Sextus called away his brother from Ulia to his assistance; but Cæsar, by that motion, had only in view to bring about a general and decisive action. Finding, however, that the two Pompeys had taken a fixed resolution to keep upon the defensive, he turned off to Ategua, the strongest fortress possessed by his enemies: and, in the depth of winter, and in the neighbourhood of a powerful army, carried it the 19th of February, when it surrendered at discretion. The garrison had offered to capitulate sooner, and surrender upon terms; but Cæsar answered, haughtily, "that he was used to prescribe conditions, not to receive them:" and he treated them, it is probable, with severity; for they had been guilty of great cruelty in cutting the throats of a great number of the inhabitants, who were thought to be in his interest, and whose bodies were thrown over the walls during the siege. Cn. Pompey, upon the news of the taking of Ategua, treated in the same manner, and for the same crime, seventy-four citizens of a neighbouring town. Acts of the greatest oppression and inhumanity were committed

Hirt. de Bell. Hisp. Dio, l. 43.

on both sides. The two armies, shifting continually their ground, in order to find opportunities to harass each other, advanced at length into the plains of Munda. There, on the 27th of March, as Cæsar was preparing to move his camp, he was informed, that the enemy had been drawn up in order of battle ever since midnight. Pompey, dreading the contempt and desertion of his followers, who were all eager for a battle, had resolved to fight; and had chosen for that purpose an advantageous post on an eminence, defended on one side by a morass, and near the city of Munda, which, in case of bad success, would secure his retreat. Cæsar drew out his troops in the plain, between the two camps, placing his tenth legion as usual in the right, and the third and fifth in the left, with the auxiliary troops and cavalry. There he waited a little, to draw the enemy down; but seeing that they had no design to quit their post, he marched up to them, giving the word *Venus*. The word on Pompey's side was *Pietas*, in allusion to his intention of avenging that day his father's death. When Cæsar's troops came to the extremity of the plain, they halted awhile, and Cæsar marked out to them how far they might advance with safety. This halt raised the spirit of the Pompeians, and encouraged them to advance a little way. At last the battle began, with a shout on both sides, and was obstinate. Pompey had not only the advantage of the ground, but the superiority in numbers; and his men were so circumstanced, as to be in a manner under a necessity of fighting desperately; being either soldiers, who had before served under Afranius and Varro, and had paid no regard to the pardon Cæsar had granted them, having rebelled against Cassius; or slaves set at liberty, who, if taken prisoners, had nothing to expect but an ignominious punishment. At first victory seemed to declare against Cæsar: not only his new-raised troops, but his veterans began to give ground: and, if we believe Sue-

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tonius and Florus, the day was so near being lost, that Cæsar was in suspense whether he should not kill himself. By all accounts, he gave himself incredible pains: quitting his horse, he took up a buckler, and advanced before the first ranks, and within ten feet of the enemy,[f] declaring, that he would not move from the spot. His example, and the imminent danger he was in, roused the courage of his soldiers, who were ashamed to abandon such a general; and the tenth legion, that invincible troop, particularly distinguished itself. But what determined the victory on Cæsar's side was the following circumstance: Bogud, king of Mauritania, who served in Cæsar's army, undertook, during the action, to attack Pompey's camp: and Labienus, perceiving his motion, detached five cohorts to intercept the Moors, and protect it. Cæsar immediately cried out aloud, that the enemy was making off: and this false opinion, spreading itself instantly among the two armies, increased the courage of the one, and terrified the other. Cæsar's troops, especially the tenth legion, took this opportunity to press the enemy, whose ranks began to be in some confusion; and, after a vigorous contest, entirely broke and discomfited them. Thirty thousand were killed on Pompey's side, among whom were Labienus and Varus, and 3000 Roman knights. All the legionary eagles and most of the colours were taken, with the fasces carried before the general; and seventeen principal officers were made prisoners. The conqueror lost 1000 of his bravest soldiers, and had 500 wounded. This bloody battle, which was the last in

[f] "Nullum unquam atrocius periculosiusque a Cæsare initum prœlium, adeo ut, plusquam dubio marte, descenderet equo, consistensque ante recedentem suorum aciem, increpita prius fortuna, quod se in eum servasset exitum, denunciaret militibus, vestigio se non recessurum; proinde viderent, quem et quo loco imperatorem deserturi forent. Verecundia magis, quam virtute, acies restitutæ: et a duce, quam a milite, fortius." Vel. Pat. 2. 55. (Krause, p. 285.)—"Itaque ablegato equo, similis furenti, primam in aciem Cæsar procurrit. Ibi prensare fugientes, confirmare; per totum denique agmen oculis, manibus, clamore, volitare. Dicitur in illa perturbatione, et de extremis agitasse secum, et ita manifesto vultu fuisse, quasi occupare manu mortem vellet." Flor. l. 4. c. 2. 82. (Duker. p. 708.)

the civil war, was fought the same day on which Pompey the Great had set out from Brundusium to go into Greece. Cæsar is reported to have said, "that, in his other battles, he fought for victory, in this for his life." The Romans of the vanquished party fled, some to the camp, some to the city of Munda, some to Corduba, and others still farther. The camp was soon forced, but the city was in a condition to maintain a siege. Cæsar that very day invested it; and we are told that the soldiers heaped together the dead bodies of the enemy to serve them instead of a rampart, planting in them their javelins and darts by way of palisades, with the bucklers hanging upon them; and that, to strike the greater terror into the besieged, they fixed all around the heads of the deceased. Cæsar left Fabius to command the blockade, and marched immediately to Corduba, to invest Sextus Pompey, who was governor of the place. But Sextus, upon the first intelligence of the entire ruin of his party, after having distributed what money he had among his troops, left the town about nine at night, under a pretence of going to find out Cæsar to treat of an accommodation. Scapula, who had been the chief occasion of the revolt of the province, had escaped thither out of the battle, and took upon himself the command of the place. When he found, however, that he was besieged, he assembled all his followers; and, ordering a funeral pile to be raised, and a magnificent supper served up, he put on his richest dress, and distributed his plate and ready money among his domestics; and, having supped cheerfully, and anointed himself, he commanded one of his freedmen to dispatch him, and another to set fire to the pile. After his death, a division arose among the inhabitants, between those who favoured Cæsar, and those in the interest of Pompey, with such a clamour that it was heard in Cæsar's camp. During the contests, some companies, composed partly of fugitives, partly of slaves, made

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Plut. Appian.

Hirt. de Bell. Hisp. Flor. Dio.

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free by Pompey, surrendered themselves to Cæsar: but the thirteenth legion prepared to defend the place, and with that view possessed themselves of the walls and the towers in spite of all opposition. Upon this, the faction for Cæsar sent deputies to him for aid: and the thirteenth legion, irritated by this proceeding, and choosing rather to perish than to fall into the hands of the conqueror, set fire to the city. At this instant Cæsar's troops making their way into the town, a battle ensued, in which the greatest part of the legionaries perished, and 12,000 of the inhabitants. Cæsar now marched towards Hispalis; but was met on the road by deputies from the inhabitants, who sued for their pardon, which he immediately granted. At the same time he was assured that the citizens were able to defend the town with their own forces, and to preserve it in his interest; but he thought proper to send thither his lieutenant Caninius, with some troops: and he himself encamped at a small distance. There was in the town a strong party of Pompeians, who, being displeased to see Cæsar's troops received within the walls, deputed secretly one Philo, a zealous partisan of Pompey, and well known in Lusitania, to beg assistance of Cecilius Niger, surnamed the Barbarous, who lay encamped not far off with a strong army of Lusitanians: and Philo, returning with a body of these towards night, got over the walls, surprised the sentinels and garrison, shut the gates, and undertook to defend the place. Cæsar did not think proper to press the siege, lest despair should prompt the Lusitanians to set fire to the town. On the contrary, he placed his guards in such a manner as to give them the hopes of making their escape, by sallying out in the night. They took the opportunity, as was foreseen, and in the sally set fire to the ships on the river Bætis (Guadalquiver); and, while Cæsar's men were employed in extinguishing the flames, endeavoured to get off; but, being overtaken by the cavalry, the greatest part of them were cut to

pieces. From Hispalis, Cæsar marched to Asta, which submitted, and thence went to Gades. Year of ROME 709. B.C. 44. 407th consulship.

During the siege of Hispalis, deputies arrived from Carteia,[g] with accounts of their having secured Cn. Pompey; the inhabitants hoping by this service to atone for their offence, in shutting their gates against Cæsar. Pompey, after the battle of Munda, attended by a few horse and foot, had fled to that place, where his fleet lay, and which was about 170 miles distant from Corduba. He was at first privately attended upon by those of his party, whom he secretly made acquainted with his arrival; but, seeing that great crowds assembled round him, and shewed some zeal for his service, he began to act more openly. But the faction which declared for him was inferior in point of strength and numbers to that which was in Cæsar's interest; and which, thinking to provide for their own safety and that of the place, had sent to him the above-mentioned deputies. Animosities within the city were carried to the greatest extremities; and Pompey himself, in a tumultuary action which happened, having received several wounds, did not think proper to stay in Carteia, but put to sea with thirty galleys. Didius, then at Gades, with Cæsar's fleet, hearing of what had passed, immediately sailed in pursuit of them; stationing at the same time some cavalry and infantry along the coast to prevent Pompey's retreat by land. Pompey had departed with so much precipitation, that he had not taken in a sufficient provision of water. This obliging him to stop in his way, Didius came up with him after four days' sailing, and while the greatest part of the soldiers and mariners were employed ashore, he took some of his ships, and burnt the rest. The unfortunate and wounded general, attended by a few followers, fled, in this extremity, with what expedition he could, to a place of

[g] A sea-port town, in Hispania Bætica, which some geographers have placed at the mouth of the Bætis, but is commonly supposed to have been situated in the straits of Gibraltar.

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strength, which happened to be at no great distance, and where he hoped to conceal himself. Being discovered, however, by a Lusitanian, he was soon surrounded by the troops sent after him by Didius: and, unable to defend himself in this post, he fled to another which was more tenable, the approach to it being extremely difficult. Didius's troops pursued him also to this retreat, and, after several fruitless attempts to storm it, determined to lay siege to it in form, and began to draw their lines, and to form a terrace. Pompey, seeing that he would soon be blocked up, betook himself again to flight; and, in this escape, having been forsaken by his few attendants, he hid himself in a cave, where he was discovered, and put to death. His head was brought to Cæsar, on the 12th of April, as he was setting out from Gades to return to Hispalis. This was the end of the elder Pompey; who, though he had shewed great abilities for command, was yet unregretted by many of his party, on account of his violent and cruel disposition.[h]

Didius, who had rendered Cæsar this service, did not live to receive his recompense. Proud of his success, and confident that all hostilities were over, he hauled some of his ships ashore to be refitted, and retired himself to a neighbouring fort; where he soon found himself invested by a strong body of Lusitanians, formed of

[h] "Sextus Pompey (says Cicero to Atticus) has withdrawn himself from Corduba into Hither Spain: Cnæus is also fled, but I do not know whither, nor in truth do I care." In a letter to Torquatus, a Pompeian in exile, he says, "the world is every day more and more persuaded, that although there may be some little difference in the cause of the contending parties, there will be scarce any in the consequence of their success. As to one of them indeed, we have already in some sort experienced his disposition; and as to the other, we are all of us sufficiently sensible how much is to be dreaded from an incensed conqueror." Ep. Fam. 6. 4. Melm. 10. 16. "May I perish (says Cassius to Cicero) if I be not solicitous about the event of things in Spain; as I would much rather keep our old and clement master, than try a new and cruel one. You know what a fool Cnæus is, and how he takes cruelty for a virtue; and yet he is sensible how much he has been the object of our ridicule. I fear, therefore, he would be apt to treat us somewhat roughly, and return our jokes with the point of his sword." He adds: "if you have any value for me then, you will not fail to let me know whatever will happen. Ah! my friend, how do I wish I were apprized whether you read this with an easy or an anxious mind: for, by that single circumstance, I should be determined what measures are proper for me to pursue; 'quam velim scire, utrum ista solicito animo, an soluto legas! sciam enim eodem tempore, quid me facere oporteat.'" Ep. Fam. 15. 19. Melm. 10. 22. These words seem to prove that he was then agitating in his mind what he executed the following year.

several parties which had fled that way from Munda. He made daily sallies upon them to check their insolence; and this gave them an opportunity of projecting an ambuscade, in which they succeeded so well as to destroy him, with almost all his followers; a few only having escaped by swimming to the galleys at sea. Year of ROME 708. B.C. 44. 407th consulship.

Munda was at last taken, after a siege of three weeks, and all Bætica submitted to the conqueror. The force of the Pompeians was now entirely broken. Even Sextus Pompey, the only remaining hope of his family and party, was reduced to the necessity of concealing himself in the mountains of Celtiberia.[i] The success of Cæsar was complete; and, while he continued in Spain during the summer, he not only employed himself in providing for the future peace and settlement of the province,[k] but found leisure to draw up his answer to Cicero's Cato.

During his absence there appeared a bold impostor, who began to make a great noise and figure in Italy, by assuming the name, and pretending to be the grandson, of Caius Marius; and several of the colonies and municipal towns, particularly those where the veteran soldiers were settled, acknowledged him for their patron. He wrote a pathetic letter to Cicero, to justify his claim and descent, and to implore his protection against the enemies of his family; "conjuring him by their relation; Middl. p. 198. Ad Att. 12. 49.

[i] Cæsar paid Cicero the compliment of sending him an account of his success with his own hand. At the same time young Quintus Cicero, who made the campaign along with Cæsar, thinking to please his company, and to make his fortunes the better among them, began to play over his old game, and to abuse his uncle again in all places. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, says, "There is nothing now, but Hirtius has been quarrelling in my defence, with our nephew Quintus, who takes all occasions of saying every thing bad of me, and especially at public feasts; and, when he has done with me, falls next upon his father: he is thought to say nothing so credible, as that we are both irreconcilable to Cæsar; that Cæsar should trust neither of us: and even beware of me. This would be terrible, did I not see that our king is persuaded that I have no spirit left." Ad Att. 13. 37.

[k] Dio tells us, that he committed great extortions, plundered the very temples, and particularly that of Hercules, at Gades, whose treasures he applied to his own use. But it is not probable that the needy Pompeians left much to plunder, or that Cæsar would seize, when he did not want it, a treasure which his enemy had spared in his utmost distress. The same author relates, that the states, who had remained faithful to him, yet paid for the freedom of the city, and the privileges, which he granted them.

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by the poem which he had formerly written in praise of Marius; by the eloquence of L. Crassus, his mother's father, whom he had likewise celebrated, that he would undertake the defence of his cause." Cicero (who, if he had really been the son of C. Marius, would have been his distant relation, his grandfather having married Marius's aunt) answered him very gravely, "That he could not want a patron, when his kinsman Cæsar, so excellent and generous a man, was now master of all; yet, that he also should be ready to favour him." But Cæsar at his return, knowing him to be a cheat, banished him out of Italy; since, instead of being what he pretended to be, he was found to be only a farrier, whose true name was Herophilus. Val. Max. 9. 15.

Middl. p. 211. While Cæsar remained in Spain, Antony set forward from Italy, to pay his compliments to him there, or to meet him at least on the road in his return towards Rome; but, when he had made about half the journey, he met with some dispatches, which obliged him to return back in all haste to Rome. This raised a new alarm in the city; and especially among the Pompeians, who were afraid that Cæsar, having now subdued all opposition, was resolved, after the example of former conquerors, to take his revenge in cool blood on all his adversaries; and had sent Antony back as the properest instrument to execute some orders of that sort. Cicero himself had the same suspicion, and was much surprised at Antony's sudden return, till Balbus and Oppius eased him of his apprehensions, by sending him an account of the true reason of it: which, contrary to expectation, gave no uneasiness to any body, but Antony himself. Antony had bought Pompey's houses, in Rome, and the neighbourhood, with all their rich furniture, at Cæsar's auction, soon after his return from Egypt; but, trusting to his interest with Cæsar, never dreamt of being obliged to pay for them. Cæsar, however, had sent peremptory orders to L. Plancus, the prætor, to require immediate

payment of Antony, or to levy the money upon his sureties, according to the tenor of their bond. This was the cause of his quick return, to prevent that disgrace, and to find some means of complying with Cæsar's commands. Cicero tells us, in his invective against Antony, that it provoked him to such a degree, that, in the height of his resentment, he is said to have entered into a design of taking away Cæsar's life; of which Cæsar himself complained openly in the senate.

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Cæsar returned to Rome before the end of August, and seems to have passed the greatest part of the month of September at Lavicanum, his country-seat; where he made his will on the 13th, which he committed to the care of the eldest of the vestals. During his residence in this place, every thing was prepared for a most splendid triumph for his victory over Pompey's sons, as over a foreign enemy; and it was celebrated on the 1st of October.[1] It was followed by two public dinners with plenty of the most esteemed and costly wines of Chios and Falernum. He now proclaimed a general amnesty, and it was probably on this occasion that a temple was built to Clemency, where his statue was placed near to that of the goddess, joining hands with her. He also divested himself of the consulship and conferred it upon Q. Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius for the remaining months of the year. The consul Fabius and Q. Pedius, who, in quality of Cæsar's lieutenants, had reduced some parts of Spain, were allowed

Dio, 44.

[1] We are told that the people, instead of admiring and applauding this triumph, as he expected, were sullen and silent; considering it, as it really was, a triumph over themselves; purchased by the loss of their liberty and the destruction of the best and noblest families of the republic: and that they had before given the same proof of their discontent at the Circensian games; where Cæsar's statue, by a decree of the senate, was carried in procession along with those of the gods; for they gave none of their usual acclamations to their favourite deities as they passed, lest they should be thought to give them to Cæsar. Atticus sent an account of his triumph to Cicero, who says in answer to him, "Your letter was agreeable, though the show was so sad:—the people, however, behaved bravely, who would not clap even the goddess Victory, for the sake of so bad a neighbour." But, if Cæsar committed any irregularity in this triumph over Pompey's sons and the Spaniards, he was engaged to it by the senate, who voted for the victory a supplication of fifty days, though the conqueror had writ no public letter to Rome on his success; the triumph was the necessary consequence of the supplication.

Middl. p. 213.

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also the honour of a triumph, though there had been no example of inferior officers partaking of the honours of the general under whose auspices they had served. The triumph of Fabius was celebrated on the 13th of October, and that of Pedius on the 12th of December. But the magnificence of Cæsar's made these appear contemptible; for their models of the conquered towns, which were always a part of the show, being made only of wood, whereas Cæsar's were of silver or ivory, Chrysippus merrily called them the cases only of Cæsar's towns.

The senate now accumulated upon Cæsar all the titles that flattery could invent. He was declared imperator or emperor in a sense that conferred upon him the command of all the forces of the republic; perpetual and sole master of manners, and with this office the management of all the revenues: he was styled the father and deliverer of his country, and a temple was raised to Liberty, because he had procured it to the Roman people. His person was declared sacred, like those of the tribunes; and the month Quintilis was called Julius, because he was born in it. He was allowed the privilege of wearing constantly a crown of laurel, and on festival-days the triumphal robe; of having a distinct seat in all public shows; a golden chair in the senate-house and in the forum; a statue in all the towns, and in all the temples of the city: two in the rostra, one of which had a civic crown, because he was the saviour of the people; and the other had an obsidional crown, because he was the saviour of his country; one in the temple of Quirinus with this inscription, "To the invincible god:" and one in the Capitol with those of the ancient kings. He was allowed to hang up the *opima spolia* in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, that no feature of Romulus should be wanting in him: and, in the Circensian games his image in ivory was ordered to be carried in a chariot in the same manner as those of the gods. This was not all; he had a pulvinar, or bed of state, in the temples, on which his

image was laid; temples were erected to him; he was called Jupiter Latialis; and a new fraternity of Luperci was instituted to his honour, and called by his name; of which Antony was the head, and Q. Cicero, the son, one of the members;[m] an honour which none of the immortal gods enjoyed, besides Mars and his son Quirinus, the founders of the state. Many, however, of these pretended honours we only hear of in Appian and Dio, and I cannot but think that these Greek historians, who were grown accustomed to the extravagant appellations given to the subsequent emperors, imagined that they had also been bestowed on the first of them. The last of these writers has likewise informed us, that some of the senators voted, that this god, this Jupiter Latialis, should take to himself as many wives as he pleased, and whom he pleased; and that the tribune Helvius Cinna had actually prepared a law to this effect. From this circumstance, so false and ridiculous, it may be gathered what degree of credit should be given to this historian. In the profusion of honours conferred on Cæsar, both his friends, it is said, and enemies eagerly concurred: the first out of zeal for his glory, and a spirit of adulation; the latter to load him with public envy, and bring him into contempt; and indeed it appears, from a letter of Antony to Octavius, that Cicero used to boast, "that they had imposed upon Cæsar, and ruined him by this show of respect for his person."

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On the last day of December, Fabius having died suddenly in the morning, C. Caninius Rebilus was named by Cæsar to the vacancy at one in the afternoon; whose office was to continue only through the remaining part of that day.[n] Cæsar had had so many creatures and de-

[m] There had been hitherto but two fraternities of Luperci, called Fabiani and Quintiliani. The Luperci Julii were instituted the year before, after the African war. Vide Ad Att. 12. 5. Cicero very much disapproved of his nephew's conduct, but the father was pleased with it: "Quintus pater quartum, vel potius millesimum nihil sapit, qui lætetur Luperco filio, et Statio, ut cernat duplici dedecore cumulatam domum."

[n] This wanton profanation of the sovereign dignity of the empire raised a general indignation in the city; and a consulate so ridiculous gave birth to much raillery and Middl. p. 219.

Year of ROME 708. B.C. 44. 407th consulship. pendants who expected the honour of the consulship from him, as the reward of their services, that it was impossible to oblige them all in a regular way, so that he was forced to contrive the expedient of splitting it, as it were, into parcels; and conferring it for a few months, or weeks, or even days, as it happened to suit his convenience: and, as the thing itself was now but a name, without any real power, it was of little moment for what term it was granted; since the shortest gave the same privilege with the longest, and a man, once declared consul, ever after enjoyed the rank and character of a consular senator.

He now granted a general pardon to all those who had borne arms against him; replaced the statutes of Sylla and Pompey, which had been thrown down; and, disbanding his Spanish guard, threw himself entirely upon the affections of his citizens. And it was probably on this occasion that a temple to New Concord, mentioned by Dio, was built, in imitation of that of Camillus; and a festival for the restoration of peace and harmony in the republic ordered to be celebrated every year. (Dio, l. 44.)

many jokes, which are transmitted to us by the ancients; (Macrob. Sat. 2. 3. Dio, p. 236.) of which Cicero, who was the chief author of them, gives us the following specimen, in his account of the fact: "I no longer (says he, in a letter to Curius) either advise or desire you to come home to us, but want to fly somewhere myself, where I may hear neither the name nor the acts of these sons of Pelops. It is incredible how meanly I think of myself for being present at these transactions. You had surely an early foresight of what was coming on, when you ran away from this place; for, though it be vexatious to hear such things, yet that is more tolerable than to see them. It is well that you were not in the field, when, at seven in the morning, as they were proceeding to an election of quæstors, the chair of Q. Maximus, whom they called consul, was set in its place; but, his death being immediately proclaimed, it was removed; and Cæsar, though he had taken the auspices for an assembly of the tribes, changed it into an assembly of the centuries; and, at one in the afternoon, declared a new consul, who was to govern till one the next morning. I would have you to know, therefore, that, whilst Caninius was consul, nobody dined; and that there was no crime committed in his consulship, for he was so wonderfully vigilant that, through his whole administration, he never so much as slept. These things seem ridiculous to you, who are absent; but, were you to see them, you would hardly refrain from tears. What, if I should tell you the rest? for there are numberless facts of the same kind; which I could never have borne, if I had not taken refuge in the port of philosophy with our friend Atticus, the companion and partner of my studies." (Ep. Fam. 7. 30.) Suetonius, in Cæs. p. 80. tells us that the people themselves would not acknowledge a three months' consul: for when, upon Fabius's entrance into the theatre, his officers, according to custom, proclaimed his presence, and ordered the people to make way for the consul, the whole assembly cried out, He is no consul. I cannot see what injury Cæsar either did the state, or particular persons, by making over to others an office, or the title of an office, which the senate had named him to for his life.

Cicero's daughter, Tullia, died in the beginning of this year, in childbed, to the inexpressible grief of her father. She was about two-and-thirty years old at the time of her death; and, by the few hints which are left of her character, appears to have been an excellent and admirable woman. She was most affectionately and piously observant of her father; and, to the usual graces of her sex, having added the more solid accomplishments of knowledge and polite letters, was qualified to be the companion, as well as the delight, of his old age; and was justly esteemed not only as one of the best, but the most learned, of the Roman ladies. It is not strange, therefore, that the loss of such a daughter, in the prime of her life, and in the most comfortless season of his own, should affect him with all that grief, which the greatest calamity could imprint on a temper naturally timid and desponding. His friends were very officious in making their compliments of condolence, and in administering arguments of comfort to him. Among the rest, Cæsar himself, in the hurry of his affairs in Spain, wrote him a letter on this occasion, dated from Hispalis, the last of April.[o] Their remonstrances, however, had

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[o] The following letter of S. Sulpicius is thought to be a masterpiece of the consolatory kind; for which reason, and because Sulpicius has acted a considerable part in this history, we shall insert it here, to bring the reader more acquainted with the talents of this consular senator, whom Cicero in his letters often treats with much contempt:

"I was exceedingly concerned, as, indeed, I ought to be, to hear of the death of your daughter Tullia; which I looked upon as an affliction common to us both. If I had been with you, I would have made it my business to convince you what a real share I take in your grief; though that kind of consolation is but wretched and lamentable, as it is to be performed by friends and relations, who are overwhelmed with grief, and cannot enter upon their task without tears, and seem to want comfort rather themselves, than to be in a condition to administer it to others. I resolved, therefore, to write to you, in short, what occurred upon it to my own mind; not that I imagined that the same things would not occur also to you, but that the force of your grief might possibly hinder your attention to them. What reason is there then to disturb yourself so immoderately on this melancholy occasion? Consider how fortune has already treated us; how it has deprived us of what ought to be as dear to us as our children; our country, our credit, dignity, honours. After so miserable a loss as this, what addition can it possibly make to our grief, to suffer one misfortune more? Or how can a mind, after being exercised in such trials, not grow callous, and think every thing else of inferior value? But is it for your daughter's sake, that you grieve? Yet how often must you necessarily reflect, as I myself frequently do, that those cannot be said to be hardly dealt with, whose lot it has been, in these times, without suffering any affliction, to exchange life for death. For what is there in our present circumstances that could give her any great invitation to live? What business? What hopes? What prospect of comfort before her? Was it to pass

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but little effect upon him: all the relief that he found was from reading and writing; and he drew up at this time a treatise of consolation for himself, from which he professes to have received his greatest comfort. The design of it was not only to relieve his own mind, but to consecrate the virtues and memory of Tullia to all posterity: nor did his fondness for her stop here, but

her days in the married state, with some young man of the first quality? (for you, I know, on the account of your dignity, might have chosen what son-in-law you pleased out of all our youth, to whose fidelity you might safely have trusted her.) Was it then for the sake of bearing children, whom she might have had the pleasure to see flourishing afterward, in the enjoyment of their paternal fortunes, and rising, gradually, to all the honours of the state, and using the liberty to which they were born in the protection of their friends and clients? But what is there of all this, which was not taken away, before it was even given to her? But it is an evil, you'll say, to lose our children.—It is so; yet, it is much greater to suffer what we now endure. I cannot help mentioning one thing, which has given me no small comfort, and may help also perhaps to mitigate your grief. On my return from Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina towards Megara, I began to contemplate the prospect of the countries around me: Ægina was behind, Megara before me: Piræus on the right; Corinth on the left; all which towns, once famous and flourishing, now lie overturned, and buried in their ruins: upon this sight, I could not but think presently within myself, Alas! how do we poor mortals fret and vex ourselves, if any of our friends happen to die, or to be killed, whose life is yet so short, when the carcasses of so many noble cities lie here exposed to me in one view? Why wilt thou not then command thyself, Servius, and remember, that thou art born a man? Believe me, I was not a little confirmed by this contemplation: try the force of it therefore, if you please, upon yourself; and imagine the same prospect before your own eyes. But to come nearer home; when you consider how many of our greatest men have perished lately at once; what destruction has been made in the empire; what havock in all the provinces: how can you be so much shocked to be deprived of the fleeting breath of one little woman? who, if she had not died at this time, must necessarily have died a few years after, since that was the condition of her being born. But recall your mind from reflections of this kind to the consideration of yourself, and think rather on what becomes your character and dignity: that your daughter lived as long as life was worth enjoying, as long as the republic stood: had seen her father prætor, consul, augur; been married to the noblest of our youth; had tasted every good in life; and, when the republic fell, then quitted it: what ground is there, then, either for you, or her, to complain of fortune on this account? In short, do not forget that you are Cicero; one who has been always used to give advice and prescribe to others; nor imitate those paltry physicians, who pretend to cure other people's diseases, yet are not able to cure their own; but suggest rather to yourself the same lesson, which you would give in the same case. There is no grief so great, which length of time will not alleviate: but it would be shameful in you to wait for that time, and not to prevent it by your wisdom; besides, if there be any sense in the dead, such was her love and piety to you, that she must be concerned to see how much you afflict yourself. Give this, therefore, to the deceased; give it to your friends; give it to your country; that it may have the benefit of your assistance and advice, whenever there shall be occasion. Lastly, since fortune has now made it necessary to us to accommodate ourselves to our present situation, do not give any one a handle to think, that you are not so much bewailing your daughter, as the state of the times, and the victory of certain persons. I am ashamed to write any more, lest I should seem to distrust your prudence, and will add therefore but one thing farther, and conclude: We have sometimes seen you bear prosperity nobly, with great honour and applause to yourself; let us now see that you can bear adversity with the same moderation, and without thinking it a greater burden than you ought to do; lest, in the number of all your other virtues, this one, at last, be thought to be wanting. As to myself, when I understand that your mind is grown more calm and composed, I will send you word how all things go on here, and what is the state of the province. Adieu!" Ep. Fam. 4, 5. Middleton, p. 183.

suggested the project of a more effectual consecration, by building a temple to her, and erecting her into a sort of a deity. In his letters to Atticus, we find the strongest expressions of his resolution and impatience to see this design executed. Yet, after all his zeal, or pretended eagerness and solicitude about this temple, it was never actually built by him.[p]

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[q] In the leisure of the retired life which he led, after the death of Tullia, Cicero composed several works: his Hortensius; a treatise in the way of dialogue, in which he undertakes the defence of philosophy against Hortensius, to whom he assigned the part of arraigning it: his Academics, in four books, containing a particular

[p] Abbé Mongault, ad Att. 12. 1, and Dr. Middleton, p. 190, remark, that this fact seems to confirm what the author of the book of Wisdom observes on the origin of idolatry; that it was owing to the fond affection of parents, seeking to do honour to their deceased children. "The father (says he) oppressed with unexpected grief for the sudden death of his child, after making an image of him, began to worship him as a god, though he was but a dead man; and enjoined certain rites and mysteries to his servants and dependants." (Wisd. xiv. 15.) But it was not Cicero's real thought, after all, to exalt his daughter into a deity; he knew it to be absurd, as he often declares, to pay divine honours to dead mortals; and tells us how the very publicans had decided that question in Bœotia: for when the lands of the immortal gods were excepted out of their lease, by the law of the censors, they denied that any one could be deemed an immortal god, who had been once a man; and so made the lands of Amphiaraus and Trophonius pay the same taxes with the rest. (De Nat. Deor. 3. 19.) Yet, in a political view, he sometimes recommends the worship of those sons of men, whom their eminent services to mankind had advanced to the rank of inferior gods, as it inculcated, in a manner the most sensible, the doctrine of the soul's immortality. (De Leg. 2. 11.) And since a temple was the most ancient way of doing honour to the dead who deserved it, (Plin. Hist. 27.) he considered it as the most effectual method of perpetuating the memory and praise of Tullia; and was willing to take the benefit of the popular superstition, and follow the example of those ancients, who had polished and civilized human life by consecrating such patterns of virtue to the veneration of their fellow-citizens.

[q] His extraordinary affliction, it may be here remarked, gave occasion to suspicions very dishonourable, which are thought to be hinted at in the thirty-eighth letter of the twelfth book to Atticus: "You say, that it is time to shew a little more strength of mind, and you tell me, that certain persons talk concerning me in more severe terms than either you or Brutus have informed me by your letters: if some people look upon my spirit to be broken, and my faculties impaired, let them know in what company I employ my time, and they will be sensible that I cannot be blamable, since I have already so much recovered as to bring my mind to such a composed state as to be able to write on difficult subjects: and that if I have chosen them as an amusement to my grief, I am praiseworthy to have taken up with one so becoming a man of letters." The author of an invective against him, under the name of Sallust, openly accuses him of an incestuous commerce with this beloved daughter. And Servius tells us, that Virgil was thought to have glanced at him in this verse:

"Hic thalamum invasit natæ vetitosque Hymenæos."

Dio, who betrays every where the greatest rancour against our orator, has inserted the same charge against him, in a speech he has made for Calenus, in answer to his second Philippic; but there is nothing in all Cicero's letters, or in his behaviour in any part of his life, that gives the least credit to so malicious an aspersion.

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account and defence of the philosophy of the Academy, which he addressed to Varro:[r] his excellent treatise De Finibus, or of the chief good and ill of man, in five books, which he addressed to Brutus, in return for a present of the same kind,[s] which Brutus had sent him a little before, viz. a treatise upon virtue; and this Tusculan disputations, in five books also, upon as many different questions in philosophy, the most important and useful to the happiness of human life. The first teaches how to contemn the terrors of death, and to look upon it as a blessing, rather than an evil; the second, to support pain and affliction with a manly fortitude; the third, to appease all our complaints and uneasiness under the accidents of life; the fourth, to moderate all our passions; the fifth, to evince the sufficiency of virtue to make men happy.[s]

Middl. p. 115.

After Cæsar's arrival, Cicero was persuaded by his friends to leave solitude and the country, and to come to Rome; where he soon found an opportunity of employing his interest and eloquence in the service of king Deiotarus. This prince had already been deprived by Cæsar of part of his dominions, for his adherence to Pompey; and was now in danger of losing the rest, from an accusation preferred against him by his grandson, of a design pretended to have been formed by him against

[r] Cicero wrote also at this time a little piece, in the way of a funeral encomium, in praise of Porcia, the sister of Cato, and wife of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cæsar's mortal enemy. Varro and Lollius attempted the same subject; and Cicero desires Atticus to send him their compositions: but all the three are now lost: though Cicero took the pains to revise and correct his, and sent copies of it afterward to Domitius, the son, and Brutus, the nephew, of that Porcia.

[s] It appears likewise, that he was pressed at this period by Atticus, and his other friends, and even by Brutus himself, to draw up something to be addressed to Cæsar; and it was certainly an undertaking suitable to his dignity and character. He drew up a letter accordingly, which was communicated to Hirtius and Balbus, for their judgment upon it, whether it was proper to be sent to Cæsar: but these not thinking it advisable to send it, unless some passages were softened, Cicero was so much disgusted, that he dropped entirely the design. "As for the letter to Cæsar (says he to Atticus), I was always very willing that Hirtius and Balbus should first read it; for otherwise, I had both been wanting in civility to them, and if I had happened to give offence, exposed myself also to danger. They have dealt ingenuously and kindly with me, in not concealing what they thought; but what pleases me the most is, that by requiring so many alterations, they give me an excuse for not writing at all." Ad Att. 12. 51.

Cæsar's life, when Cæsar was entertained in his house, four years before, on his return from Egypt. The charge was groundless and ridiculous; but, under his present disgrace, any charge was sufficient to ruin him; and Cæsar's countenancing it so far as to receive and hear it, shewed a strong prejudice against the king, and that he wanted only a pretence for stripping him of all that remained to him. Brutus also interested himself very warmly in the same cause; and, when he went to meet Cæsar, on his road from Spain, made an oration to him at Nicæa, in favour of Deiotarus; which startled Cæsar, and gave him occasion to reflect on what he had never perceived before, the invincible fierceness and vehemence of Brutus's temper. The present trial was held in Cæsar's house; where Cicero so manifestly exposed the malice of the accuser and the innocence of the accused, that Cæsar, being determined not to acquit, yet ashamed to condemn him, chose the expedient of reserving his sentence to farther deliberation till he should go in person into the east, and inform himself of the whole affair upon the spot. Cicero says, "that Deiotarus, neither present nor absent, could ever obtain any favour or equity from Cæsar: and that, as often as he pleaded for him, which he was always ready to do, he could never persuade Cæsar to think any thing reasonable that he asked for him." He sent a copy of his oration to the king; and, at Dolabella's request, gave another likewise to him: excusing it as a trifling performance, and hardly worth transcribing; "but I had a mind (says he) to make a slight present to my old host and friend, of coarse stuff, indeed, yet such as his presents usually are to me."

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Ad Att. 14. 1.

Ep. Fam 9. 12.

Some little time after this trial, Cæsar, to shew his confidence in Cicero, invited himself to spend a day with him at his house in the country, and chose the third day of the Saturnalia for his visit; a season always dedicated to mirth and feasting among friends and re-

Middl. p. 217.

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lations.[t] Cicero gives Atticus the following account of the entertainment, and how the day passed between them. "O this guest (says he) whom I so much dreaded! Yet I had no reason to repent of him, for he was pleased with his reception. When he came the evening before, on the 18th, to my neighbour Philippus, the house was so crowded with soldiers, that there was scarce a room left empty for Cæsar to sup in: but Barba Cassius relieved me; for he assigned me a guard, and made the rest encamp in the field; so that my house was clear. On the 19th, he stayed at Philippus's till one in the afternoon, but saw nobody; was settling accounts, I guess, with Balbus; then took a walk on the shore; bathed after two; heard the verses on Mamurra,[u] at which he never changed countenance; was

[t] This festival, after Cæsar's reformation of the calendar, began on the 17th of December, and lasted three days. Macrob. Saturn. 1. 10.

[u] Mamurra was a Roman knight, and general of the artillery to Cæsar in Gaul: where he raised an immense fortune, and is said to have been the first man in Rome who incrusted his house with marble, and made all his pillars of solid marble. (Plin. Hist. 36. 6.) "He was severely lashed (says Dr. Middleton), together with Cæsar himself, for his excessive luxury, and more infamous vices, by Catullus, whose verses are still extant, and the same, it has been thought, that Cicero refers to, as being first read to Cæsar at his house." Middl. p. 217. The verses of Catullus (Priestley's edition, p. 56.) are as follow:

"Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati,
Nisi impudicus, et vorax, et helluo,
Mamurram habere quod Comata Gallia
Habebant uncti et ultima Britannia?
Cinæde Romule, hæc videbis et feres?
Es impudicus, et vorax, et aleo." Ep. 29.
"Pulchrè convenit improbis cinædis,
Mamurræ pathicoque, Cæsarique." Ep. 57. (p. 104.)

Suetonius (Crusius, p. 142.) speaking of these verses, says, "Valerium Catullum, quo. sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non-dissimulaverat, satisfacientem, eadem die adhibuit cœnæ, hospitioque patris ejus, sicut consueverat, uti perseveravit." In Cæs. 73. Now Bayle, art. Catulle, remarks very justly, that if what Suetonius asserts be true, viz. that, if Cæsar continued to lodge at the house of Catullus's father, after his reconciliation with the son, these cannot be the verses read at Cicero's house: because Cæsar, after this supper, never saw Verona, where Catullus's father lived: and we must conclude, that the offence given by Catullus, and his reconciliation, were before Cæsar's last journey to Gaul; and the verses now read to him were by another hand.

The reader, perhaps, will not readily understand the time and manner of Cæsar's passing from Philip's house to Cicero's in this short account of it: but it must be remembered, that their villas were adjoining to each other on the Formian coast near Cajeta; so that, when Cæsar came out of Philip's at one, he took a walk upon the shore for about an hour, and then entered into Cicero's; where the bath was prepared for him, and, in bathing, he heard the verses on Mamurra; not produced by Cicero, for that would not have been agreeable to good manners, but by some of his own friends, who attended him, and who knew his desire to see every thing that was published against him, as well as his easiness in slighting or forgiving it.

rubbed, anointed, sat down to table. Having taken a vomit just before,[x] he eat and drank freely, and was very cheerful. The supper was good and well-served:

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> But our discourse at table, as we eat,
> For taste and seasoning still excell'd our meat.

Besides Cæsar's table, his friends were plentifully provided for in three other rooms; nor was there any thing wanting to his freedmen of lower rank and his slaves; but the better sort were elegantly treated: in a word, I acquitted myself like a man: yet he is not a guest, to whom one would say, at parting, Pray call upon me again as you return: once is enough. We had not a word on business, but many on points of literature: in short, he was delighted with his entertainment, and passed the day agreeably. He talked of spending one day at Puteoli, another at Baiæ. Thus you see the manner of my receiving him; somewhat troublesome, indeed, but not uneasy to me. I shall stay here a little longer, and then to Tusculum. As he passed by Dolabella's villa, his troops marched close by his horse's side, on the right and left; which was done no where else. This I had from Nicias."[y]

[x] The custom of taking a vomit both immediately before and after meals, which Cicero mentions Cæsar to have done on different occasions, (Pro Deiot. 7.) was very common with the Romans, and used by them as an instrument both of their luxury and of their health: "They vomit (says Seneca) that they may eat; and eat that they may vomit." (Cons. ad Helv. 9.) By this evacuation before eating, they were prepared to eat more plentifully; and, by emptying themselves presently after it, prevented any hurt from repletion. Thus Vitellius, who was a famous glutton, is said to have preserved his life by constant vomits, while he destroyed all his companions, who did not use the same caution (Sueton. 12. Dio, 65. 734.): and the practice was thought so effectual for strengthening the constitution, that it was the constant regimen of all the athletæ, or professed wrestlers, trained for the public shows, in order to make them more robust. So that Cæsar's vomiting before dinner was a sort of compliment to Cicero, as it intimated a resolution to pass the day cheerfully, and to eat and drink freely with him. Middl. p. 217.

[y] It is certainly to be regretted that Cicero suppressed the letter which, as we just now observed, he had prepared to address to Cæsar on the state and regulation of public affairs. There remain, however, two epistles, which were written to Cæsar on the same subject, and which have been generally, and with good reason, ascribed to Sallust. These, as they contain many important truths, and throw a considerable light on the times of which we write; and as they discover to us the regulations which an eminent genius and historian thought necessary to remove the disorders into which the Roman state had fallen, and are generally but little attended to; we shall beg leave to offer to the reader. That epistle, which is called the second, was certainly the first; and was written before the battle of Pharsalia: the other, called the first, was written after Cæsar had obtained that battle. It is for this reason that we have altered the order in which these pieces appear in the different editions of the Roman historian.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF SALLUST TO C. JULIUS CÆSAR CONCERNING THE REGULATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

"I am not insensible how difficult and nice a task he undertakes, who ventures to offer advice to princes and governors; or to any one invested with high authority. The number of counsellors with whom such persons are surrounded, and the great uncertainty of contingencies, which the most cautious and penetrating politician cannot sufficiently guard against, are very discouraging considerations: and what makes the office still more ungrateful, the worst laid schemes will frequently have a more prosperous event than the most rational and prudent counsels. So capricious is the sway of fortune in the disposal of almost all human affairs!

"But notwithstanding these discouragements, since my early inclinations led me to the study of state affairs, and as I have, with the utmost application, pursued that knowledge, not so much with a view to obtain employments, which I have often seen procured by means the most base and unworthy, but rather that I might thoroughly inform myself of the nature of our constitution civil and military; what is the true state of her strength with regard to her men, her arms, and her revenue: therefore, though I may, perhaps, suffer in my reputation, and be thought too forward in the attempt, yet my regard to your dignity and fame has, after mature deliberation, prevailed with me above such apprehensions: and I am determined to run any hazard, where I have the least prospect of an accession to your glory. And be assured it was not without previous consideration, nor so much with a view to the circumstances of your fortune, that I took up this resolution, as because, among your other distinguished qualities, I have ever experienced in you this most admirable one, that the greatness of your soul is more conspicuous in adversity than prosperity.—But the fame of your illustrious qualities is a subject I need not expatiate on: it is already so great, that sooner were men wearied in admiring and celebrating, than you in performing glorious actions. Nor was it out of any fond conceit of my own abilities, that I have presumed to lay before you my sentiments concerning the commonwealth; but, as your thoughts have been hitherto taken up with another scene of business, with the toils of a camp, with battles, with triumphs, and military commands, I thought it not unseasonable to awake your attention to the regulation of civil affairs; for, if your only aim and intention to repel the furious attack of your enemies upon your dignity, and defend the grants of the people against the consul who opposes them, these are views below the virtue of Cæsar. But, if you are still animated by the same spirit, with which, from your first entrance into public life, you successfully opposed and overset the faction of the nobility, and rescued the Roman people from the yoke of slavery; and with which you baffled, in your prætorship, though unarmed, all the attempts of your armed adversaries, and have since performed such great and glorious exploits, that even your enemies have nothing to object against you but your superior greatness: if the same virtuous spirit still possess you, give your attention to the plan I shall propose for the regulation and government of the commonwealth; which plan, I am persuaded, you will find to be proper and advisable, or, at least, to require but little alteration.

"Now, since Pompey, either from a kind of infatuation, or blindly bent upon opposing you, has been so rash and imprudent as to throw the whole power of the state into the hands of its enemies [the aristocracy], and has thus put all into confusion, it is incumbent upon you to restore the commonwealth, and replace it upon its proper foundation [by asserting the sovereignty of the people]. The first step he took was that of committing to a few senators, an absolute authority in the direction of the revenue, the sumptuary laws, and judicial proceedings; whilst the people, in whom the sovereign power had before been lodged, were left in a state of subjection and slavery. The judicial authority is, indeed, as formerly, nominally vested in the three orders of the republic; but the real power is in the hands of the faction, who, with unbridled dominion, control all things; who give to one man and take from another; dispose of every thing, as they please; who insnare the virtuous and innocent, and raise none but their own creatures to posts of honour: how notorious soever their crimes be, how flagitious soever their lives, and infamous soever their reputation, this scandalous insufficiency excludes them not from the magistracy; and thus exalted, they seize, they plunder whatever they have an inclination to: in short, their whole conduct is like that of a victorious army ravaging an enemy's city: lust and passion animate them; licentiousness is their only law. But, under these afflicting circumstances, it would, I own, be some alleviation to our misfortunes to see men of abilities in possession of arbitrary dominion, acquired by bravery; but, instead

of that, we see a despicable faction of base, cowardly wretches, whose only strength and courage lie in the feeble efforts of words, masters of sovereign power, which fell into their hands by accident, and has been yielded to them by a base, perfidious man [Pompey], and exercising that power with extreme arrogance and cruelty. For in any of our former contests and civil wars, were ever so many and such illustrious families extirpated? Did ever any before pursue their conquests with such impetuous fury, such exorbitant unbridled licentiousness? Even Sylla, who thought the laws of war gave an unlimited licence to the conqueror, though he conceived that the terror of punishment added strength to his cause, yet was satisfied with a few instances of severity to his enemies, and chose to win others to his party by lenity and benevolence, rather than the dread of revenge. But such moderate resentment suits not the sanguinary temper of Cato, Domitius, and the rest of that faction. No less than forty senators, together with numbers of young men of promising abilities, have, by their orders, been butchered, like so many victims destined to slaughter; nor could the blood of all these miserable citizens glut the thirst of those most implacable tyrants. The doleful cries of helpless orphans, the weakness of aged parents, the groans of men, and the lamentations of women, made not the least impression on their unrelenting hearts: so far from it, that they grew every day more and more inflamed, both in their words and actions; and, by injurious practices, degraded many from their employments, drove many into exile." [Pompey was guilty of great partiality in his third consulship, and probably of cruelty, since Tacitus, speaking of his conduct at this time, says, that, being chosen to correct the public enormities, his remedies proved more grievous to the state than its distempers. Appius, in his censorship, acted in the same partial manner, and his authority was subservient to the views of the aristocracy. Among others of the contrary faction he degraded our author and turned him out of the senate. Hence this description of the injustice and cruelty of his enemies is, perhaps, full of resentment, and may be exaggerated.] "And there is no occasion to shew how they stand affected towards you. Base cowards as they are, they would yet gladly sacrifice their lives to procure your disgrace and ruin. Yes,—far less is the pleasure they taste in that sovereignty, which is unexpectedly fallen into their hands, than the anxiety they feel, when they view your exalted glory: for, to accomplish your destruction, they choose rather to run the hazard of slavery, and esteem it a more eligible situation, than to see you the happy instrument of raising the empire of Rome, great as it is, to the highest pitch of glory and dominion.

"These considerations will convince you, how absolutely necessary it is to use the utmost care and circumspection in forming your schemes for the establishment and security of the commonwealth. What occurs to me I shall freely offer without any reserve: but, how far the methods I shall propose, are just and practicable, I leave to the determination of your own judgment.

"By the primitive constitution of the republic, as our histories inform us, the people were divided into two orders, patricians and plebeians: originally the exercise of the supreme jurisdiction was lodged in the former; but, as the latter was the stronger body, this superior force often excited them to withdraw to Mount Aventine, in defence of their liberties: the constant effect of which secession was, that the power of the patricians was diminished, and the rights and privileges of the people augmented. But what contributed most to the security of their liberty was this, the laws had their due force, and the power of the magistrates was subservient to them. Nor was it then" [during the perfect democracy settled by the Licinian laws] "affluence of fortune, or an arrogant passion for precedence, but the character of a regular life and gallant exploits, that distinguished the nobility from the commonalty: even men in the lowest station, whether occupied in their farms at home, or serving in the wars, just provided with the necessary and decent supports of life, were amply satisfied themselves, and gave ample satisfaction to the state. But when, being thrust out of possession of their lands by a gradual usurpation, they, through indigence, and idleness (having nothing to do), could no longer have any fixed abodes, then they began to covet the wealth of other men, and to put their own liberty and the commonwealth to sale. Thus fell, by degrees, the ancient power of the Roman people, who had before been lords of the world, and given laws to all nations; and they, who jointly exercised sovereign authority, have each individual separately, sold themselves to slavery and bondage.

"Now, a multitude thus disposed, not only corrupt and degenerate in their manners but also, by their different courses and pursuits, so alienated from each other, as to be incapable of any coalition and unanimity, are, I apprehend, very ill qualified

to assume the government of the commonwealth. But, if the number of citizens be augmented, such a regulation would rouse up a general ardour in support of the common liberty; for then one part of the people will be animated to preserve the liberty they are admitted to; and the other to shake off the yoke of slavery, which has hitherto disgraced them. These new enfranchised citizens, joined to some of the old ones, should, I think, be settled in our colonies; by which means we shall not only be furnished with greater supplies for recruiting our armies, but the people, being then employed in useful occupations, will no longer disturb and embroil the state." [We have seen above, that this was one of the measures taken by Cæsar for the better settlement of the state.] "I am not insensible, that when you attempt the execution of this scheme, you will expose yourself to the fury and severe resentments of the nobility; who will immediately take fire, grow angry, and exclaim, that the very foundation of the constitution is undermined, that the ancient citizens are robbed of their privileges, and reduced to a state of slavery, and this free republic converted into a regal government, when any single person assumes an arbitrary power of augmenting the number of citizens. I confess, indeed, it is my settled opinion, that whoever attempts to render himself popular, at the expense of the commonwealth, is guilty of a crime, the grievous effects of which will fall on his own head: yet, at the same time, I will venture to say, he who has not resolution enough to undertake such designs, as are at once beneficial to the public, as well as his own private interests, is justly chargeable with the imputation of indolence and pusillanimity. When M. Livius Drusus was tribune of the people, it was his fixed purpose and resolution to exert his utmost endeavours in favour of the nobility; nor did he, at first, ever enter upon any measures without their consent and authority. And yet those sons of faction, ever influenced by the maxims of treachery and falsehood, rather than fidelity and honour, no sooner considered what a number of men, should Drusus succeed, would owe the mighty obligation to one single person; and, as it is reasonable to imagine, when each reflected on his own base and perfidious heart, conceived, that Drusus would act in the same manner they were conscious they themselves should act in the same situation; apprehending therefore, that his professions of such singular regard for their interest was only an artifice to raise himself to sovereignty, they opposed him with the utmost vigour, and frustrated all his designs in their favour. These observations will engage you to fortify yourself with the greatest attention and circumspection with all the support you can possibly procure.

"To subdue a fair and open enemy is, to the brave and gallant man, no mighty difficulty; but, in contriving or in avoiding secret stratagems and latent perils, generous and noble souls are by no means adroit and expert. For your better security therefore, when you have augmented the number of citizens, as the power of the people will be restored, let it be your principal concern to cultivate good manners, and, by a firm coalition, unite the old and new citizens. But the greatest service you can possibly do to your country, to your fellow-citizens, to yourself, and your posterity, is to extinguish that extravagant passion for riches, which is so prevalent amongst us; or, at least, give such a check to it as the circumstances of the times will permit. And, unless this be done, neither in the city nor in the camp, neither in the administration of public or private affairs, can any due order, any regular economy, be expected. For where the love of money once prevails, it proves always too powerful for discipline, and suppresses all good dispositions; nor is the firmest mind able to resist its efforts; but, sooner or later, falls a victim to this passion. Numerous are the instances that occur in history, what princes, what states and nations, have entirely owed, to the oppressive weight of their opulence, the loss of those mighty empires, which have been the glorious acquisitions of virtuous poverty. Nor is it at all surprising: for when an upright man beholds one of less merit, more caressed and esteemed, upon no other recommendation but a superior fortune, at first, it has no other effect than to raise his indignation, and stagger him with perplexities; but, when he has still every day fresh experience that pomp and splendour triumph over genuine glory and honour; wealth and opulence over worth and merit; his mind is at last alienated; he deserts the cause of virtue, and flies to the tents of voluptuousness. It is doubtless the love of glory that stimulates and supports industry: stripped of that attracting charm, virtue in herself appears to men with a very forbidding aspect, and under a very unamiable form. In short, wherever riches are in high esteem, there all worthy accomplishments, there honour and probity, modesty and chastity, must lose all their regard, become neglected and despised. For in the pursuit of virtue, men are confined to one road only; a road too surrounded with perils

and difficulties: but, in quest of riches, great is the latitude they take, and every one pushes forward what way he pleases; and by any means, honourable or dishonourable, strives to obtain his end. Above all things, therefore, you must determine to crush this prevailing power of gold. And I am persuaded, that no one hereafter, will judge a man more or less qualified for judicial offices, or the administration of the commonwealth, if you put the election of consuls and prætors upon such a footing, that the real worth and merit, and not wealth and riches, must of necessity prevail in the choice." [We have seen also that Cæsar had nothing so much at heart as the execution of his sumptuary laws.]

"As to the appointment of magistrates, it will be the safest and most convenient method to invest that power in the people. If you confine it to a few, you approach too near a regal government; if you suffer the elections to be carried by bribery, that were base and dishonourable. It is my opinion, therefore, that all of the first class of the people should be entitled to the privilege of standing candidates for judicial offices; but I think it advisable that their number should be augmented. It is well known that neither the people of Rhodes, nor any other free state, were ever dissatisfied with the judgments of their courts, where rich or poor, just as it fell out, were promiscuously joined together in all consultations, even of the greatest as well as the smallest importance. But as to the election of magistrates, the law enacted by C. Gracchus, when tribune of the people, is by no means to be despised: That, out of the five classes, promiscuously, those centuries who were to give their suffrages should be chosen by lot. When the people are thus reduced to an equality, and superiority of fortune no longer gives superior claim to dignity and honour, the only contention that can then remain, will be, who shall surpass each other in virtue and merit. These remedies, which I have prescribed, will, I apprehend, prove a very easy and effectual cure for the evils attending riches. For our admiration or desire, of any objects, arises from the use and advantage we propose from them; it is from the hopes of gain that men are prompted to iniquitous courses: take away that incitement, and you will find no man alive will be any longer a villain, when a villain can be no longer a gainer. But, whilst the temptation to riches remains, avarice, like a savage beast of the desert, is insufferably outrageous and cruel: which way soever she flies, she lays waste whole towns and countries; confounds all things human and divine, without distinction: nor walls nor armies are able to obstruct her imperious violence; she falls upon all in her way, robs all she meets—robs them of their reputation, their chastity, their children, parents, and country: all become the prey of this universal plunderer. And yet there is a remedy for this mighty evil:—take away all esteem and honour from riches, and virtue will instantly recover her vigour, and be able to triumph over the rage of this devouring pestilence.

"But, though all men, whether friends or enemies, allow this to be true, yet, such is the factious spirit of the nobility, that you must expect violent opposition from that quarter. This is the grand obstruction you will meet with; if you can remove that, by guarding yourself against their dark deceit and base stratagems, all the rest of your way will be smooth and easy. Base stratagems, I may justly call them, for, were they influenced by any virtuous principle, it would prompt them rather to emulate than envy the worthy. But as sloth and indolence and dulness and invincible stupidity, press heavy upon them, the only efforts they can make are clamorous complaints and invidious reproaches against that high renown, which they look upon as a tacit reflection on their own infamous reputations. But what necessity is there to say any more about them? You want not to be informed of their characters. You are no stranger to M. Bibulus, the man who, by irresistible courage and great abilities, forced his way to the consular dignity! Yes—You must doubtless be sensible of this, because you know him to be a creature scarce endowed with the faculty of speech, who has indeed a heart disposed to any villany, but not a head to contrive and execute it! What is there to be apprehended from such a man as this, a man to whom the very consulship, the highest office in the state, was the highest disgrace? And, as to L. Domitius, what magnanimity can there be in him, when every part of his body is defiled with some foul vice, some detestable crime or other: his tongue with falsehood and lies, his hands with blood, his feet with ignominious flight; and his pollutions, in other respects, are so abominably shameful, that even the bare mention of them would be an unpardonable indecency? Cato is the only man amongst them who has any sort of merit; the dexterity of his parts, his eloquence, his artifice and penetration, are no contemptible qualifications: but they are no other than what may be acquired by Grecian discipline. The nobler qualifications, fortitude, vigilance, and unwearied industry, are not to be learned from the Greeks. For can a people,

who had neither vigour nor spirit to defend the liberty of their own country, be qualified to instruct others in those arts and accomplishments that are necessary for the support of empire? As to the rest of the faction, they are a set of noblemen so utterly insignificant, so excessively dull and senseless, that, like stupid statues, their names and titles are their only ornaments.—As for L. Posthumius and Favonius, they appear to me not unlike the additional lading, which is taken into a large ship, above the ordinary burden: if she arrives safe at her port, it may be of use; but had the mariners met with tempestuous weather, those goods would have been first thrown overboard, as they were of the least value." [What Sallust says here of the nobles agrees very well with the character Cicero gives, in his letters to Atticus, of the *honest*, or the *fishpondmen*; but the picture he draws of Cato is very unlike that which he has given us of the same man in his history of Cataline's conspiracy. There Cato is but upon an equality with Cæsar in noble birth, eloquence, greatness of spirit, and glory: and simplicity of life, regular conduct, and invincible strictness, are mentioned as his acknowledged virtues. He contended not, it is said, in wealth with the wealthy, nor with the factious in practices of faction; but in bravery he yielded not to the most courageous; nor in temperance to the most reserved; nor in purity of morals to the most innocent: he aimed not so much to appear, as to be, a virtuous man; and the less he courted renown, the more it followed him. Sallust, when he wrote the conspiracy of Cataline, had not, probably, been exasperated by persecutions, or had retired from all public business, and was perfectly at his ease: whereas, in this epistle, his language is that of a lately provoked enemy. Cicero ad Att. 7. 15. speaks of Favonius and Posthumius, as vain weak men, of importance only in their own conceit. "Uni Favonio, leges ab illo nobis imponi non placebat; sed is haud auditus in concilio.—Postumus autem, de quo nominatim senatus decrevit, ut statim in Siciliam iret, Furfanoque succederet, negat se sine Catone iturum: et suam in senatu operam, auctoritatemque magni æstimat." This Posthumius is probably the same man whom Cicero mentions, in another letter to Atticus, (9. 2.) as having joined Cæsar before Pompey left Italy: and this circumstance seems to prove that this epistle of Sallust was written upon the rupture between Cæsar and Pompey, and before the former was master of Brundusium.]

"Having thus given you my judgment concerning the restitution of the plebeian power, and the reformation of their manners; I will now point out to you the steps which it will be advisable to take, with regard to the senate.

"No sooner were my age and reason ripe for application, but I turned my thoughts to literature, rather than the exercise of arms and riding: and, as nature had given me greater strength of mind than body, I chose to inure the most able and vigorous part to labour and fatigue; and, in the pursuit of this course, the observations I have made, in my constant application to study, and in the informations of men, as well as books, have thoroughly convinced me, that all empires and states in the world have prosperedand flourished, as long as they pursued wise and wholesome counsels: but, when partiality, fear, and voluptuousness, corrupted those counsels, their strength soon began to decline: then they lost their dominion, and, at last, their liberty.

"I confess it is my settled opinion, that whoever is placed in an eminent station, and has a greater share of property in any state, is ever found to be most concerned for its security and preservation. As to others, they have but one motive to engage their attention—their liberty. But the man who, by virtue and bravery, has acquired riches, fame, and dignity, has those additional incitements. And therefore, whenever he sees any dangers threatening the state, the apprehension alarms his mind, rouses all his thoughts and cares, and excites his utmost pains and labour: his liberty, his glory, his property, are at stake, and he will defend them. His vigilance is seen in all places, his activity in every quarter: for, the more flourishing his circumstances are, when the constitution is secure, the more anxious, the more resolute and vigorous will be his endeavours, when he apprehends it to be in danger. These considerations convince me, that in a constitution, where the people are to put in execution the determinations of the senate, as the body does the dictates of the mind, prudence and policy are indispensable qualifications in the fathers; sagacity and penetration, talents unnecessary in the people.—Our ancestors, though oppressed with grievous wars, held out with unwearied industry, after infinite losses, and when their money was exhausted. Such was their magnanimity, that neither the formidable strength of their enemies, nor the emptiness of their treasury, nor any unprosperous events, could subdue their invincible spirit. The acquisitions they made by virtue they did not part with but with life: and they owed their success, not so much to their courage in the field, as to the wisdom, the boldness, and the constancy, of their counsels. For, in

those happy days, all the members of the commonwealth, firmly cemented together, acted as one man; had no other views but her welfare; entered into no cabals but against the public enemy: and every individual exerted his abilities, both of mind and body, not to aggrandize himself, but his country. Far different are the practices which prevail in this age; for now a set of noblemen, enervated with indolence and sloth, who never faced an enemy in battle; unexperienced in war, unacquainted with military toils and hardships, trained up to faction only within the walls of the city; arrogantly usurp sovereign authority over all the nations upon earth: whilst the fathers whose salutary counsels have hitherto preserved the state in all her difficulties, are driven, like the waves of the sea, this way or that, by arbitrary impulse; one day enact laws, the next repeal them, just as it suits the caprice, the resentments, and arrogance of these lordly oppressors; for that alone is allowed to be the rule to estimate public good or evil.

"But if now, in your regulations, you restore to the senators their common privileges and equal liberty, or contrive for them some secret method of giving their suffrages, then would the exorbitant power some of the nobility possess soon be diminished and the commonwealth would rise again and prosper. But though an attempt to bring the interest and influence of the whole body upon a level may be thought impracticable, since some of them made their entrance into the world upon the bottom of anticipated honours and dignity, and a numerous train of clients; whereas the generality of others, senators not by descent but creation, cannot have, in all respects, equal influence and advantages: yet they should, at least, be freed from any restraint of awe or terror in giving their suffrages. When every one can thus act, as it were, in obscurity, then the dread of any man's arrogant power will no longer force him to comply with measures prejudicial to his own interest and liberty. Liberty is a jewel of high estimation; the worthy and the unworthy, the coward and the brave, equally love and admire it. But admired as it is, we often see men alarmed by the dread of superior strength, tamely give up that inestimable treasure to the demands of a public robber. Weak and infatuated man! Liberty or bondage is the subject of contention; and whilst the victory is yet uncertain, they receive the ignominious yoke, the worst lot that could have befallen them, had their resistance been unsuccessful.

"Two expedients, therefore, I would propose to confirm the senatorial power; first to augment their number, and then to make it a rule that each shall give his suffrage by tablets. By the one, every man being screened under the protection of a veil, will not be intimidated from acting according to the dictates of his own mind. By the other, the additional numbers will be an additional service and security to the state. For such is our present situation, that our public deliberations are very ill attended: some few are engaged in judicial offices; some are taken up with domestic concerns or the service of their friends; but the more general cause of their absence is, not so much any other avocation, as the intolerable arrogance of those lofty oppressors, who have usurped such exorbitant power: for now some of the ancient nobility, with a few of the new-created senators, whom they have taken in as a farther support to the faction, censure, approve, and decree, by their own absolute authority; and act, in every instance, just as their own arbitrary will inclines them. But, if you augment the number of senators, and oblige them to give their suffrages by tablets, then would those haughty rulers soon abate their arrogance, when they found they must submit to the determination of those very men, over whom they have exercised such rigorous, such despotic sway.

"When you have examined these expedients, you may perhaps, ask me, what number it is advisable to add to the senatorial order; and in what manner, and for what purposes, I would advise the distribution of them into their several parts and distinct offices: and, as I have proposed the committing the judicial proceedings to the first class of the people, in what form they should be distributed, and what shall be the number of each different division? It would not be difficult to draw up a particular plan; but I thought it advisable, first to propose a general scheme, and to have your approbation of that, before I proceed farther. If you think my expedients just and true in general, you will find the rest very easy and obvious. I will not deny that I have a strong ambition to see the justness and propriety of these regulations confirmed by their happy consequences: for, from your success and prosperity, I shall expect to derive some share of glory and reputation to myself. But yet, far greater is my desire, much more ardent my passion, to see the commonwealth restored, whatever expedients are used, with as much expedition as it can possibly be effected. Liberty is a happiness I prefer infinitely above the highest acquisitions of

fame and glory: and let me entreat, let me beseech and exhort you, now that you have raised yourself to the highest military renown, and gloriously triumphed over the warlike nation of the Gauls, not to suffer the mighty Roman empire, hitherto invincible, to perish and decay, or be dissolved by civil wars or inveterate discord. Should such a calamity happen through your fault, be assured, Cæsar, that, neither day nor night, will you be free from pungent remorse; the sense of such a corroding guilt will ever disturb your rest, and your afflicted mind will be incessantly racked with madness and despair. For I look upon it as an incontestable truth, that the Deity constantly inspects the actions of all the human race; nor will the virtues or vices of any one pass unregarded; but, agreeably to the different nature of them, they will be followed by a different retribution. These may not, indeed, be the immediate effects, but they are the constant expectation of every man, arising from the consciousness of his actions.

"Imagine now that the genius of Rome, attended by your ancestors, were to accost you at this important crisis; you would hear them delivering their sentiments in the following strain: 'Remember, Cæsar, that it is from us you derive your descent, from a race of virtuous and valiant heroes. We gave thee existence in this flourishing city, to be the support of our dignity, a strength to our establishment, and a terror to our adversaries. And when from us you received your life, you received, with it, all the acquisitions, which were the fruits of our infinite toils and perils, a country the most powerful and extensive, a place and family the most illustrious in that country; to all which, we took care to add many excellent accomplishments, joined to an affluent fortune, acquired with honour; in short, all the felicities that adorn a settled peace, all the rewards that crown a successful war. Think not that in return for these extensive obligations, we require from thee any undertaking inconsistent with virtue and probity. No—what we expect at thy hands is the restoration of fallen liberty. Accomplish this, and every corner of the universe will instantly be filled with the applause of such a virtuous achievement. What! though you have already given many illustrious proofs of great abilities, both in your civil and military capacity, yet in this, Cæsar, thou art not singular; there are many brave, magnanimous spirits, who have arrived to the same degree of glory.

"'But, if you would surpass all others, arise now and rescue, from the brink of ruin, this most renowned, this mighty empire. Then, indeed, wilt thou rise to matchless greatness, and in thine unrivalled lustre! But should a different fate attend this state, should it perish through the malignity of the distemper that afflicts it; who sees not that universal wars, desolation, and slaughter, will attend her fall? But if you feel a generous ardour to do the most acceptable service to us and to your country, assert the liberty of the commonwealth, and save the sinking state: then will succeeding ages view thee exalted above all the human race, and even after death, with singular felicity, gathering fresh laurels of praise. For it sometimes happens that the clouds of adverse fortune cast a shade on living grandeur, and oftentimes the blasts of envy check its growth. But, when the hero yields to fate, malice and detraction expiring with him, his merit becomes more and more conspicuous, and daily rises to higher degrees of fame and glory.'

"Thus, Cæsar, I have presented you with a brief plan of such regulations as, I apprehend, will contribute most to the public good, and your own interest. But, whatever scheme you think proper to pursue, I beseech the immortal gods that it may have a prosperous event, and that both you and your country may reap the fruits of your successful endeavours."

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF SALLUST TO C. JULIUS CÆSAR CONCERNING THE REGULATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

"It heretofore prevailed, as an established truth, that kingdoms and empires, and whatever other objects men eagerly pursue, were only the gifts of fortune; since they were often capriciously bestowed upon the undeserving, and never enjoyed by any without a sensible diminution and decay. But experience has convinced us that Appius the poet was not mistaken when he said, that every man is the architect of his own fortune. In you, especially, Cæsar, is this maxim verified; in you, who have so far surpassed all others, that sooner were men wearied in celebrating your glorious actions, than you in performing them. But still, as in the finished works of architecture, so in the acquisitions of heroic virtue, the utmost attention is required; if they are neglected, their beauty will soon be impaired; or, for want of care to support them, the noblest structures may fall to ruin. For it is not without reluctance that any man submits to the sovereign authority of another; and, however just and mild

he may be in the exercise of such power, still we are apt to be under apprehensions of oppression from him whose situation enables him to oppress when he pleases. Nor are such apprehensions without foundation; for those who get the reins of government into their hands are, in their conduct, generally influenced by an absurd maxim, that, the more base and degenerate the people are, the more secure is the power of the sovereign. But far different ought to be your measures, Cæsar; and, as you yourself are virtuous and brave, who are to give laws, it is highly expedient to make the people so, who are to receive them. For the worst of men are always found most impatient under the restraints of government.

"Indeed, when I consider, that the exercise of your power in the course of the war, has been more gentle than that of others in the times of peace: when I see your victorious troops demanding the gratification of plundering the conquered; and when I consider, that the conquered are your fellow-citizens; I must confess that these difficulties, which you have to encounter in settling your conquests, are greater than any, before you, have met with. But out of these difficulties you must resolve to extricate yourself, and settle the commonwealth upon a firm establishment for the future; an undertaking to be effected, not so much by the force of arms, or by triumphs over enemies, as by a method much more noble as well as difficult; by the wholesome institutions of laws, and the sanctions of discipline and peace. An affair, therefore, of such high importance, calls upon all, not only those of eminent abilities, but also those who are less distinguished, to communicate their sentiments, and offer the best advice in their power: for it is my opinion, that the future happiness or misery of Rome entirely depends upon the methods you take in settling your victories.

"That this great end may be more easily and effectually accomplished, I beg your attention to a few things, which occur to my thoughts upon this occasion.

"You have been engaged, illustrious general, in a war against an eminent adversary, a man of immense wealth and boundless ambition; but more distinguished by his fortune than any prudence and sagacity in his conduct. Amongst his adherents, some few followed his arms, whose enmity to you had no other foundation than the injustice they had done you: others were drawn to his party by the tie of affinity, or some personal obligation. Not one of them had any share in his power; for, could he have submitted to a participation of dominion, the whole world would not have felt the shock of a devouring war. The rest of his party, the vast multitudes of the common people, that were in his camp, were drawn thither, not so much by their own judgment, as by the prevailing example of others, whom they looked upon as more discerning than themselves." [The evidence of these truths we have already seen in the course of this history.] "In this juncture, a set of wretches, whose infamous luxury had left nothing unpolluted, encouraged by malicious reports, with the hopes of seizing the commonwealth, came over to your camp; and there, without any reserve, threatened death and rapine, and all the miseries of unrestrained licentiousness, to those who engaged in neither party. But many of them, when they found you would neither cancel their debts, nor suffer your fellow-citizens to be treated as public enemies, withdrew from your camp. Some few of them, indeed, still remained, imagining they should enjoy greater ease and security there than they could in the city: so terrible an apprehension had they of the power and rage of creditors. It is almost incredible what numbers, and what men of high rank and distinction, went over to Pompey also upon the very same motives; and, during the whole course of the war, adhered to him as a sacred and inviolable sanctuary to people under such difficulties and distresses.

"Now as the success of your arms has made you the arbiter of war and peace; that you may put such an end to the one, as may be a demonstration of your regard to your fellow-citizens, and make the other as honourable and lasting as possible; consider well what are the most advisable steps for the regulation of your own conduct; since it is on you only that this affair entirely depends. It is my opinion that the rigid exercise of power tends rather to render it vexatious and uneasy, than firm and lasting; nor is it possible for any man to make himself an object of dread to the many, but, at the same time, a reciprocal dread of the many must recoil upon himself. And to be in such a situation, is to be eternally involved in a state of warfare on all sides perilous: for, to whatever quarter you betake yourself, no security is to be found, surrounded as you are with continual dangers, and alarmed with terrible apprehensions. Very different is the situation of those, whose power is tempered with mildness, and moderated by humanity and benevolence! Every thing around them appears fair, flourishing, and happy; and the very enemies of the nation shew them more favour and esteem than those of a contrary character meet with from their own citizens. And can any one say that I am prompted to give

this advice by a partial regard to the conquered party, or a sinister view to detract from the glory of your triumphs? No doubt I deserve this censure, for declaring that such treatment as foreign nations, nations naturally our foes, have met with from us and our ancestors, ought not to be denied to our fellow-citizens, and that we Romans should not, like savage barbarians, insist upon the retaliation of blood and slaughter.

"Have they then forgot the reproaches they lately cast upon Pompey, and upon Sylla's cruel use of victory? How Domitius, Carbo, and Brutus, with several others, were slain; that they fell not, when under arms in the field; not in the heat of battle, by the common calamity of war; but, after that was over, even when they were supplicating mercy, they were most inhumanly murdered by Pompey. Have they forgot how the people of Rome were, like so many cattle, butchered in the field of Mars? Bloody and inhuman has been the use other conquerors, before you, have made of their victories! Dreadful were the scenes of private slaughters, unexpected massacres, women flying into the bosoms of their children, and children into the bosoms of their parents, and in all quarters our habitations plundered and demolished! The very men who acted this bloody part would now persuade you to pursue the same measures; as if the only motive of the war had been, whether you or Pompey should have an arbitrary power of oppressing mankind; as if you had not restored the commonwealth, but seized it as a prey of your successful arms; and as if the flower of our army, and the choicest of our veteran troops, took up arms against brethren and parents, and some even against their own offspring, from this motive only, that the most abandoned of men might, from the calamities of others, procure means to indulge their insatiable appetites, or that their enormous lives might reflect dishonour on the worthy men engaged in the same cause, and so stain the glory of their conquests. I venture to speak thus, because I am persuaded you are no stranger to the conduct of every individual amongst them, and how far they observed the rules of moderation, even when the event of the war was uncertain; and how some of them gave such a loose to debauchery and licentious festivity, in the very field of battle, as men of their years could not have indulged themselves in, without a blemish to their reputation, even in time of peace and tranquillity.

"I see no occasion to say any more of the disposition of military affairs.

"As to the establishing of peace, since that is the great point you and your friends have in view; consider, in the first place, I beseech you, the nature of the affair now under deliberation: for thus, by distinctly separating the arguments on both sides, you will, of course, open a way to right measures. I own, when I reflect with myself, that whatever had a beginning has naturally a determined period, I am persuaded, that, whenever the fatal destruction of Rome's empire approaches, it can only happen when her citizens are harassed with intestine wars: in that critical juncture, when their strength is worn out and their spirits exhausted, they will fall a prey to some foreign prince or state. But, were it possible to preserve harmony amongst ourselves, the whole world, all the nations of the earth in confederacy, would not be able to diminish or shake this mighty empire. Therefore, to secure all the advantages of unanimity, and to remove and prevent all the mischiefs of dissensions and divisions, is the great point that requires your perpetual attention. The best way to effect this, is to give a check to the fashionable vices of licentious profuseness and rapine; not by reinforcing those obsolete laws, which the depravity of the times has rendered contemptible; but by obliging every man to live within the bounds of his fortune. For now a prevailing custom has taught the Roman youth to look upon it as a laudable and gallant behaviour to squander away, not only their own, but other men's fortunes; and to deny themselves, or their dependants, no sort of gratification whatsoever. This they call manly conduct, this, true greatness of soul; whilst modesty passes for stupidity; and moderation, as the quality of an abject inactive spirit. Possessed with such notions, when once engaged in a profligate course, they run on with unbridled fury; and no sooner do their old supplies fail them, but they fall with impetuous violence, upon our allies, sometimes upon our fellow-citizens, disturb the order and tranquillity of government, and, by any means whatsoever, would raise a new fortune to repair the ruins of the old one.

"Since, therefore, this is the present situation of our affairs, it seems to me absolutely necessary to crush the power of the usurers, that every man may take upon him the management of his own affairs. To effect this the only true and natural method would be to oblige the magistrates, in their judicial proceedings, to promote rather the interest of the people in general, than to favour the narrow interest of the creditors, and to establish their glory and reputation upon their endeavours to add strength to the commonwealth, and not on such measures as tend to diminish it.

"I am very sensible what disgust the first advances in this reformation will give, to those especially, who, after victory, expected rather greater latitude to their licentious inclinations, than any stricter discipline and restraints. But, if you regard more the true interest of the commonwealth than the loose desires of these men, you will prevent their outrageous intentions, and settle both them and us, and all our allies, in a firm state of peace and tranquillity. But, if the youth are permitted to go on in their present pursuits, then will Cæsar's exalted glory soon fall to the ground; and Rome itself will fall with Cæsar. Give me leave to add, that it is with a view of procuring peace, that men of sense and understanding enter into war; and under all the toils and hardships attending it, they are supported by the prospect of future tranquillity. If this great end be not effectually accomplished, what does it avail, whether you conquer or are conquered?

"Wherefore, in the name of the immortal gods, take upon you the care and protection of the commonwealth, and bravely push through all difficulties, with your wonted vigour and resolution. For either you, Cæsar, can heal the wounded state, or it will be in vain for any other to attempt the cure. And what is that we now require at your hands? You are not called to bloody executions, to cruel and rigorous proceedings; methods which would sooner depopulate the state than correct its manners; but only to give a check to the base practices and licentious debauchery of the Roman youth. This, this only, is the true notion of clemency; to prevent such vices as deserve the punishment of expulsion; to put a stop to extravagant follies, and the pursuits of false pleasures; and to establish union and harmony in the state.

"I must confess here, I am sensible, that the greatness of this important undertaking raises doubts and fears in other men; but to me it gives the strongest assurances of success: for matters of small moment are below the notice of so exalted a genius. Great indeed is the task, and great will be the reward, if you accomplish it.

"Now one grand point, which demands your attention, is, that the people, whose minds are at present corrupted, with gifts of corn, and other public largesses, apply themselves to their respective occupations. Such an application would divert their thoughts from giving any disturbance to the government: the youth also should be taught to turn their pursuits from riotous expense, and the thirst of riches, to a course of industry and the study of virtue. And this great end you will accomplish, by putting an effectual stop to the use which men now make of money, and stripping that fruitful source of evils of the esteem it has gained in the world. For, whenever I have examined by what steps illustrious heroes rose to the height of renown, by what means any people enlarged their conquests, and to what causes the ruin of mighty kingdoms and states was to be ascribed; in either case I always discovered the same good or evil cause, constantly producing the same good or evil effects: and that the successful were always such as held riches in contempt; the unsuccessful such as coveted and admired them. Nor, indeed, is there any possible method to rise to glory and immortal fame, but by subduing the thirst of riches and sensual pleasures, and giving a free scope to the exercise of the mind; not fondly soothing and gratifying the demands of unreasonable and corrupt inclinations; but by inuring it to labour and patience, to wholesome discipline and valiant exploits. A man may raise a pompous palace in the town, or villa in the country; he may furnish them with magnificent hangings and statues, with other expensive ornaments, and thus make every thing in them conspicuous, but himself; yet, from the richness of such decorations, he is so far from deriving any honour or glory, that he himself casts a blemish upon their lustre. And, as for such as are so abandoned, that they pass not a day without twice overcharging their stomachs, not a night without dishonouring their bed with polluted embraces; when once the mind, designed by nature to govern and control, is thus become a slave to degenerate passions, in vain will they attempt to rouse her up to exercise, when her vigour is decayed, and her faculties impaired. Men of this character having neither spirit nor abilities, must unavoidably confound and destroy themselves and every scheme they engage in. Now these and all other evils which afflict the state, together with the high value and esteem that is set upon riches, would be effectually cured, if neither the offices of magistracy, nor any other things which are the objects of men's eager pursuits, can hereafter be obtained by the influence of money. Proper care should, at the same time, be taken, that Italy and the provinces be put in a more secure situation; an affair which requires no great penetration to accomplish: the same remedy will answer, where the evil is the same; for there too, as well as in the city, the public ravagers have plundered and

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar's grand designs for the good of the Roman empire. His death and character.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, DICTATOR II. CONSUL V. WITH M. ANTONIUS.

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. 408th consulship. Middl. p. 221.

ON the opening of the new year, Cæsar entered into his fifth consulship, in partnership with M. Antony: he had promised it all along to Dolabella, but, contrary to expectation, took it at last to himself.[z] This was contrived by Antony, who, jealous of Dolabella, as a rival in Cæsar's favour, had been suggesting somewhat to his disadvantage, and labouring to create a diffidence of him in Cæsar; which seems to have been the ground of what is mentioned above, Cæsar's guarding himself so particularly, when he passed by his villa. Dolabella was sensibly touched with this affront, and came full of indignation to the senate, where, not daring to vent his spleen on Cæsar, he entertained the assembly with a severe speech against Antony: which drew on many warm and angry

Philipp. 2. 32.

seized every thing they met with, forsaking their own habitations, and, in violation of all justice and equity, possessing those of other people. It is no less necessary to put a stop to that unjustifiable partiality, which has hitherto prevailed in our army, where some of the people have been forced to bear the fatigue of warfare for thirty years, whilst others have been entirely excused from the service. It is likewise my opinion, that the corn, which has hitherto been usually the reward of the worthless and inactive, should be sent to our municipal towns and colonies, and there distributed to the soldiers when they return home after their discharge from service.

"I have now, as briefly as the case would admit, laid before you such regulations as appear to me most conducive to the good of the commonwealth, as well as your own reputation and glory: and, I apprehend, it will not be improper for me to add a word or two in relation to this my undertaking. There is scarce any man who does not believe himself furnished with all the faculties that make up a true and distinguishing judgment; or, at least, endeavours to make the world believe so: but, certainly, all men in general have so violent a propensity to blast and condemn the performances of others, that the faculties of speech are too slow to utter the quick suggestions of their hearts. That I have laid myself open to such men is a consideration, that does not, in the least, afflict me. Had I been silent on such an occasion, I should have been less able to have borne the reflection. For, whether you pursue the methods I have pointed out, or others occur, which may be thought more advisable, still I have given the best advice I was capable of, and contributed my utmost assistance towards the regulation of the commonwealth.

"I have nothing more to do, but to follow you with my earnest wishes, that whatever measures you pursue may be attended with approbation, and crowned with success by the immortal gods."

[z] There were sixteen prætors this year, the most distinguished of whom were Brutus and Cassius, and six ædiles. Besides the two curule and the two plebeian ædiles, Cæsar had instituted two more, called cereales, who were to have the inspection of corn and all kinds of grain for the provision of the city.

words between them; till Cæsar, to end the dispute, promised to resign the consulship to Dolabella, before he went to the Parthian war. But Antony protested, that, by his authority as augur, he would disturb that election, whenever it should be attempted;[a] and declared, without any scruple, that the ground of his quarrel with Dolabella was, for having caught him in an attempt to debauch his wife Antonia, the daughter of his uncle;[b] though that was thought to be a calumny, contrived to colour his divorce with her, and his late marriage with Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius.

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 46. 408th consulship.

Cæsar, says Plutarch, being born for great achievements, and passionately fond of glory, his continual success was no inducement to him to enjoy the fruits of his labours, but became a spur to animate him to greater enterprises. He grew insensible to present glory, that he might seek fresh honour; and becoming, in a manner, his own rival, he was ambitious by new enterprises and exploits to efface the splendour of his former ones. He had always entertained the thoughts of avenging the death of Crassus, his friend and partner in power; and no sooner had he put an end to the African war, than he openly declared his intention to retrieve the honour of the empire, and made preparations for this expedition,

Plut. in Cæs.

[a] This proves, by the way, that Cæsar kept up the usual forms in the election of magistrates.

[b] Cicero relates, as an aggravating circumstance, that Antony made this dishonourable declaration in the presence of his uncle and father-in-law Antonius: "Omnibus eum [C. Antonium patrem Antoniæ uxoris tuæ] contumeliis onerasti, quem patris loco, si ulla pietas in te esset, colere debebas; filiam ejus, uxorem tuam, ejecisti, alia conditione quæsita et ante perspecta:" [Cicero insinuates, that he was already in good terms with Fulvia, and had determined to marry her] "Non est satis: probri insimulasti pudicissiman fœminam: quid est, quod addi possit? contentus eo non fuisti. Frequentissimo Senatu kalendis Jan. sedente patruo, hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii, dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori et uxori tuæ stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, impudentiorne, qui in Senatu; an improbior, qui in Dolabellum; an impurior, qui patruo audiente; an crudelior, qui in illam miseram, tam spurcè, tam impiè dixeris?" Phil. 2. 38. (Wetzel. p. 370.) Dio, in a speech, which he has composed for Cicero against Calenus, makes his orator reproach Antony with his unkind behaviour to C. Antonius, whom he neither recalled from banishment during Cæsar's administration, nor after his death. Thus the genuine Cicero and the personated Cicero contradict one another. Many observations of the same kind may be made, which evidently prove, that the long invectives which we find in the Greek historian are either the production of his own imagination, or copied from very inaccurate memoirs.

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. 408th consulship.

which the people greatly approved of. After his return from Spain, he sent his legions before him into Macedonia, intending, before he led them into the east, to chastise the Dacj, who had made inroads upon the Roman territory; and, after he had vanquished the Parthians, he proposed to go by Hyrcania to the borders of the Caspian sea, to pass Mount Caucasus, and return, through Scythia, Germany, and Gaul, into Italy, extending and securing on all sides, in his progress, the frontiers of the Roman empire. As this expedition could not be executed in less than two or three years, he appointed consuls and other magistrates for the two following, lest, in his absence, the elections for these offices might raise disturbances in the city. A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa were elected consuls for the next, and D. Brutus and Munacius Plancus for the following year.

The necessary preparations for so grand an enterprise did not divert his attention from the works of peace; various designs, all uncommonly great, employed his thoughts. He laid the foundations of two magnificent edifices for the ornament of the city; a temple to Venus, which, for grandeur, would have exceeded every thing in the world of that kind; and a theatre of immense extent, both which were afterward completed by Augustus. He undertook to rebuild and repair several towns in Italy, to drain the Pomptine marshes, which render, to this day, the air of that part of Italy very unwholesome; to discharge the lake Fucinus; to dig a new bed for the Tiber from Rome to the sea, in order to facilitate the navigation of that river; to form a port at Ostia, capable of receiving the first-rate ships; to make a causey over the Appennine mountains from the Adriatic sea to Rome; to rebuild Corinth and Carthage, whither he had transported colonies of Roman citizens, a project also perfected by Augustus; to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth, to save the seamen the trouble and danger of navigating round the Peloponnesus; and to

take an exact geographical map of the whole Roman empire, with all its roads, and the distances of the towns. He also employed the learned Varro to collect a library of all the Greek and Latin authors, which he intended for the use of the public, and which was placed by Augustus in the temple of Apollo on Mount Palatine. In fine, he formed the design of abridging the collection of Roman laws, and, out of that immense and extravagant bulk into which they had swelled, to draw together in a small compass the best and most necessary.

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. 408th consulship.

Thus was Cæsar continually looking round him from his dictatorial chair, how best to acquit himself of his duty, and to sustain the dignity of his office; filling up the greatest posts of trusts and honour with men of eminence, courage, and capacity; relying, entirely, without any guards, upon the affections of the people, when a dire conspiracy was formed against his life, which deprived mankind of the benefit of such universal benevolence, and was as fatal to those who engaged in it.

We are told by the ancient historians, Suetonius, Plutarch, and Dio, who have evidently taken their accounts from Pompeian memoirs, that Cæsar's usual prudence entirely failed him at once; and, as if the height to which he was mounted had turned his head and made him giddy, he ran mad after the appellation of king; and, when he was actually possessed, in quality of dictator, emperor, and master of manners, of all the power of the empire, was not still content without a title, which could add nothing to him but envy and popular odium. The proofs of this heavy charge lie in the following facts: on the 26th of January, returning with the pomp of an ovation, decreed him by the senate, from Mount Albanus, where he had celebrated the *Feriæ Latinæ*, amidst the acclamations of the people, he was saluted king by some in the throng, and, at the same time, a royal diadem, with a crown of laurel, was

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. — 408th consulship.

fixed upon one of his statues. The multitude, says Plutarch, was silent, and seemed abashed, and Cæsar was forced to answer, "My name is Cæsar, not king:" and it was remarked that he passed on with an air of sullenness and dissatisfaction, as one disappointed of his expectations. Epidius Marullus and Cæsetius Flavus, two tribunes of the people, ordered the diadem to be taken down, and committed to prison the man who had put it round the head of the statue, declaring that they would also punish those who had dared to style him king; for that Cæsar refused and abhorred that title. Cæsar, says Suetonius, was much concerned that the mention of his advancement to the royal dignity had been made with so little success, or, as he pretended, that he had been thus deprived by the tribunes of the honour of refusing it: "he accused them before the senate of a design to raise a sedition against him, by
Dio, 44. persuading the city that he really affected to be a king;" but, when the senate was going to pass the severest sentence against them, he was content with deposing them from their magistracy, and expelling them from the senate. From that day, adds Suetonius, he was never able to wipe away the scandal of affecting the name of king.[c]

But the dictator's intentions are supposed to have been clearly manifested by Antony's bold attempt a few days after, on the 15th of February, when the festival of the *lupercalia* was celebrated. Cæsar, in his triumphal robe, being seated upon his golden chair in the rostra, to see the diversion of the running, Antony, then consul, in the midst of the sport, at the head of the *luperci*, made him the offer of a royal diadem, and essayed several times to put it upon his head. Cæsar as often rejected it, and at last sent it away to the Capitol, proclaiming,

[c] Is not this a strange inference? Cæsar charges the two tribunes with a design of making him odious and raising a sedition, by persuading the city, that he really affected the royal title: the senate condemns the tribunes as guilty of this crime: therefore Cæsar most certainly affected the royal title.

that Jupiter was the only king of the Romans: and Antony had it entered into the public acts, "that, by the command of the people, as consul, he had offered the name of king to Cæsar, perpetual dictator, and that Cæsar would not accept of it."[d] Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. 408th consulship.

Notwithstanding so public and solemn a refusal of the royal diadem, Cæsar is supposed to have still prosecuted the scheme of getting himself called king, and to have had recourse to the ministers of religion, in order to gain his end. A prophecy was found in the Sibylline books, warning the Romans, "that the Parthians could never be conquered but by a king:" and it was whispered that L. Cotta, one of the guardians of these books, was appointed to lay the oracle before the senate, and to propose that, since their most mortal enemies could not be vanquished but by a king, Cæsar should have that title conferred upon him. But this was no more than a rumour, according to Cicero, Suetonius, and Dio.[e]

[d] Cæsar, it is said, was angry with the tribunes Marullus and Flavus for depriving him of the honour of refusing the crown: if so, and if we must believe that the offering of the crown on the festival of the *lupercalia* was not a mere frolic of Antony's, but a thing concerted between him and Cæsar; then I do not see what absurdity there is in supposing, that Cæsar took this means to retrieve his honour, and make a public and solemn declaration, that he did not affect the kingly title, in contradiction to the invidious rumours spread by his enemies.

[e] Dr. Middleton gives us this rumour for certain fact, and tells us, that Cæsar's impatience to be a king accelerated his fate, and pushed on the nobles, who had conspired against his life, to the immediate execution of their plot; that they might save themselves the shame of being forced to concur in an act which they heartily detested: and the two Brutuses, in particular, the honour of whose house was founded in the extirpation of kingly government, could not but consider it as a personal infamy and a disgrace to their very name, to suffer the restoration of it.—Now, to my apprehension, there is in these facts and rumours no proof of Cæsar's having affected the royal title. It is quite improbable in itself, and it is not to be admitted, but upon the strongest evidence, that so great a man as Cæsar should lay so much stress upon a title; which, so far, it is owned, from being an honour to him, seemed rather a diminution of his dignity: and I cannot but approve of our late poet-laureat's reasoning on this accusation: "It has never been proved, that the offering the crown to Cæsar was a previously concerted expedient between him and Antony to feel the pulse of the people: to shorten the question then, let us suppose all this to be fact, and see what will come out of it; not more than this, sure, that Cæsar had a mind to be king, provided it could be with the consent of the people; but, when he found it was disagreeable to them, he troubled himself no farther about it. And why ought we not, with equal reason, to believe, that, in Cæsar's refusing the crown, he was as much governed by his affection to the people, as by his fear of them? If we allow then that Cæsar would not have been displeased, had the people called upon him to be king, it is as much as we can, in conscience, charge him with. But, if it is insisted, that he had set his heart upon the title, it will be taking too much from the intrepidity of Cæsar to suppose he would not, at any hazard, have gratified his ambition. When he had once made himself master of the Roman world, could there be any great dif- Middl. p. 225. Cibber, p. 215.

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. — 408th consulship. Sen. de Ira, 3. 30.

It is hard to believe that Cæsar either laid so much stress upon an empty, odious title, or that Brutus, Cassius, and their associates, were excited by these facts to conspire against his life. Other motives will account more naturally for the conspiracy: those of the Pompeian faction, who engaged in this conspiracy, were under the influence of an animosity which Cæsar's clemency could not disarm; those of his own party who entered into it were guided by an insatiable avarice, which no rewards could satisfy; the hopes of plunder, by throwing the state again into confusion, had weight with many; and, in relation in particular to Cassius and Brutus, the loss of liberty was less afflicting to them, than that they must depend upon a superior for preferment; a grievance which Cæsar could not soften by laying them under the greatest obligations. Cassius, it is thought, was the first contriver of the design,[f] and imparted his thoughts to some of his friends before he communicated them to Brutus; but, upon their telling him that it was of the

ficulty in his giving what name he pleased to his office? It is not easy, therefore, to conceive, that the solid sense of Cæsar could be very anxious about a title, which neither the want nor the acquisition of, could lessen the glory or add to the honour of his station. The power of it he was secure of, and no title could enlarge it. But take the power from the regal title, and it will signify no more than the word king in a dictionary. And, though a great deal of stress has been laid upon this point, as the most unpardonable mark of Cæsar's ambition, I cannot see why his desire or his indifference to be a king, gives him a jot more or less to answer for: for, if his bringing order into so distracted a state, will not excuse his making himself perpetual dictator, his being made a king could not have been at all a better or worse reason for destroying him."

[f] C. Cassius was descended from one of the most ancient and honourable families of the republic. He is said to have shewn a remarkable instance, when a boy, of his high spirit and love of liberty; for he gave Sylla's son Faustus a box on the ear for bragging, among his schoolfellows, of his father's greatness and absolute power; and when Pompey called the boys before him to give an account of their quarrel, he declared, in his presence, that, if Faustus should dare to repeat the words, he would repeat the blow. In his later years he was converted from stoicism to be a follower of Epicurus; maintaining that the pleasure, which his master recommended, was to be found only in the habitual practice of justice and virtue. While he professed himself, therefore, an Epicurean, he lived like a stoic; was moderate in pleasures, temperate in diet, and a water-drinker through life. He married Tertia, the sister of Brutus, with whom he was strictly united in friendship and politics. We have seen his gallant behaviour against the Parthians after Crassus's death, and his conduct in the civil war. The ancient historians gave him the character of a brave, witty, and learned man; but passionate, fierce, and cruel: and they have assigned very frivolous reasons of disgust, as the motives of his killing Cæsar: "That Cæsar took a number of lions from him, which he had provided for a public show; that he would not give him the consulship; that he gave Brutus the more honourable prætorship in preference to him." Middl. p. 229.

greatest importance to have a man of Brutus's reputation and credit[g] at the head of the enterprise, and that they would not otherwise engage in it, he immediately made him privy to it. Brutus entered into it readily; and we are told, that he was spurred on by several billets and inscriptions, reproaching him with his inaction. In one left upon his prætorial tribunal, was written, "You are asleep, Brutus, you are no true Brutus." Upon the pedestal of the statue of the elder Brutus were found the following words: "Would thou couldst come to life again!" and under the statue of Cæsar, "Brutus, for having expelled the kings, was made the first consul; and this man, for having expelled the consuls, is now beome our king." Cassius and Brutus admitted to the number of sixty accomplices; the chief of whom were Trebonius, Decimus Brutus, Q. Ligarius, Servius Galba, C. and P. Servilius Casca, Tillius Cimber, and Minucius Basilus. Plutarch, among many other improbable circumstances, relates, that the conspirators had thoughts

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[g] M. Junius Brutus pretended to derive his name and descent in a direct line from that first consul, L. Brutus, who expelled Tarquin, and gave freedom to the Roman people; and Atticus paid him the compliment to draw up his genealogy. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and other writers, do not allow him this illustrious original; because, for upwards of 200 years, the Roman history mentions none but a plebeian of that name, who was one of the first tribunes of the people; and when afterward the Brutuses were raised to the first dignities of the state, they were looked upon as a new race of people. However, at the time we are speaking of, as this family had enjoyed for two centuries, the first honours and posts of the state, it is no wonder that the opinion favourable to the pretension of Brutus prevailed. He was now one-and-forty years old, being born in the consulship of L. Cornelius Cinna III. and Cn. Papirius Carbo, A. U. 668; which fully confutes, as Dr. Middleton observes, the vulgar story of his being commonly believed to be Cæsar's son: since he was but fifteen years younger than Cæsar himself: whose familiarity with his mother Servilia cannot be supposed to have commenced till many years after Brutus was born; or not till Cæsar had lost his first wife Cornelia, whom he married when he was very young, and always tenderly loved; and whose funeral oration he made when he was quæstor, and consequently thirty years old. Brutus, having lost his father when very young, was trained, with great care, by his uncle Cato, in all the studies of polite letters, especially of eloquence and philosophy. He had excellent parts and equal industry, and acquired an early fame at the bar, where he pleaded several causes of great importance, and was esteemed the most eloquent and learned of all the young nobles. His manner of speaking was correct, elegant, and judicious, yet wanting that force and copiousness which are required in a consummate orator. But philosophy was his favourite study; in which, though he professed himself of the more moderate sect of the old Academy, yet, from a certain pride and gravity of temper, he affected the severity of the stoic. Whether he was a man of so much mildness, such strict probity, and consummate virtue, as Plutarch pretends, his actions must evince. His credit, at this time, was due to his birth, his alliances, his talents, perhaps too his riches, which he increased with great application and industry. See vol. 5. p. 198. note.

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of letting Antony into the secret, who was upon very good terms with several of them; but that Trebonius opposed it, telling them that he had sounded Antony at Narbonne, when Cæsar was on his return from the Spanish war, and that he very well understood his meaning but did not seem inclined to engage with him; though he was sure he had inviolably kept his secret.[h] The same author adds, that though Brutus did not think it safe to trust Cicero with the design of the conspiracy, on account of his want of resolution, he yet mentioned it to his wife Porcia.[i]

The conspirators had debated whether they should kill him in the Campus Martius, in the eyes of all the people, while he was taking their votes at the election of the magistrates; or in the Via Sacra, or at the entrance of the theatre, or in the senate-house; and at length

[h] Cicero (Phil. 2. 14.) affirms, that Antony assented to Trebonius's proposal.—"Quamquam si interfici Cæsarem voluisse, crimen est, vide, quæso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob ejus consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te à Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem (vide quam tecum agam non inimicè) quod benè cogitasti aliquando, laudo: quod non indicasti, gratias ago: quod non fecisti, ignosco." (Wetzel. p. 342.)

[i] Plutarch tells a very pretty tale upon this occasion, and we find it also in Dio. Brutus, having undertaken the management of so hazardous an enterprise, on which depended the liberty of Rome, and the fortunes of many virtuous and noble families, was so far master of himself as to preserve an air of serenity during the day and in public; but, when he retired to his family, and during the night, he could not maintain the same show of inward peace and tranquillity; and Porcia (his new wife, who had robbed Claudia of his heart) could easily perceive that his breast laboured with some great design, some agonizing care, which he endeavoured to conceal. As she loved him tenderly, she was desirous to share with him his care and trouble; but before she ventured to put any question to him, she resolved to make a very extraordinary trial of her constancy. She took a small knife, and having sent her women out of the room, thrust it into her thigh. The wound bled copiously, and the violent pain was quickly succeeded by a fever. Brutus was in the utmost consternation, and knew not what to think. Then Porcia, in the extremity of her sufferings, thus addressed him: "Brutus, I am Cato's daughter, and was given you not merely to share your bed and table as a mistress, but to partake of your good or ill fortune. Your behaviour to me hitherto has been irreproachable. But how can I serve you, or in what manner can I prove my sense of your goodness, unless in assisting you to support a latent uneasiness, which disturbs your rest; why then am I denied your confidence? Women, indeed, have no great reputation for secrecy: but a good education and suitable company have great influence on the dispositions and tempers, even of women: and who has a better right to make a merit of these advantages, than Cato's daughter and Brutus's wife? However, I rely not on any preconceived opinion of my resolution, but have, by experiment, convinced myself that pain cannot subdue my courage." She then pointed to the wound she had given herself, and declared, that she had no other motive for putting herself to that torture, than to make a trial of her constancy. Brutus, transported with admiration, lifted his hands to heaven, and implored the immortal gods to crown his enterprise with success, that he might live to be a husband worthy of such a wife; and immediately let her into the whole secret of the conspiracy.

they determined on the last place, as the most proper, and fixed on the ides of March as the time when they would execute their design. They did not doubt but that the senate would applaud the act when done, and even assist, if there was occasion, in doing it;[k] and there was a circumstance which particularly encouraged them, that it happened to be Pompey's senate-house, in which their attempt was to be made; and where Cæsar would consequently fall at the feet of Pompey's statue, as a sacrifice to the manes of that aristocratic chief. They took it also for granted that the people would be generally on their side; yet, for their greater security, D. Brutus gave orders to arm his gladiators that morning, as if for some public show; that they might be ready, on the first notice, to secure the avenues of the senate, and defend them from any sudden violence; and Pompey's theatre, which adjoined to the senate-house, being the properest place for the exercise of the gladiators, would cover all suspicion that might arise from them. The only deliberation that perplexed them, and on which they were much divided, was, whether they should not kill Antony also and Lepidus, together with Cæsar; especially Antony, who was consul, and the more likely to create fresh danger to the commonwealth. Cassius, with a majority of the company, was warmly for killing them; but the two Brutuses as warmly opposed and finally overruled it: they alleged, that to shed more blood than was necessary would disgrace their cause, and draw upon them an imputation of cruelty;[l] and of acting, not as patriots, but as partisans of Pompey; not so much

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Plut. in Cæs. App. 2. 499. 502. Dio, 247, 248.

[k] If the conspirators thought so, then Cæsar had not filled up the senate with a very great number of Gauls and other barbarians.

[l] Cicero often laments, in his letters, this fatal mistake, Ep. Fam. 10. 28. Melm. 13. 7. "Would to heaven you had invited me to that noble feast which you made on the ides of March: no remnants, most assuredly, should have been left behind. Whereas the part you unluckily spared gives us so much perplexity, that we find something to regret, even in the godlike service which you and your illustrious associates have lately rendered to the republic. To say the truth, when I reflect that it is owing to the favour of so worthy a man as yourself, that Antony now lives to be our general bane; I am sometimes inclined to be a little angry with you for taking him aside, when Cæsar fell."

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As these intrigues could not be conducted so secretly as not to give some cause of suspicion, Cæsar, if we believe Plutarch, received information of the nightly meetings of the conspirators: and one day, when he was cautioned to be upon his guard against Antony and Dolabella, he answered, "It is not those plump, jolly, curled fellows that I am afraid of; it is of the pale, meagre ones:" under which description he glanced at Cassius and Brutus. Brutus, in particular, adds the same historian, appeared formidable to him, on account of his courage, severity, and natural impetuosity: but, when he reflected on his probity and honour, his apprehensions disappeared: and, when he was advised not to trust him too far, "What! (said he, clapping his hand to his breast) do you think that Brutus will not stay till this debilitated carcass has finished its career?" Cæsar had resolved to trust to fortune, and was often heard to say that he had rather die once by treachery, than live always in fear of it; that he had lived long enough, and that, by his death, the empire would be a greater loser than himself. The very night before his assassination, being at supper in Lepidus's house, he maintained, that the most eligible death was that which was least expected.

Suet. 81. Plut. in Cæs. In the morning of the fatal day, we are told, that Cæsar, finding himself indisposed, was inclined to put off the assembly; to which he is said by Suetonius and Plutarch to have been likewise moved by many prodigies that had lately happened, and a dream that his wife Calpurnia had that very night, in which she saw him stabbed in her bosom;[m] but D. Brutus, by rallying those fears

[m] Suetonius's account of the prodigies is as follows, c. 81. "Cæsar had warning given him of his approaching fate by several plain prodigies. A few months before, when some of the colony which he had settled at Capua were pulling down some old

as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alleging that his absence would be interpreted as an affront to the assembly, drew him out against his will to meet his destined fate. Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. 408th consulship.

M. Brutus and Cassius appeared according to custom in the forum, sitting in their prætorian tribunals to hear and determine causes; where, though they had daggers under their gowns, they sat with the same calmness as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of Cæsar's coming out to the senate called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act. Plutarch, who never fails to give us every circumstance, that can make his relation more interesting, whether it be founded on good authority or not, tells us, that, when Cæsar came out of his house, a slave endeavoured to get near and speak to him; but, not having been able Plut. in Cæs.

sepulchres, and were the busier in that work, because they found some vessels of antique workmanship, a table of brass was discovered in a monument wherein Capys, the founder of Capua, was said to be buried, with an inscription in Greek words and letters, to this effect: 'That, whenever the bones of Capys came to be uncovered, a descendant from Iulus would be slain by the hands of his relations, and his death revenged by dreadful devastations throughout all Italy.' And this account, lest any one should think it an idle story, comes from Cornelius Balbus, an intimate friend of Cæsar." [An excellent reason why it should not be a forgery to raise the spirits of the veterans, and justify, in the eyes of the lower sort, the vengeance of Cæsar's death.] "A few days before his death, some horses, which, upon his passing the Rubicon, he had consecrated and turned loose to graze without any keeper, would take no food, and wept plentifully.—The soothsayer Spurinna warned him, as he was sacrificing, to look to himself, otherwise some mischief would befal him before the ides of March were over.—The day before the said ides, birds of several kinds from a neighbouring grove, pursuing a wren that flew into Pompey's senate-house, with a sprig of laurel in his bill, tore it there to pieces.—The night before the day of his being slain, he dreamed that he was got above the clouds and shaking hands with Jupiter: and his wife Calpurnia fancied in her sleep that the top of the house was coming down, and her husband stabbed in her bosom: and immediately the chamber doors flew open."

Cicero, de Div. l. 1. 52. l. 2. 16. relates one of the most remarkable prodigies said to have happened at this time: "That as Cæsar was sacrificing, a little before his death, with great pomp and splendour, in his triumphal robes and golden chair, the victim, which was a fat ox, was found to be without a heart: and when Cæsar seemed to be shocked at it, Spurinna, the haruspex, admonished him to beware, lest, through a failure of counsel, his life should be cut off, since the heart was the seat and source of them both. The next day he sacrificed again, in hopes to find the entrails more propitious: but the liver of the bullock appeared to want its head, which was reckoned also among the direful omens." These facts, which are ridiculed by Cicero, were probably invented after Cæsar's death. If they really happened, they were contrived by Cæsar's friends, and the heart and head of the liver conveyed away by some artifice, to give them a better pretence of enforcing their admonitions, and putting Cæsar upon his guard against dangers which they really apprehended, from quite different reasons than the pretended denunciation of the gods. Seutonius writes, that on this, or a like occasion, Cæsar's answer was, "that the entrails should be more favourable when he pleased, and that it ought not to be looked upon as an ill omen, if a beast wanted a heart."

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to pierce the crowd that attended him, he went into the house and desired Calpurnia to secure him till Cæsar's return, because he had something to communicate to him of the greatest importance. In the way to the senate-house, Artemidorus, a Greek philosopher, put into his hands a paper containing a circumstantial account of the whole plot, and said to him: "Read this, and lose no time, for it concerns you much." This man, who assisted several of Brutus's friends in the prosecution of their studies, had made several discoveries; but Cæsar, surrounded as he was by his courtiers, could not read the contents, and entered the senate-house with the paper in his hand. Many circumstances gave the conspirators great alarms, and put their fortitude to the test. An acquaintance of Casca came up to him and said, "You thought to be very secret, but Brutus has acquainted me of the whole affair." Just as Casca was going to make a reply which would have discovered all, the other added: "What then, my friend, are you on a sudden grown rich enough to stand for the ædileship!" Casca shuddered at the danger he had escaped. M. Brutus himself had a most violent shock: word was brought him that his dearly beloved Porcia was at the point of death: for, as the moment of her husband's hazardous enterprise drew near, she was seized with a deadly panic. Brutus, however, shewed himself a true descendant of that hero who sacrificed his own children to the liberty of his country, and the same spirit overruled now in him every other affection. In fine, Cæsar arrives; and, as he came out of his litter, Popilius Lænas, a senator, made up to him and talked with him with much earnestness, and the dictator seemed to give much attention to what he delivered. This Popilius, a little time before, had been with Brutus and Cassius, and said to them, "I wish your design may succeed, and I advise you not to defer it; for there are several private accounts of it." The conspirators did

not doubt, therefore, but that they were discovered and betrayed. A universal consternation reigned among our intrepid assassins; they looked at each other, and agreed by signs not to wait till they were seized; but to stab themselves in order to avoid the ignominy of a public execution; and already Cassius and some others had laid their hands to their poniards; when Brutus, observing that the gesture and attitude of Popilius was rather that of a supplicant than an accuser, perceived his error, and by the serenity of his countenance, made the others understand that they had nothing to fear. At length Popilius kissed the dictator's hand and withdrew.

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Cæsar went forward, and a number of the conspirators surrounded and conducted him to the curule chair: whilst two of them, Decimus and Trebonius, stopped Antony at the door of the senate-house. As soon as he had taken his place, Tillius Cimber, who was to begin the attack upon his person, advanced nearer than the rest, as if he had some favour to request of him, and laying hold of his gown, drew it over his shoulders, which was the sign agreed upon. "This (said Cæsar) is plain violence:" and he had scarcely pronounced these words, when he was wounded a little below the throat by one of the Cascas. He seized the assassin's arm, and ran it through with his *style* for writing; and, endeavouring to rush forward, was stopped by another wound, which was afterward judged to be the only mortal one he received. Finding himself surrounded on all sides with drawn daggers at him, he wrapped up his head in his toga, and spread it also before over his legs, that he might fall the more decently; and so received three-and-twenty wounds, fetching a groan only on receiving the first, without uttering so much as one word.[n]

Plut. in Cæs.

[n] Plutarch says, that upon receiving the first wound he turned upon Casca in a fury, saying, "Wretch, what are your designs?" And that, notwithstanding his loss of blood, and the many daggers pointed at him, he raged amongst them like a lion: but, when M. Brutus came upon him, he said in Greek, "What, art thou one of them too, thou, MY SON BRUTUS?"

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Thus fell Cæsar, in the 56th year of his age: a man, who, considered as a statesman and a captain, may justly challenge the first place in the registers of mankind. He was formed to excel in peace as well as in war; was provident in council, fearless in action, and executed what he had once resolved on with an amazing celerity. With the greatest nobleness of birth, of person, and of countenance,[o] he joined every great quality that can exalt human nature, and give a man the ascendant in society. He was open, sincere, great, and magnanimous, in all his behaviour; faithful to his friends, and zealous to promote their interests;[p] generous and liberal even to profusion to his dependants; and was distinguished for the most singular humanity and clemency in the midst of the greatest provocations and examples of cruelty and revenge.[q] He was magnificent, polite, and, in respect of natural endowments, learning, and eloquence, scarce inferior to any man.[r] He was a most munificent patron

[o] He is said to have been tall, of a fair complexion, round-limbed, pretty full-faced, with eyes black and lively; and very healthful, except that, towards the end of life, he was subject to sudden swoonings, and to be frightened in his sleep. He was also surprised twice with the falling sickness in the midst of business. In the care of his person, he was so very nice, that he had not only the hair of his head cut, but likewise had the hair in the other parts of his body taken up by the roots; and he is also said to have been very particular in his dress; for he used the *latus clavus* with fringes about his hands, and loosely girded about him with an effeminate air. Suet. 45. See vol. 4. p. 415, &c.

[p] Suetonius, 71, 72. gives us the following instances of his attachment and zeal for his friends and clients.—When he was but a young man, he defended the cause of Masintha, a noble youth, against king Hiempsal, with so much keenness, that in the course of the pleading he seized Juba, the king's son, by the beard: and, upon his client's being declared tributary to Hiempsal, he immediately took him by force from those who were leading him away, and kept him concealed in his house for a long time; and when he went, at the expiration of his prætorship, for Spain, he carried him off with him in his litter, amidst the confusion produced by those who were taking leave of him. When he came to have the whole power of the commonwealth in his hands, he advanced some of his friends, though of very mean extraction, to the highest posts in the government; and, when he was reflected upon for it, openly declared, "that, had he been assisted by robbers and cut-throats, in the defence of his honour, he would have made them the same requital."

[q] He could not find it in his heart to do any harm to Cornelius Phagita, who had trepanned him in the night, with a design to carry him to Sylla; and out of whose hands he did not escape without much difficulty, and a great bribe. Philemon, his secretary, who had promised his enemies to poison him, he caused to be put to death, but without torture. Suet. 74.

[r] His orations were admired for two qualities, which are seldom found together, strength and elegance. Cicero ranks him among the greatest orators that Rome ever bred; and Quintilian, 10. 1. says, "that he spoke with the same force with which he fought; and, if he had devoted himself to the bar, would have been the only man capable of rivalling Cicero."—His Commentaries, in Cicero's judgment, are plain,

of wit and learning, wheresoever he found them; and, from his love for those talents, would easily pardon such as had employed them against him.[t] In all the military qualifications he had no superior; and no general ever acquired to such a degree the esteem and affection of his soldiers. In riding, in throwing the javelin, and in every exercise, he possessed a singular dexterity; and

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neat, and beautiful; and he adds, "in thus preparing his materials for such as should write his history, he may perhaps have encouraged some inferior geniuses to undertake it, who might think to ornament it more; but has discouraged all men of sense from meddling with it." Nor was he master only of the politer arts, but conversant also with the most abstruse and critical parts of learning; and, among other books which he published, he addressed two books to Cicero, on the analogy of language, or the art of speaking and writing correctly. Philosophy also, and poetry, sometimes employed his leisure; and Suetonius mentions a poem of his, called Iter, or the Journey, which he wrote on his way to the Spanish war.

[t] Though C. Memmius had published some very abusive speeches against him, and he had answered them with equal sharpness, yet he afterward assisted him with his vote and interest, when he stood for the consulship. When C. Calvus, who had written some scandalous epigrams upon him, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation by the intercession of friends, he wrote the first letter; and when Catulus, for a like offence, came to beg his pardon, he invited him to supper. He also bore, with great moderation, a libel of Aulus Cæcina against him. This man, whose genius and eloquence are much extolled, was still in exile in the year 707; and, to make amends for the invective he published against Cæsar, he employed himself in drawing up a work, in which he mentioned him with honour; and, while his friends were earnestly soliciting his pardon, he sent to Cicero his performance, begging him to interest himself particularly in his cause. (Ad Fam. 6. 7. Melm. 9. 30.) "Your judicious observation (says he) has enabled you to penetrate into the recesses of Cæsar's heart; and you are acquainted with all the most probable methods of prevailing with him: so that each successful step that shall be made in this affair, from its commencement to its conclusion, must proceed altogether from you. I am sensible likewise that you have great interest with Cæsar, and still greater with all his favourites. I doubt not then of your effecting my restoration, if you will exert yourself for that purpose. —With regard to the book my son will deliver to you, I entreat you either not to suffer it to be published, or to correct it in such a manner, that it may not appear to my disadvantage." Cicero's answer is much to Cæsar's honour. (Ad Fam. 6. 5. Melm. 9. 32.)——"I have read your performance, and still continue to read it, with much attention; as I shall preserve it with the greatest fidelity. Your affairs, indeed, of every kind, are my principal concern; and I have the pleasure to see them every day appear with a more and more favourable aspect. You have many friends, who contribute their good offices for this purpose: of whose zeal your son, I am persuaded, has already acquainted you, as well as of his own hopes, that their endeavours will prove effectual. In regard to what may be collected from appearances, I do not pretend to discern more than, I am persuaded, you see yourself: but, as you may reflect upon them, perhaps, with greater discomposure of mind, I think it proper to give you my sentiments concerning them. Believe me, then, it is impossible, from the nature and circumstances of public affairs, that either you, or your companions in adversity, should long remain under your present misfortunes: yes, my friend, it is impossible that so severe an injury should continue to oppress the honest advocates of so good a cause. But my hopes are particularly strong with respect to yourself: not merely in consideration of your rank and virtues (for these you possess in common with many others), but particularly from your singular learning and genius. The man, in whose power we all of us are, holds these shining qualities in much esteem: and I am well assured, you would not have remained even a single moment in your present situation, if he had not imagined himself wounded by those talents he admires. His resentment, however, seems daily cooling; and it has been intimated to me, by some of his most particular friends, that you will undoubtedly find advantage in the high opinion he has conceived of your abilities."

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he was able to endure fatigue beyond all credibility. He used to march commonly at the head of his troops, bare-headed, both in foul and fair weather; and to swim over the rivers which obstructed his way. In his expeditions he was daring, but cautious; and never marched an army without using every possible precaution against surprises. He was never discouraged from any enterprise, nor retarded in the prosecution of it, by ill omens: he engaged in battle, not only after previous deliberation, but often on a sudden, when opportunities offered, after a march, or in stormy weather, when nobody could imagine he would move: and on all occasions he behaved with the greatest intrepidity and resolution; insomuch, that the serenity of his countenance was, often in the most imminent dangers, the chief support of the courage of his troops. Just and impartial to his officers and soldiers, he treated them with an equal severity and indulgence; when the enemy was near, exacting the strictest discipline; but on other occasions excusing them from all duty, and leaving them to revel at pleasure. His soldiers, he used to boast, did not fight the worse for being perfumed. In his speeches to them, he called them always comrades; and he ornamented their arms with gold and silver, that they might make the finer appearance, and be the more tenacious of them in battle. He loved them to that degree, that, when he heard of the disaster of his troops under Titurius Sabinus, he neither cut his hair nor shaved his beard, till he had revenged it upon the enemy; by which means he inspired them with a mutual affection for his person, and an invincible bravery. They never mutinied during the whole course of the Gallic war; and, when they were guilty of it during the civil war, we have seen how quickly he brought them back to their duty, by his authority. In his civil capacity he was directed by great and extensive views: the acts of his consulship, which the aristocracy so vigorously opposed, were all wise and

tending to the public good: and, when he was master of the empire in quality of perpetual dictator, he discovered in all his undertakings the most general benevolence. Year of ROME 709. B.C.43. 408th consulship.

When we contemplate the virtues of this great man, and think of the great designs he had formed, it is impossible not to regret his death; and when we call to mind, that, of those who were the leaders in the conspiracy against him, some had been indebted to him for their lives, and others had been loaded by him with honours; we cannot but charge them with the basest ingratitude for having killed their benefactor. But Cicero was of a different opinion; he said, "That the public was the more indebted to them on these accounts; and that, as to the kindness of giving them their lives, it was the kindness only of a robber, who had first done them the greater wrong: that, if there had been any stain of ingratitude in the act, they could never have acquired so much glory by it; and though he wondered indeed at some of them for doing it, rather than ever imagined, that they would have done it; yet he admired them so much the more, for being regardless of favours, that they might shew their regard to their country." And he tells his friend Atticus, "that he was present at the death of Cæsar in the senate; where he had the pleasure to see the tyrant perish as he deserved." Middl. p. 240. Ad Att. 14. 14.

These sentiments have been well combated by a judicious author; and I cannot do better than transcribe what he has said upon the occasion:

"Who can see Cæsar fall with this Ciceronian stain upon him? Had this expression come from the mouth of a malignant Cassius, little had it surprised us; but from the mild morality of a Cicero, that Cicero too, who, when under his protection, had looked on him in so different a view; when, not only his eloquence, but his excellent poetry had been inspired with the praises of this very tyrant whom now he vilifies and depreciates. Cibber, p. 219.

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In this light, I say, it calls for farther expostulation. Whence then these jarring sentiments? Was Cicero or Cæsar altered, that the one could give, or the other merit, such different terms of praise or censure? Could that Cæsar deserve to perish as a tyrant, whom Cicero had allowed to have taken up arms 'with no other view than to defend himself from injuries?' or could such an insult from Cicero be due to the ashes of a man whose clemency he had so lately tasted, and so gratefully had celebrated? If Cicero then was a flatterer when he offered these praises to Cæsar, why are we not equally to disbelieve him, when he blackens or loads him with invectives? Cæsar, with all his imputed tyranny, is, in every part but power, so unlike the hideous wretch we call a tyrant, that the name finds no reception among the visible virtues it here injuriously breaks in upon. Every act and motion of him so rejects the infamy, that he seems a genius rather formed to lead a ruined people into happiness, than to drive them into slavery.

"Were we to look upon Cæsar as a fierce usurper, who, with an unwarning violence, had seized upon the public liberty, and had torn to pieces the happiness and quiet of a well-settled government, then, indeed, might the pleasure Cicero conceived in seeing him perish be allowed to flow from the laudable passion of a patriot. But, as history has not set Cæsar in quite so detestable a light, nor yet the injured liberty of Rome in so clear a one, why may we not look with a complaining eye upon this patriot pleasure of Cicero?——

Cibber, p. 222.

"Was Cæsar an enemy to his country, because he was dictator; and, upon the ground of his ambition, shall we justify the conspirators, and pronounce that he deserved the fate which befel him? His ambition might have gone beyond the ambition of others, who were visible candidates for the tyranny complained of; yet the public, at least, were, or might have been, gainers

in their preference of so meritorious a master, who, though his will gave laws to the Roman world, yet his laws were no reproach to his will. Nor could even the conspirators say they would have governed better than Cæsar did, when, out of themselves, he had chosen the principal magistrates. What then did Cæsar take from them that was so dear to them, unless it were the liberty of so frequently breaking those wholesome laws which their wiser ancestors had made for their security? All the real hardships they suffered from him was the loss of that little care they took to see them obeyed; and could the redress of this grievance be a new grievance? When particular men grew too big for the old laws, was it not rather a remedy than a disease, that Cæsar, by giving new laws, grew too strong for the stoutest of these republican tyrants? If their own administration could have kept them within bounds, they had not wanted a Cæsar to repair the fences they had broke through: in this then Cæsar less deserved to be called the wolf than the shepherd.

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"The crime complained of in Cæsar is not of the same kind of treason as that of a subject, who seizes on the throne of his lawful prince, and then steps into it himself. No, Cæsar [supposing him a usurper for having accepted, from the senate and people, of the dictatorship] usurped only upon usurpers, upon a corrupted government, under which the Roman liberty had long groaned, even before the triumvirate had insulted it; for, in the diffused tyranny of many, Cæsar, at worst, made but one in scarce less than a hundred; and, when those licentious rulers were reduced to three (of which it is true Cæsar, in his own defence, still thought fit to make one, and found at last he had no other way to be entirely safe, than by being the only one), he had just as good a right to take the reins of government from the other two, as the united three had to take them from hundreds.——

Cibber. p. 241.

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"But, alas! to the lawless and the tumultuous, so dear had been the headstrong liberty of confounding, so sweet were the acquisitions of party violence and prevalent corruption, that the dull dreaming peace and surfeiting plenty, which Cæsar had restored to them (because Cæsar, it seems, had no right to bestow them), were to pass rather for injuries than blessings, and equally deserving an exemplary revenge or punishment. Admitting now we were to receive all this as undeniable reason, and that Cæsar, with all his benefits and great qualities, was still a grievance, because he was thought or called so; yet, where shall we find those honest, injured Romans, who had this absolute and unquestionable right to complain that he had either offered violence to their virtue or their innocence? Was it the uncorrupted magistrates, the senate, or the people, or the collective body of them all, that inspired these patriot conspirators to revenge the general injury? It could not, sure, be the legal government; that had long, long before, been torn to pieces by a succession of civil broils and factions, of which the usurpations of Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Crassus, and a train of such pious members of the state, had been too flagrant instances.—Had he injured the people? Neither; he had asserted and recovered their rights, and had charmed them with his magnanimity, for which they loved, and therefore more willingly obeyed him.—But might not these services be purely political? Were they not all outside; with no other view in his heart, than first to make fools, and then slaves of them? But why this insinuation? why this presumptuous imputation upon a just action? or why so hard a restraint upon virtue, that she is never to act when any incidental benefit to the agent, beyond the merit of the deed, may be joined to it? Must then the public too be sufferers, because a private account may be found in relieving them? This may be an argument with those who will suffer none to

Ibid. p. 224.

do good to the public but themselves, and that in their own way too. But the laws of virtue are more favourable; they tolerate all actions of public spirit, nor suffer them to be discountenanced, though sure that such an imputation were to lie upon the duty or the merit of them. Hard were the fate of Cæsar, if suggestions might invalidate his virtue! No, suggestions shall not so much as cast a shade over the conspirators; their private passions, their blind revenge, their ingratitude, and their envy, need not the weak assistance of insinuated guilt to piece and patch out a complaint against them. The case of Cæsar and of his assassins can never be decided, if any evidence less than fact is admitted on either side.—Let us hear, then, what the senate has to complain of. What, all silent! Has Cæsar made it up with them too? Is he to be acquitted by a *volenti non fit injuria?* Have they with open eyes compounded with his tyranny, and made the empire of the world his purchase? This indeed were a most enormous corruption! Sure they could not but impeach him for it! No, they rather chose to load him with honours and unlimited power, found their liberties safer in his lap than in their own unruly hands, styled him Imperator, with the higher distinction of father of his country. Such was their resentment, such their grievances, and such their remedy. Was then this mighty work of their own hands, this monument of power, erected only to testify and commemorate, or to redress and heal their calamities? For healed they certainly were, till, from the fresh wounds of Cæsar, broke forth a worse calamity, a fatal civil war, that never ended till Roman liberty was no more. Where then shall we find these yet undiscovered sufferings from Cæsar, unless in the dark, vindictive bosoms of the conspirators? There, indeed, we ought to suppose them more grievously tyrannical, because so dreadful, so vaunted, a vengeance resented them. And yet it has never been known, that their particular complaints were

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Year of ROME 709. B. C. 43. 408th consulship. distinguished by any greater hardship than what was offered in common to the rest of the quieted Roman people.

Cibber, p. 231. "Were we to give up all that is asked of us, that Cæsar, to the eyes of Brutus and his associates, appeared a tyrant; even in that view can we justify the assassins? Have laws, either divine or human, ordained assassination to be the punishment of any crime whatsoever? Were the conspirators to be at once the judges and the executioners? Nor do we find that any public act had deputed them to be the public avengers: the greatest of them were but self-commissioned, and in that, at best, but a sort of secret usurpers of the public authority.

Ib. p. 226. "And yet so farther unfortunate in their cause, that of all people these were less qualified for so high an office than (from the highest to the lowest) were the most offended Romans. For, though obligations and favours so lately accepted from him could not make them grateful, they might, at least, have made them merciful, to Cæsar. But, alas! so it was, the provinces he had assigned to some, and the greatest posts of dignity to others, had availed him nothing. The arrogant presumption of being generous, just, and gentle, to his foes and fellow-citizens, was, to their jealous honour, such a stinging provocation, such a triumph of smiling pride and insolence, as could never be forgiven or got over, but by the determined death of the distributor. What a tyrant! what patriots! Were not this enough to make our judgment sicken when so bold, so weak, so wicked a cause is before us? But let us not too hastily give sentence. Perhaps, the warmer advocates for liberty, the patriot abhorrers of Cæsar, may think it a narrowness of mind in us to suppose his plausible acts of benevolence and bounty ought to have excited a sense of gratitude in the uncorrupted spirit of a Roman; and that it is more a call for our admiration, than our re-

proach, that these valiant champions of the public rather chose to plunge their daggers in his heart, in scorn of his obligations, than to be meanly merciful at the price of their honour. And yet, methinks, the heroic spirit of these patriots had not been less brave or noble, had it previously refused these bribes of Cæsar. The scorn should have preceded the acceptance; but the pride was debased that came after it. Then, too, with a better grace, they might have drawn their daggers, not upon their acknowledged benefactor, but their enemy avowed.

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"But however, though we cannot easily get over this weakness of thinking them ungrateful, yet if we are still so just as to allow this animated enterprise, or this glorious vengeance (if we must call it so), the utmost merit it can lay claim to, if we consciously confess (for sure they can ask no more of us) that to sacrifice our private interests to the public good is the highest merit that human virtue can aspire to; yet let the public good (the declared motive of the conspirators) be at least as visible to us as the sacrificed interest; let us be sure we are within sight of the one, and not blinded by the other: first, let us be morally convinced that the death of Cæsar could be the cure of all the public complaints; that it was as infallible, as it was the only one, to which the redress of this injured liberty was limited: for, if the republic was in nowise relieved by it, how unskilful or how inhuman must have been the application of so violent a remedy? What then shall we call it but a more desperate act of tyranny than ever Cæsar, in all his course of ambition, committed?

Cibber, p. 227.

"If, indeed, Brutus could have eradicated or subdued the whole Roman ambition, or have turned faction into virtue, then, perhaps, liberty might have arose from this particular sacrifice; but, from so unprofitable an expedient, to expect the cure of a national contagion, by putting only one infected person to death; how wild! how vain! how invisible the hope! And, though we

Ib. p. 231.

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. 406th consulship. ought not to judge of attempts by their success or failure, yet, when the hope of success has so ill a foundation, what but an imaginary castle could be built upon it? Nay, the very people, whose cause these conspirators pretended to assert, chose rather, by their compassionate clamours for vengeance on the murderers of Cæsar, to suspend their liberty, than to enjoy it by a base and cruel connivance at their escape. Strong, very strong, must have been the republican grievances, when they rather chose to be settled slaves their own way, than to feel (as they had done), in so many violent magistrates, so many galling, griping, grinding masters. A provocation which, in later governments, has shewn us, that revenge may be sometimes sweeter than liberty.

"To proceed then, let it be clear to us that under the cause of liberty were concealed no private passions, no stimulating pride, no lurking envy, that moulded this conspiracy to the dreadful form it came out in: for, as history set a mark of more than suspicion on their principal, as Cassius was more known to have hated the person than the tyranny of Cæsar, it will add but very little to the honour of their cause to say his accomplices were imposed upon, or that the artful management of this turbulent spirit had made it a darling point of glory to break through their bonds, both of private and of public gratitude, in clearing their way to the heart of Cæsar. However pompous the pretence might be, it will be hard to prove, that it had either conscience, honour, or the most distant hope of honest, lusty liberty to build upon.

Cibber, p. 229. "But now we are to stand a stronger opposition; the honour and integrity of a Brutus now rises to disarm our mercy for Cæsar, and to vindicate his death. If Brutus thought no ties, not even the love that Cæsar bore him, were of equal value to the cause of liberty; if Brutus chose to make his friend and benefactor fall a victim to the public justice; if such a man of so im-

maculate a character was of this patriot-party, shall not the sanction of so great a name hang immortal praises on their memory? Year of ROME 709. B. C. 43. 408th consulship.

"Such, indeed, have been the encomiums which the learned have sometimes heaped upon him, and which even the friends of Cæsar have not totally refused him."— But, how far we are to be led by the authority of Brutus, how far he deserves these high encomiums, the following history will shew. Hitherto he has certainly made no figure as a man of honour and virtue.

CHAP. XII.

The general consternation of the senate, consul, and people, upon the death of Cæsar. The treaty between Antony and the conspirators. Antony's artful management. The conspirators are obliged to leave Rome. Antony gathers an army about him, and disposes of every thing according to his pleasure. Sextus Pompey makes his peace by the mediation of Lepidus, and is declared admiral of the republic. Octavius appears upon the stage: is thwarted by Antony in every thing: raises an army to make good his claim: courts the senate and Antony's enemies, whom he protects. Antony sets out from Rome to take possession of Cisalpine Gaul, and besieges D. Brutus in Mutina. He is followed by young Octavius, who, at Cicero's motion, is authorized by the senate to raise troops and make war against Antony.

The conspirators had no sooner finished their work, than Brutus, lifting up his bloody dagger, congratulated the senate, and Cicero[t] in particular, on the recovery of Middl. p. 244.

[t] Middl. p. 244. "This gave Antony a pretence to charge him afterward in public with being privy to the conspiracy, and the principal adviser of it: but it is certain that he was not at all acquainted with it: for, though he had the strictest friendship with the chief actors, and they the greatest confidence in him, yet his age, character, and dignity, rendered him wholly unfit to bear a part in an attempt of that nature; and to embark himself in an affair so desperate, with a number of men, who, excepting a few of their leaders, were all either too young to be trusted, or too obscure even to be known by him. He could have been of little or no service to them in the execution of the act, yet of much greater in justifying it afterward to the city, for having had no share in it, nor any personal interest to make his authority suspected. These were the true reasons, without doubt, why Brutus and Cassius did not impart the design to him. Had it been from any other motive, as some writers have suggested; or had it admitted any interpretation injurious to his honour; he must have been often reproached with it by Antony and his other adversaries of those times, who were so studious to invent and propagate every calumny that could depress his credit." [Surely Cicero was known for a coward, and Plutarch is in the right to say this was a good reason not to make him privy to the design.] "I cannot, however, entirely acquit him of being in some degree accessary to the death of Cæsar; for it is evident, from several of his letters, that he had an expectation of such an attempt, and from what quarter it would come; and not only expected, but wished it: he prophesied very early, that Cæsar's reign could not last six months, but must necessarily fall, either by violence or of itself; and hoped to

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. — 408th consulship. their liberty, and essayed to make a speech to them upon the occasion; but the senators, seized with astonishment at so daring an attempt, after they had been mute spectators of the deed, rushed out of the senate-house, and Cicero with them; as if they were all afraid of the same fate. Antony, who had indeed some reason to be apprehensive, took refuge in a neighbouring house; and, throwing off all the marks of his consular dignity, stole away to his own, where he strongly barricaded himself. The conspirators, disappointed by the timid behaviour of the senators, addressed themselves to the people, and, marching out in a body, with a cap, the sign of liberty, carried before them on a spear, proceeded in a calm and orderly manner through the forum, where, in the first heat of joy, several of the young nobility, who had borne no part in the conspiracy, joined themselves to the company with swords in their hands, out of an ambition to be thought partners in the act; but they afterward paid dear for that vanity, and were involved in the ruin it drew upon all the rest. Brutus designed to have spoken to the people from the rostra; but, perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to speeches; being uncertain to what turn the popular humour might take,

Phil. 2. 12.

Plut. in Cæs.

Appian, 503. Dio, p. 250.

Plut. in Cæs. et Brut.

live to see it." Ad Att. 10. 8. "He knew the disaffection of the greatest and best of the city: which they expressed with great freedom in their letters, and with much more we may imagine in their private conversation: he knew the fierce and haughty spirit of Brutus and Cassius, and their impatience of a master; and cultivated a strict correspondence with them both at this time, as if for the opportunity of exciting them to some act of vigour. On the news that Atticus sent him, of Cæsar's image being placed in the temple of Quirinus, adjoining to that of the goddess Salus, 'I had rather (says he) have him the comrade of Romulus, than of the goddess of Safety,' (ad Att. 12. 15.) referring to Romulus's fate of being killed by the senators. In another letter, (ad Att. 13. 40.) it seems to be intimated, that Atticus and he had been contriving, or talking at least together, how Brutus might be spirited up to some attempt of that kind, by setting before him the fame and glory of his ancestors: 'Does Brutus then tell us (says he) that Cæsar brings with him glad tidings to honest men? Where will he find them, unless he hangs himself? But how securely is he now intrenched on all sides? What use then of your fine invention; the picture of old Brutus and Ahala, with the verses under, which I saw in your gallery? Yet what, after all, can he do?' One cannot help observing, likewise, in his pieces addressed about this time to Brutus, how artfully he falls into a lamentation of the times, and of the particular unhappiness of Brutus himself in being deprived by them of all the hopes and use of his great talents; putting him in mind at the same time of his double descent from ancestors who had acquired immortal glory by delivering Rome from servitude." See the conclusion of his treatise, 'On famous Orators.'

and knowing there were great numbers of Cæsar's old soldiers in the city, who had been summoned from all parts to attend him to the Parthian war; he thought proper, with his accomplices, to take refuge in the Capitol, which he seized on by the assistance of Decimus's gladiators, on pretence of returning thanks to Jupiter. The dead body of Cæsar was left in the senate-house, where, after it had been viewed by those who had the curiosity and courage to venture in, it was put into a litter by three of his slaves, and carried to his house, one arm dangling out of the window. The conspirators, being secure in the Capitol from any immediate violence, summoned the people thither in the afternoon; and Brutus, in a speech to them which he had before prepared, justified his conduct, explained the motives of it, and, in a pathetic manner, exhorted them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, and to maintain the liberty now offered to them against all the abettors of the late tyranny.

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When the senators saw that all was calm, several of them ventured up to the Capitol in the evening, and Cicero among the rest; who tells us that his advice was, "that Brutus and Cassius, as prætors, should call the senate into the Capitol, and proceed to some vigorous decrees for the security of the public tranquillity:" but Brutus and his accomplices were for proceeding calmly, and with all due respect to the authority of the consul; and, having conceived hopes of Antony, proposed sending a deputation to him, to exhort him to measures of peace.[u] Antony, who had no thoughts of peace, but

Ad Att. 14. 10.

[u] This is looked upon as a false step, and Cicero, in his second Philippic, c. 35. and in his letters to Atticus, (14. 10.) says he remonstrated against it, nor could be prevailed with to bear a part in it: he says, he told them plainly, "that there could be no safe treaty with him; that, as long as he was afraid of them, he would promise every thing; but, when his fears were over, he would be like himself, and perform nothing: so that, while the other consular senators were going backwards and forwards in this office of mediation, he stuck to his point, and stayed with the rest in the Capitol, and did not see Antony for the two first days." But it must be considered, 1. That, were it possible to bring things about by peaceable measures, that way undoubtedly was the best. 2. That Antony and Lepidus had really more strength in their hands than the senate, and, if provoked to exert it, might very easily destroy them all, or force them to fly out of the city. 3. That, among the other senators,

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whose business it was by dissimulation to gain time, professed a sincere inclination to it, and seemed to have no other desire than to see the republic settled again on its old basis; and he pretended that he had brought Lepidus into the same measures. Lepidus was at this time in the suburbs of Rome at the head of a legion, ready to depart for the government of Spain, which, together with a part of Gaul, had been assigned him by Cæsar. In the night, therefore, after Cæsar's death, he brought his troops into the field of Mars, and, sensible of his superiority, began to think of making himself master of the city, and taking immediate revenge on the conspirators: and Dio says, that by break of day he harangued the people against them. What Lepidus proposed might easily have been put in execution, but Antony diverted him from that design, and managed him agreeably to his own views. His authority and forces he made use of to harass and terrify the opposite party till he had driven the conspirators out of the city: and, when he had served his purposes with him at home, he contrived to send him to his government to keep the provinces and commanders abroad in due subjection to them; and that, by being stationed with his army in Gaul, he might be ready for any event which should require his help in Italy. Antony, to render their union the firmer, and at the same time to humour his vanity, gave his daughter in marriage to Lepidus's son, and assisted him to seize the high-priesthood, vacant by Cæsar's death, without regard to the ordinary forms of election.

Dolabella, who claimed the consulship, went up also to the Capitol, and there appeared very zealous for a reconciliation. 4. It was not possible to foresee the events that followed, and Brutus and his friends had particular reasons to entertain a bettc opinion of Antony. Dr. Middleton tells us, p. 254. " Cæsar had used him roughly on several occasions, and they knew his resentment of it, and that he had been engaged by Trebonius, on Cæsar's last return from Spain, in a design against his life: and, though he did not perform that engagement, yet they thought it an obligation as well as a proof of his continuing in the same mind that he had not discovered it: which was the reason for their sparing him when Cæsar was killed, and of Trebonius's taking him aside, on pretence of business, lest his behaviour on that occasion might provoke them to kill him too."

The next day passed in mutual assurances from both sides of their disposition to concord and amity; and Plutarch says, that Brutus and Cassius ventured down into the forum, and were heard with silence and respect from the rostra: but that L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the prætors, beginning to speak and accuse Cæsar, they broke out into such a sudden rage, that the conspirators thought fit to withdraw again into the Capitol: where Brutus, expecting to be besieged, dismissed the most eminent of those who had followed him thither, not thinking it just that those, who were not partakers of the deed, should share in the danger. Antony summoned the senate on the third day to adjust the conditions of the agreement with the conspirators, and confirm them by some solemn act. Antony, Plancus, and Cicero, are said to have made studied orations much to the satisfaction of the house. Cicero moved the assembly, in the first place, after the example of Athens, to decree a general amnesty, or act of oblivion, for all that was passed, to which they unanimously agreed. Antony seemed to be all goodness, talked of nothing but of healing measures; and, for a proof of his sincerity, moved, "that the conspirators should be invited to take part in their deliberations," and sent his son as a hostage for their safety; upon which they all came down from the Capitol: and Brutus supped with Lepidus; Cassius with Antony.

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Plut. in Brut.

There were several things, however, very artfully proposed and carried by Antony, on pretence of public concord, of which he made afterward a most pernicious use; particularly a decree for the confirmation of all Cæsar's acts; which proposition was supported by all those who either were actually in office, or were named to be magistrates of the following years. But this motion was suspected by many, who opposed it for some time, calling upon Antony to explain it, and to specify how far it was to extend: he assured them, that no other

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acts were meant than what were known to every body, and entered publicly on Cæsar's register: they asked, if any persons were to be restored from exile? he said, only one, and no more: whether any immunities were granted to cities or countries? he answered, none; and consented that it should pass with a restriction, proposed by Servius Sulpicius, that no grant, which was to take place after the ides of March, should be ratified. This was generally thought so reasonable, and Antony's seeming candour made such an impression, that those who saw the mischief of it durst not venture to oppose it: especially, as there was a precedent for it in the case of Sylla; and as it was supposed to relate chiefly to the veteran soldiers, whom it was not possible to oblige, or keep in good humour, without confirming the privileges and possessions which Cæsar had granted to them. In favour of the conspirators, it was added, "that this was enacted for the sake of the public tranquillity." In fine, it was resolved that Cæsar's funeral should be solemnized at the public expense. All this had been agreed to before by Brutus: though Cassius had opposed the last article, and Atticus had warned his friends of the dangerous consequences of it, maintaining that all was lost, if the tyrant received those honours. Dolabella, whom Cæsar, upon his intended expedition to Parthia, had designed and nominated to the consulship, now seized the ensigns of that office; and, though Antony had protested against that designation, and resolved to obstruct its effect, he now quietly received him, and acknowledged him as his colleague.

Ad Att. 14. 10, et 14.

App. B, Civ. l. 3.

The day following, Antony received the thanks of the senate for his prudent and peaceable behaviour; and some historians tell us, that the greatest provinces of the empire were decreed to the conspirators; to Brutus, Macedonia; to Cassius, Syria; to Trebonius, Asia; to Tillius Cimber, Bithynia; and that D. Brutus was confirmed in the government of Cisalpine Gaul. This

would have been putting into the hands of the conspirators the chief forces of the empire; and, if so, it is hard to imagine that Antony had at this time any view of raising a civil war. But Syria and Macedonia were not decreed to Cassius and Brutus till Antony was declared a public enemy.

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This calm was but of short duration; for, Cæsar's will being opened at the house of Antony, it was found that Cæsar made his sister's grandchildren his heirs; young Octavius for the three quarters of his estate, and Q. Pedius, with L. Pinarius, for the remaining quarter. In the conclusion he adopted Octavius. Several of the conspirators were named tutors to his son, in case he had one; and, in failure of his first heirs, D. Brutus was named to the succession of his estate. He bequeathed his gardens near the Tiber to the public, and 300 sesterces to every Roman citizen; which greatly contributed to awaken the people's affection towards him. They declared, that a man so generous, and who had given such proofs of his tenderness to his fellow-citizens, could not be a tyrant; and the favourable sentiments they entertained of him manifested themselves soon after at his funeral.

A little temple, all glittering with gold, was built in the form of that dedicated to Venus the Mother, before the rostra; and in this temple his body was placed, on an ivory bed, covered with gold and purple cloth. At his head rose a trophy, upon which hung the robe in which he was killed. At the same time, in the Campus Martius, near the sepulchre of Julia, was raised a pile for the burning of his body, whither all those who in great numbers had brought perfumes to burn with it were directed to carry them. When all was ready, Antony mounted the rostra, and ordered a herald to read the several decrees of the senate, which declared Cæsar's person sacred, and accumulated all human and divine honours upon him: he then commanded him to

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read the oath that all the senators had taken, not only not to attempt any thing against his life, but to defend it at the expense of their own; and he added a few words suited to the occasion.[x] When he had done speaking, the body was carried down from the bed of state into the forum by the magistrates, and those who had borne offices under the deceased. The people, moved at the sight of this melancholy spectacle, and inflamed by verses adapted to raise compassion, which were industriously spread among them, would not suffer the body to be carried farther, or to the field of Mars; but would have it burned, some in Pompey's senate-house, where he had been killed; others in the temple of Jupiter. In this tumult, two armed men came up to the body, and set fire to what covered it. The mob upon this immediately pulled up the seats of the judges, the counters of the bankers and shopkeepers, and gathered all the wood they could lay their hands on. The musicians threw into the fire the clothes they had prepared for the ceremony; the veteran soldiers their arms; the women their ornaments; and the flame became so violent, according to Appian, that the house of L. Bellienus was entirely consumed. From the funeral, the mob ran with firebrands to set fire to the houses of the conspirators, who had great difficulty to prevent them, notwithstanding the preparations they had made against such an attack. Helvius Cinna, one of the tribunes, and a particular friend to Cæsar, was torn in pieces by the rabble, being mistaken, unluckily, for the prætor L. Cornelius Cinna, who had extolled the act of killing Cæsar in a speech from the rostra; and, fixing his head

Suet. in Cæs. 84, 85.

Val. Max. 9. 9. Plut. Cæs. et Brut. Dio, p. 267.

[x] Dio has given us a long oration of his own composition, and Appian writes, that Antony not only unfolded before the people Cæsar's garment, pierced by the daggers of the conspirators, and stained with his blood, but also shewed a waxen image, with all the wounds marked upon it, which, in order to excite compassion, and spirit them up to revenge, he twirled about before them in relating his hero's assassination. But, though it must be allowed that Antony did make a short funeral oration, yet it does not seem probable that he acted the part which Appian and Dio make him act. Suet. in Cæs. l. 44. Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, reflects upon him in no other respect, than for his calling Cæsar *clarissimum virum.*

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upon a pike, they carried it about the town. This so alarmed all those who had any similitude of name with any of the conspirators, that Caius Casca thought fit, by a public advertisement, to signify the distinction of his person and principles from Publius Casca, who gave the first blow to Cæsar.[y]

[y] "We are not to imagine, however, as it is commonly believed, that these violences were owing to the general indignation of the citizens against the murderers of Cæsar; excited either by the spectacle of his body, or the eloquence of Antony, who made the funeral oration; for it is certain that Cæsar, through his whole reign, could never draw from the people any public signification of their favour; but, on the contrary, was constantly mortified by the perpetual demonstrations of their hatred and disaffection to him. The case was the same after his death: the memory of his tyranny was odious, and Brutus and Cassius the real favourites of the city; as appeared on all occasions, wherever their free and genuine sense could be declared, in the public shows and theatres; which Cicero frequently appeals to as a proper encouragement to all honest men to act with spirit and vigour in the defence of their common liberty. What happened therefore at the funeral was the effect of artifice and faction; the work of a mercenary rabble; the greatest part slaves and strangers, listed and prepared for violence, against a party unarmed, and pursuing pacific counsels, and placing all their trust and security in the justice of their cause. Cicero calls it a conspiracy of Cæsar's freedmen, who were the chief managers of the tumult; in which the Jews seem to have borne a considerable part; who, out of hatred to Pompey for his affront to their city and temple, were zealously attached to Cæsar; and, above all other foreigners in Rome, distinguished themselves by the expressions of their grief for his death; so as to spend whole nights at his monument." Middl. p. 256.

The whole subsequent history is a confutation of what is here asserted. Brutus and Cassius were the favourites of a part of the nobility, but could have no admirers among the people; though indeed all considerate men were desirous of peace upon any terms. Appian, Bell. Civ. l. 3. expressly contradicts what Cicero says of the popular favour shewn at Brutus's plays: he relates, that when some bribed to that purpose cried out, that Brutus and Cassius should be recalled, there was such an uproar among the people, that the plays ceased till such time as those who demanded their return were silent. And indeed this was the proper occasion for the people to shew their favour; and, had they shewn it with any unanimity, Brutus's return would have been a consequence of it. Cicero's account to Atticus of the Cæsarians is as follows: "Hirtius warmly loves the man whom Brutus stabbed; he and all the rest are perpetually lamenting the miserable end of so great a man; and declaring that the republic is ruined by it. They say that all his acts will be made void, as soon as the people's fears are over; and that clemency was his ruin; since, if it had not been for that, he could not have perished in such a manner." Ad Att. 14. 22. And this is a proper place to present the reader with an excellent letter of a very worthy man, of Matius to Cicero. Ep. Fam. 11. 28.

"Your letter gave me great pleasure, by letting me see that you retain still that favourable opinion of me, which I had always hoped and wished; and, though I had never indeed any doubt of it, yet for the high value that I set upon it, I was very solicitous that it should remain always inviolable. I was conscious to myself, that I had done nothing which could reasonably give offence to any honest man; and did not imagine therefore that a person of your great and excellent accomplishments could be induced to take any without reason, especially against one who had always professed, and still continued to profess, a sincere good-will to you. Since all this then stands just as I wish it, I will now give an answer to those accusations, from which you, agreeably to your character, out of your singular goodness and friendship, have so often defended me. I am no stranger to what has been said of me by certain persons since Cæsar's death: they call it a crime in me, that I am concerned for the loss of an intimate friend, and sorry that the man whom I loved met with so unhappy a fate: they say, that our country ought to be preferred to any friendship, as if they had really made it evident, that his death was of service to the republic: but I will not deal craftily: I own myself not to be arrived at that degree of wisdom; nor did

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. This was a clear warning to the conspirators, how little reason they had to expect any safety in the city, without a guard for their defence.

408th consulship. M. Brutus and Cassius retired immediately to Lanuvium, fifteen miles from Rome: D. Brutus, Trebonius, and others, stayed behind some time longer, and demanded a guard for themselves and their accomplices.

I yet follow Cæsar in our late dissensions, but my friend; whom, though displeased with the thing, I could not desert; for I never approved the civil war, or the cause of it; but took all possible pains to stifle it in its birth. Upon the victory therefore of a familiar friend, I was not eager either to advance, or to enrich myself; an advantage which others, who had less interest with him than I, abused to great excess. Nay, my circumstances were even hurt by Cæsar's law, to whose kindness the greatest part of those who now rejoice at his death, owed their very continuance in the city. I solicited the pardon of the vanquished with the same zeal as if it had been for myself. Is it possible therefore for me who laboured to procure the safety of all, not to be concerned for the death of him from whom I used to procure it? Especially when the very same men, who were the cause of making him odious, were the authors also of destroying him. But I shall have cause, they say, to repent, for daring to condemn their act. Unheard-of insolence! that it should be allowed to some to glory in a wicked action, yet not to others even to grieve at it without punishment. But this was always free, even to slaves, to fear, rejoice, and grieve, by their own will, not that of another; which yet these men, who call themselves the authors of liberty, are endeavouring to extort from us by the force of terror. But they may spare their threats; for no danger shall terrify me from performing my duty and the offices of humanity; since it was always my opinion, that an honest death was never to be avoided, often even to be sought. But why are they angry with me, for wishing only that they may repent of their act? I wish that all the world may regret Cæsar's death. But I ought, they say, as a member of civil society, to wish the good and safety of the republic. If my past life and future hopes do not already prove that I wish it, without my saying so, I will not pretend to evince it by argument. I beg of you, therefore, in the strongest terms, to attend to facts rather than to words; and if you think it the most useful to one in my circumstances, that what is right should take place; never imagine that I can have any union or commerce with ill-designing men. I acted the same part in my youth, where to mistake would have been pardonable; shall I then undo it all again, and renounce my principles in my declining age? No, it is my resolution to do nothing that can give any offence; except it be when I lament the cruel fate of a dear friend and illustrious man. If I were in different sentiments, I would never disown what I was doing; lest I should be thought not only wicked for pursuing what was wrong, but false and cowardly for dissembling it. But I undertook the care of the shows, which young Cæsar exhibited for the victory of his uncle: this was an affair of private, not of public duty; it was what I ought to have performed to the memory and honour of my dear friend; and what I could not therefore deny to a youth of the greatest hopes, and so highly worthy of Cæsar. But I go often also to the consul Antony's to pay my compliments; yet you will find those very men go oftener to ask and receive favours, who reflect upon me for it, as disaffected to my country. But, what arrogance is this? when Cæsar never hindered me from visiting whom I would; even those whom he did not care for: that they who have deprived me of him, should attempt by their cavils to debar me from placing my esteem where I think proper. But I am not afraid, that either the modesty of my life should not be sufficient to confute all false reports of me for the future, or that they who do not love me for my constancy to Cæsar, would not choose to have their friends resemble me, rather than themselves. For my own part, if I could have my wish, I would spend the remainder of my days in quiet at Rhodes; but if any accident prevent me, will live in such a manner at Rome, as always to desire, that what is right may prevail. I am greatly obliged to our friend Trebatius, for giving me this assurance of your sincere and friendly regard for me, and for making it my duty to respect and observe a man whom I had esteemed always before with inclination. Take care of your health, and preserve me in your affection."

But Antony informed them by Hirtius, that the soldiers and the populace were so enraged, that he did not think it possible for any of them to be safe. He also assured Hirtius, that he could not consent to let Decimus take possession of the province to which he was nominated. Antony was sensible that, if the conspirators had a firm footing in Italy, and gained any increase of power, it would be impossible for him and his party to maintain their ground against the nobles. His aim was therefore to amuse them, and neither suffer them to remain in the city, nor drive them to desperate measures, till he had collected a sufficient force to crush them. Decimus, in the desponding humour he was in, thought that, under the present difficulties, the most prudent step he could take for the common interest was to request an honorary legation for each of the conspirators, in order to give some decent colour to their leaving Rome. Hirtius accordingly promised to obtain this for them; but, in case he succeeded, it was thought, that it would not be long ere they should be declared public enemies, and sentenced to banishment. Decimus advised, therefore, his confederates, as the most prudent step in the present conjuncture, to submit to fortune, and retire to Rhodes, or to some other secure part of the world, where they might adjust their measures to public circumstances, and wait at least to see how far the news of Cæsar's death would have influence to strengthen the several parties of Sextus Pompey, who was in arms in Spain; or of Cæcilius Bassus, who was raising commotions in Asia. He took courage, however, and went and put himself in possession of his province of Cisalpine Gaul without the leave of the consul. Trebonius, in the mean time, stole away privately to Asia, and Tillius Cimber to Bithynia; and, soon after this dispersion of some of the chiefs of the conspiracy, Cicero, with several other senators, retired from Rome.[z]

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Cic. Fam. 12. 5. Melm. 12. 5.

Ibid.

[z] Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, was in Rome, when Cæsar was killed, and was lodged

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Antony, as soon as the conspirators were gone, resumed his mask, and, as if the late violences had been accidental only, and the sudden transport of a vile mob, professed the same moderation as before, and affected to speak with the greatest respect of Brutus and Cassius. He readily procured for them a decree to absolve them from the laws, which forbid the prætors to be absent from the city above ten days: and, by several other seasonable acts, proposed by him to the senate, appeared to have nothing so much at heart as the public concord. Among other decrees, he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himself, "to abolish

in his house: she had intended to accompany him into the east, in order to preserve her influence over him, which was very great. But being terrified by the accident of his death, and the disorders which followed it, she presently left the city. However, before her departure, she laboured to get her son by Cæsar acknowledged as such at Rome, and declared the heir of her kingdom; as he was the year following by Antony and Octavius. She had a conference upon this subject with Cicero in Cæsar's gardens, where the haughtiness of her behaviour gave him no small offence. Knowing his taste and character, she made him the promise of some present very agreeable; and thus disobliged him the more by not performing it: he does not tell us what it was; but, from the hints which he drops, it seems to have been statues and curiosities from Egypt for the ornament of his library. When therefore she was obliged to apply to him by her ministers for his assistance in her affair, he refused to be concerned. "The flight of the queen (says he) gives me no pain——I should be glad to hear what farther news there is of her and her young Cæsar——I hate the queen: her agent Ammonicus, the witness and sponsor of her promises to me, knows that I have reason: they were things only proper for a man of letters, and suitable to my character; so that I should not scruple to proclaim them from the rostra. Her other agent Sara is not only a rascal, but has been rude to me. I never saw him at my house but once, and when I asked him civilly what commands he had for me, he said that he came to look for Atticus. As to the pride of the queen, when I saw her in the gardens, I can never think of it without resentment; I will have nothing, therefore, to do with them: they take me to have neither spirit nor even feeling left." Ad Att. 14. 8. 20. 15. 15. Middl. p. 262.

It was during his retirement at this time, that he composed his treatise, 'On the Nature of the Gods,' addressed to Brutus; his discourse on 'Divination,' or 'the Foreknowledge and Prediction of future Events; and the several Ways by which it was supposed to be acquired or communicated to Man;' those 'On the advantages of Old Age, on Friendship, and on Fate; and it was at this time, probably, that he finished his translation of Plato's famous dialogue, called 'Timæus, on the Nature and Origin of the Universe.' He was employing himself also upon a work of a different sort, which had been long upon his hands, 'A History of his own Times,' or rather of his own conduct: full of free and severe reflections on those who had abused their power to the oppression of the republic, especially Crassus and Cæsar. This he calls his Anecdote; a work not to be published, but to be shewn only to a few friends, in the manner of Theopompus, an historian famed for his severe and invective style. Atticus was urging him to put the last hand to it, and continue it down through Cæsar's government; but he chose to reserve this last part for a distinct history, in which he designed to vindicate at large, the justice of killing a tyrant. Dio says, that he delivered this book, sealed up, to his son, with strict orders not to read or publish it, till after his death: but, from this time, he never saw his son, and left the piece probably unfinished; though some copies of it afterward got abroad, from which his commentator Asconius has quoted several particulars. Middl. p. 291.

for ever the name and office of a dictator :" this seemed to be a sure pledge of his good intentions, and gave a universal satisfaction to the senate, who passed it, as it were, by acclamation, without even putting it to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the house for it to Antony.

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About the same time the mob, headed by the impostor Marius (who was now returned to Rome), and the freedmen of Cæsar, had erected an altar in the forum on the spot where his body was burned; with a pillar of Numidian marble twenty feet high, inscribed, "To the Father of his Country." Here they performed daily sacrifices, and the humour of worshipping at this new altar spread so fast among the meaner sort and the slaves, as to endanger the peace and safety of the city. But Antony had their chief committed to prison, where he was strangled without any form of law: and his body in an ignominious manner was dragged through the streets. By this measure, Antony gained fresh credit with the conspirators; insomuch that Brutus, together with Cassius and other friends, had a personal conference with him about this time, which passed to mutual satisfaction. By these arts he hoped to amuse the conspirators, and induce them to lay aside all vigorous counsels; and thus prevent them from furnishing themselves with troops and money, which would put them in a condition to act offensively.[a]

Phil. 1. 2.

Antony, having thus put his affairs into the best train that he could, and appointed the 1st of June for a meeting of the senate, in order to deliberate on the state of the republic, took the opportunity of that interval to make a progress through Italy, for the sake of visiting

[a] Ad Att. 14. 16. With the same view he wrote an artful letter to Cicero, to desire his consent to the restoration of S. Clodius, the chief agent of P. Clodius, who had been several years in banishment for outrages committed in the city; chiefly against Cicero himself, on whose account he was condemned. Antony, by his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius, became the protector of all that family, and the tutor of young Publius, her son; which gave him a decent pretence of interesting himself in this affair. Middl. p. 260.

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the quarters of the veteran soldiers, and engaging them to his service by all sorts of bribes and promises. The government of the city, in his absence, devolved to Dolabella, whose conduct gave great satisfaction to the senate. The death of Marius had not put a stop to the mode of sacrificing at Cæsar's column: the multitudes which continued to flock to the place, fired with a kind of enthusiastic rage, ran furious about the streets, committing all sorts of outrage and violence against the supposed friends of liberty. This was open rebellion, and called for a remedy; which Dolabella effectually applied by demolishing the pillar and altar, paving the area they stood upon, and seizing the authors of the disorders; whom he proceeded against with great severity, causing such of them as were free to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, and the slaves to be crucified. This, we are told by Cicero, gave a universal joy to the city: the whole body of the people attended the consul to his house; and in the theatres gave him the usual testimony of their thanks by the loudest acclamations.[b]

Antony, in his progress through Italy, having drawn great numbers of the veterans towards Rome to be ready for any purpose his affairs should require, found himself above control, and began immediately to act with less reserve. Brutus and Cassius continued still near Lanuvium, being yet irresolute what measures they should take: they kept themselves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer, and waiting particularly to see what humour the consuls would be in at the

[b] In a letter on this occasion to Atticus, Cicero says, "O my admirable Dolabella! I now call him mine: for, believe me, I had some doubt of him before. The fact affords matter of great speculation: to throw them down the rock; to crucify; demolish the pillar; pave the area; in short, it is heroic. He has extinguished all appearance of that regret for Cæsar, which was spreading every day so fast, that I began to apprehend some danger to our tyrant-killers: but I now agree with you and conceive better hopes." Ad Att. 14. 15. "Oh the brave act of Dolabella! What a prospect does it give us? I never cease praising and exhorting him—Our Brutus, I dare say, might now walk safely through the forum, with a crown of gold upon his head: for who dare molest him, when the rock or the cross is to be their fate? And when the very lowest of the people give such proofs of their applause and approbation?" Ad Att. 14. 16. See also his letter to Dolabella, Ep. Fam. 9. 14. which is in the highest strain of compliment.

next meeting of the senate, with regard to themselves and the republic; and, since they were driven from the discharge of their prætorship, they contrived to put the people in mind of them, from time to time, by their edicts, in which they made the strongest professions of their pacific disposition; declared that their conduct should give no handle for a civil war; and that they would submit to a perpetual exile, if it would contribute in any manner to the public concord; being contented with the consciousness of their act, as the greatest honour which they could enjoy. Their present design was to come to Rome on the 1st of June, and to take their places in the senate, if it should be thought advisable; or to present themselves at least in the rostra, and try the affections of the people, for whom Brutus was preparing a speech. But now the conduct of Antony began to open Brutus's eyes, and convince him of the mistake of his pacific measures; and he thought it time, therefore, in concert with Cassius, to require an explicit account of the consul's intentions, and expostulate with him gently in the following letter:

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BRUTUS AND CASSIUS, PRÆTORS, TO M. ANTONIUS, CONSUL.

"If we were not persuaded of your sincerity and good-will to us, we should not have written this to you; which, out of the kind disposition that you bear to us, you will take without doubt in good part. We are informed that a great multitude of veteran soldiers is already come to Rome, and a much greater expected there on the 1st of June. If we could harbour any suspicion or fear of you, we should be unlike ourselves: yet, surely, after we had put ourselves into your power, and, by your advice, dismissed the friends, whom we had about us, from the great towns, and that not only by public edict, but by private letters, we deserve to be made acquainted with your designs; especially in an affair which relates to ourselves. We beg of you, there-

Ep. Fam. 11. 2. Middl. p. 288.

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fore, to let us know what your intentions are with regard to us. Do you think we can be safe in such a crowd of veterans, who have thoughts, we hear, even of rebuilding the altar; which no man can desire or approve who wishes our safety and honour? That we had no other view from the first but peace, nor sought any thing else but the public liberty, the event shews. Nobody can deceive us but you, which is not certainly agreeable to your virtue and integrity: but no man else has it in his power to deceive us. We trusted and shall trust to you alone. Our friends are under the greatest apprehensions for us: for, though they are persuaded of your integrity, yet they reflect, that a multitude of veterans may sooner be pushed to any violence by others, than restrained by you. We desire an explicit answer to all particulars: for it is silly and trifling to tell us, that the veterans are called together, because you intend to move the senate in their favour in June: for who do you think will hinder it, when it is certain that we shall not? Nobody ought to think us too fond of life, when nothing can happen to us, but with the ruin and confusion of all things."

The assembly on the 1st of June was composed entirely of those who were either devoted to Antony, or quite indifferent how affairs should turn. Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls elect, did not appear, and Cicero also absented himself. He had moved towards Rome in the end of May; but, having received an account that the town was filled with veterans, who talked desperately against those who did not favour them; that Antony came thither, attended by a strong body of them; that all his views were bent on war, and that he designed to transfer the province of Gaul from Decimus Brutus to himself by a vote of the people; he determined not to venture to the senate, but withdrew again from the city. The major part of the senate followed his example, and fled out of the city for fear of some violence,

leaving the consuls, with a few of their creatures, to make what decrees they pleased. Antony represented, that his life was in danger on account of the several decrees he had passed and executed in favour of the republic, and demanded a guard; which was no sooner granted him, than he enlisted the veterans he had brought to Rome, and, instead of a moderate guard, formed to himself a little army of 6,000 old soldiers. The day following he obtained a decree, which had been proposed before and deferred till the 1st of June, to give the cognizance and execution of the acts of Cæsar to the consuls. This decree put every thing into his hands; for, being master both of Cæsar's papers and of his secretary Faberius, by whose hand they were written, he had an opportunity of forging and inserting, at pleasure, whatever he found of use to him; which he practised without any reserve or management, recalling from banishment the exiles, and selling publicly for money whatever immunities were desired by countries, cities, princes, or private men, on pretence that they had been granted by Cæsar, and entered into his books. The imposture was so gross in some instances, that he made Cæsar mention things which had happened since his death. He granted the freedom of the city to all Sicily, pretending that Cæsar had published a law to this effect, in an assembly of the people, though nobody had ever heard of it: he freed the rich towns of the island of Crete, and enacted that, after Brutus's proconsulship, it should become a province: he restored to king Deiotarus all his dominions, though every body knew that Cæsar hated no man so much as Deiotarus; but the bargain was made in Fulvia's apartments for the sum of 10,000,000 of sesterces by the king's agents at Rome. Antony, immediately after Cæsar's death, by seizing upon the ready money he had left, and which Calpurnia delivered up to him, had presently amassed an infinite sum: for though, at the time of Cæsar's

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80,729*l*.

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. death, he owed, as Cicero has told him, 40,000,000 of sesterces;[c] yet, within less than a fortnight after, he had paid the whole debt. But he soon made himself master 408th consulship. of a much larger sum, by seizing on the public treasury, 322,916l. which Cæsar had deposited, for the occasions of the government, in the temple of Opis, amounting to 5,651,037l. Arb. 700,000,000 of sesterces, or above 5,500,000 of our money. The use he made of it was to purchase soldiers, and he was now in a condition to outbid any competitor: but the first purchase which he made with it was of his colleague Dolabella, who had been long oppressed with the load of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promise of a farther share in the plunder of the empire, he drew entirely from Cicero and the party of the nobles into his own measures. This was an acquisition worth any price to him; the general inclination, both of the city and country, we are told, being clearly against him. The town of Puteoli, one of the most considerable in Italy, had lately chosen the two Brutuses and Cassius for their patrons, and there wanted nothing but a leader, it is said, to arm the whole empire against him. Dolabella seemed to be that very person, till bribed, as Cicero says, by the force of money, Middl. p. 295. "he not only deserted, but overturned, the republic."

On the 5th of June commissions were granted severally to Brutus and Cassius to buy up corn in Asia and Sicily. The situation of these leaders of the republican party was, at this time, very disagreeable; they were stripped of the power of their offices, suffered a kind of exile, and even depended upon Antony for their safety. Their friends, therefore, at Rome had been soliciting the senate for some extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the disgrace of living in banishment, when invested

[c] "Tu autem quadringenties HS. quod idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante kalendas Aprilis debere desisti." Phil. 2. 37. (Wetzel. p. 368.)

with one of the first magistracies of the republic. This was the ground of the commission just mentioned to buy corn; which seemed, however, to be below their character, and contrived as an affront to them by Antony, who affected still to speak of them always with respect. But their friends thought any thing better for them than to sit still in Italy; where their persons were exposed to danger from the veteran soldiers, who were all now in motion: and that this employment would be a security to them for the present, and afford an opportunity of providing for their future safety, by enabling them to execute, what they were now meditating, a design of seizing some provinces abroad, and arming themselves in defence of their party; which was what their enemies were most afraid of, and charged them with publicly, in order to make them odious. Year of ROME 709. B. C. 43. 408th consulship.

On the 26th of June, Brutus and Cassius held a select council of their friends at Antium, to which Cicero was particularly invited. There were present, among others, Favonius, Servilia, Porcia, Brutus's wife, and his sister Tertulla, the wife of Cassius. Cicero being asked his opinion, advised, "that Brutus should go to Asia, and undertake the affair of the corn: that the only thing to be done at present was to provide for their safety: that their safety was a certain benefit to the republic. . . . . Here Cassius interrupted him, and, with great fierceness in his looks, protested that he would not go to Sicily, nor accept, as a favour, what was intended as an affront; but would go to Achaia.—Brutus said, that he would go to Rome, if Cicero thought it proper for him—but Cicero declared it impossible for him to be safe there:—but, supposing, says he, I could be safe: why then, says Cicero, I should advise it by all means, as the best thing you could do, and better than any province.——After much discourse and complaining for the loss of opportunities, for which Cassius laid all the blame on D. Brutus, Cicero said, that though that was Ad Att. 13. 11. and 12.

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true, it was in vain to talk of what was passed; and, as the case then stood, he saw nothing left but to follow his advice,—to which, at last, they all seemed to agree, especially when Servilia[d] undertook, by her mediation, to get the affair of the corn left out of their commission; and Brutus consented that the plays and shows, with which he was to entertain the city shortly as prætor, should be given by proxy in his absence." Cicero took his leave, "pleased with nothing (he says) but the consciousness of having done his duty: for, as to the rest, he gave up all for lost; found the vessel not only broken, but shattered to pieces; and neither prudence, reason, nor design, in what they were doing: so that, if he had any doubt before, he had none now, but longed to get abroad as soon as possible."

There was now great expectation of the shows and plays which Brutus, as prætor of the city, was going to exhibit, according to annual custom, in honour of Apollo, on the 3d of July; and all people were attentive and impatient to see in what manner they would be received. The success of them answered all the hopes of Brutus and his friends; for they were received with great applause by all ranks, though Antony's brother-in-law, Caius, as the next prætor in office, presided at them. One of the plays was Tereus, a tragedy of Accius; which, having many strokes in it on the characters and acts of tyrants, was infinitely clapped by the people. This gave great pleasure to Brutus, who remained about a month longer in Italy, making preparations for his voyage.

[d] Servilia, though sister to Cato, had been one of Cæsar's mistresses; in the civil war he gave her several rich farms out of his Pompeian confiscations; and, according to Suetonius in Cæs. 50. bought a single jewel for her at the price of about 50,000*l.* She was a woman of spirit and intrigue, in great credit with the Cæsarean party, and at this very time possessed the estate and villa of Pontius Aquila, one of the conspirators. Cicero reckons it among the solecisms of the time, that the mother of the tyrant-killer should hold the estate of one of her son's accomplices; (ad Att. 14. 21.) yet she had such a share in all the counsels of Brutus, that it made Cicero the less inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one whom he could not trust: "When he is influenced so much (says he) by his mother's advice, or, at least, her entreaties, why should I interpose myself?" Ad Att. 15. 10. Middl. p. 297.

Sextus Pompeius about this time made proposals towards an accommodation. After the battle of Munda he had been obliged to fly from Corduba, and hide himself in the mountains of Celtiberia: here he remained some time in disguise; but Cæsar had no sooner left Spain, than, gathering together a number of the scattered soldiers, he dared to appear again in arms, and made war successfully against two of Cæsar's lieutenants, Carinnas and Pollio. Upon the news of Cæsar's assassination, numbers flocked to him, and he saw himself again at the head of seven legions, with which he appeared in open campaign, and stormed some towns. The sum of his demands was, that all who had the command of armies should dismiss them. This proposal was contained in the letter which he addressed to the consuls; but to Libo, his father-in-law, to whom he enclosed this public letter, he signified at the same time that, unless his father's estate and house at Rome were restored to him, he would agree to nothing. This overture from Pompey was procured chiefly by the management of Lepidus: who, having the province of Spain assigned to him, where Pompey was very strong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at such a distance from Rome, and drawn off from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in Italy: for which purpose, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty and honourable terms to Pompey; and that, on condition of laying down his arms, and quitting the province, he should be restored to all his estates and honours, and have the command of the whole naval power of Rome, in the same manner as his father had it before him: all which was proposed and recommended to the senate by Antony himself, where, to preserve a due respect to Cæsar's acts, by which Pompey's estates had been confiscated, it was decreed, "that the same sum, for which they had been sold, should be given him by the public, to enable him to purchase them again." This amounted

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Middl. p. 305. Ad Att. 16. 11.

Philip. 5. 13, 14. Ib. 13. 4, 5.

Appian. p. 528. Dio, l. 45.

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to 700,000,000 of sesterces, above 5,500,000*l.* of our money, exclusive of his jewels, plate, and furniture; which, being wholly embezzled, he was content to lose. On these terms, ratified by the authority of the senate, Pompey actually quitted Spain, and came to Marseilles; where, in his quality of admiral, he made naval preparations, with which he soon after seized upon Sicily. The project was wisely concerted by Lepidus and Antony; for, while it carried a show of moderation and disposition to peace, it disarmed a desperate enemy, who was in condition to give great obstruction to their designs and diversion to their arms, at a time when the necessity of their interests required their presence and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power in the heart and centre of the empire.

A little before this time, a new actor, the young Octavius, left by his uncle Cæsar the heir of his name and estate, appeared upon the stage, who, though hitherto unnoticed, soon made a distinguished figure upon it, and became the object of general attention. He had attended Cæsar in the Spanish war; after which he was sent to Apollonia, a celebrated academy or school of learning in Macedonia, there to wait for him in his way to the Parthian war, in which he was to serve in quality of master of the horse. As soon as the news of his uncle's death was spread in those parts, all the officers of the troops quartered there made him a tender of their services. Agrippa and Salvidienus were of opinion that he would do right to accept of them; and, in all appearance, if he had followed their advice, all the veterans would have repaired to him, and, in the confused and unsettled state of things in Italy, he would easily have made himself master of Rome, and forced Antony to join him. But he thought this too rash an undertaking, before he had sounded the dispositions of the citizens and soldiers. The sole pretension, therefore, that he avowed at present was, to assert his right to the

succession of his uncle's estate, and to claim the possession of it. This was thought an attempt by many too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, not nineteen years complete; for the aristocratical party had great reason to be jealous of him, lest, with the inheritance of the estate, he should grasp at the power of his uncle; and Antony still more, who had destined that succession to himself, and even seized the effects, lest, by the advantage of that wealth, Octavius might be in a condition to make head against him. His mother Atia, therefore, and her husband Philip, out of concern for his safety, pressed him, by letters, to suspend his claim for awhile, and not assume an invidious name, before he could see what turn the public affairs would take. But, on the other side, there were many about him constantly pushing him on to throw himself upon the affections of the city and the army, before his enemies had made themselves too strong for him. The remonstrances of these last had weight with him; and, incited by his natural ambition, he resolved without delay to pass over into Italy. On his landing at Brundusium, he was received by the soldiers with great demonstrations of attachment to his cause; and the veterans settled in Italy came from all parts to meet him, complaining of Antony's indolence in revenging the death of his great friend and benefactor. He crossed the country to join his mother and father-in-law, who were at Cumæ; where Cicero also was at this time, as well as Balbus, Hirtius, and Pansa. On the 18th of April he arrived at Naples; whither Balbus went the next morning to receive him, and returned the same day to Cicero, near Cumæ, having conducted Octavius to the adjoining villa of his father-in-law Philip. Hirtius and Pansa presented him to Cicero, to whom he made the strongest assurances "that he would be governed implicitly by his advice." His domestics gave him the name of Cæsar; for the young man was determined to risk all his

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hopes on the credit of this name; but Philip continued to call him Octavius, and so did Cicero: who, speaking of him to Atticus, says, "Octavius is still with us, and treats me with the greatest respect and friendship .... it is not possible for him to make a good citizen, there are so many about him who threaten the death of our friends; they declare, that what they have done can never be forgiven." On his arrival near Rome, he was met by crowds of his father's and his own friends, and conducted by them in pomp into the city. Before he dismissed them, he desired that they would attend him the next morning into the forum; and he then went to C. Antonius, who, in Brutus's absence, executed the functions of prætor urbanus, claimed in a legal manner his father's succession, and had his claim entered into the public register. From the prætor's tribunal he went to Pompey's gardens, where the consul Antony resided. After the first compliments, Octavius having demanded of the consul to be put into possession of the money and other effects Cæsar had left, in order to be able to discharge the legacies of the will: Antony gave him but a very short audience, telling him "that he was young, and did not know what he was about; that the title he assumed of heir and executor to Cæsar's will was a burden too great for his shoulders." The consul took likewise all possible means to prevent Octavius from getting his adoption confirmed by the people in an assembly of the *curiæ*, as the law required. He also opposed the young man in another scheme, that of getting into the tribuneship in the place of Helvius Cinna, killed by the mob at Cæsar's funeral.

Appian. Suet. Oct. 10.

Octavius seeing that Antony openly declared against him, made his court to the people; and being produced into the rostra by one of the tribunes, made a speech to them; which he seconded by what was like to please the inferior part of the city much better, a promise of not only paying them what Cæsar had bequeathed them,

by his will, but of adding to it, and treating them with Year of ROME
public shows and plays in honour of Cæsar's victories. 709. B.C. 43.
He courted also the senate, who shewed him on their
part the more regard in proportion as Antony became 408th consulship.
more and more formidable: "Octavius (says Cicero in Ad Att.
a letter to Atticus) I perceive has parts and spirit, and 15. 12.
seems to be affected as we could wish, towards our heroes; but how far we may trust his age, name, succession, education, is a matter of great deliberation. His father-in-law, who came to see me at Astura, thinks, not at all. He must be cherished, however, if but for nothing else, yet to keep him at a distance from Antony. Marcellus acts nobly, if he instils into him a good disposition towards our friends. He seemed to be much influenced by him, but to have no confidence in Pansa and Hirtius: his natural disposition is good, if it does but hold."

On the 20th of July, just after the shows given by Brutus, came on those in honour of Venus Mater, and in memory of Cæsar's victories; which Octavius undertook at his own expense, as those who had been charged with the management of them durst not venture to exhibit them after his death. In these shows Octavius Suet.
brought out the golden chair, which, among the other Aug. 10. Dio, 44.
honours decreed to Cæsar when living, was ordered to 243.
be placed in the theatres and circuses on all solemn occasions; but the tribunes ordered the chair to be taken away.[e] To answer the immense expense of these games, and others, in which he soon engaged, he was obliged to sell not only the succession of his father, but his own estate, and even that of his mother and Philip, his father-in-law, who, seeing now that his claim created to him no danger, entered earnestly into his views.

[e] There appeared during these games, a comet near the Great Bear for seven days together. It rose about an hour before sunset, and was very bright. The people imagined that the appearance of this star was to inform us, that Cæsar's soul was received into the number of the immortal gods. For which reason, a star was placed over the head of the statue, which Octavius consecrated soon after in the forum. The star became afterward the distinguishing attribute of Cæsar in all the monuments erected to his honour, and we find it upon many of his medals.

Year of ROME The turn affairs had taken made Cicero resolve to pro-
709. B.C. 43. secute what he had long been projecting, his voyage into
Greece, to spend a few months with his son at Athens.
408th consul- He despaired of any good from the present consuls,
ship. Middl. and intended to see Rome no more, till their successors
p. 294. entered into office; in whose administration he began
to place all his hopes. He wrote therefore to Dolabella
to procure him the grant of an honorary lieutenancy;
Ad Att. and lest Antony, an angry man, as he calls him, should
15. 8 11. think himself slighted, he wrote to him too on the same
subject. Dolabella immediately named him for one of
his own lieutenants, which answered his purpose still
better; for, without obliging him to any service, or
limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to go
where he pleased; so that he readily accepted it, and
prepared for his journey. He provided three little
Middl. yachts or galleys to transport himself and his attend-
p. 309. Ad Att. ants; but, as there was a report of legions arriving daily
16. 14. from abroad, and of pirates also at sea, he thought it
would be safer to sail in company with Brutus and Cas-
sius, who had drawn together a fleet of considerable
force, which now lay upon the coast. He gave several
hints of his design to Brutus, who received it more
coldly than he expected; and seemed uncertain and ir-
resolute about the time of his going. He resolved there-
fore to embark without farther delay, though in some
perplexity to the last about the expediency of the voyage,
and jealous of its being censured as a desertion of his
Ad Att. country; but Atticus kept up his spirits, by assuring him
16. 2. 6. constantly in his letters, that it was generally approved
of at Rome, provided that he kept his word of returning
by the first of the new year. He sailed slowly from
Pompeii along the western coast of Italy towards Rhe-
gium, going ashore every night to lodge with some
friend or client. He was at Velia, on the coast of Lu-
cania, on the 19th of July.[f] From Rhegium, or rather

[f] This was the native place of Trebatius; whence he wrote a kind letter to him,

Leucopetra, a promontory near it, he passed over to Syracuse on the 1st of August, and set sail the next morning towards Greece, but was driven back by contrary winds to Leucopetra; and, after a second attempt, with no better success, was forced to wait for the opportunity of a fair wind. Here the principal inhabitants of the country came to pay him their compliments; some of them fresh from Rome, who brought the news of an unexpected turn of affairs there towards a general pacification: "That Antony seemed disposed to desist from his pretensions to Gaul, submit to the authority of the senate, and make up matters with Brutus and Cassius, who had written circular letters to all the principal senators, to beg their attendance in the senate on the 1st of September; and that Cicero's absence was particularly regretted, and even blamed at such a crisis." This agreeable account of things made him presently drop all thoughts of pursuing his voyage; in which he was confirmed likewise by letters from Atticus; who, contrary to his former advice, pressed him now, in strong and pathetic terms, to come back again to Rome. He returned therefore by the same course which he had before taken, and came to Velia on the 17th of August. Brutus lay within three miles of it with his fleet; and, hearing of his arrival, came immediately on foot to salute him: "He declared himself exceedingly pleased with Cicero's return; owned that he had never approved,

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Ad Att. 16. 7. Philip. 1.

dated the 19th of July, advising him by no means to sell that family estate as he then designed, situated so healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confusion of the times, among a people who entirely loved him. Ep. Fam. 7. 20. At this place he began his treatise of Topics, or the art of finding arguments on any question. It was an abstract of Aristotle's piece on the same subject; which Trebatius happening once to meet with in Cicero's Tusculan library, had begged of him to explain. He drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed before he came to Rhegium, whence he sent it to Trebatius, with a letter, dated the 27th. In the same voyage, happening to be looking over his treatise on the Academic philosophy, he observed the preface of the third book to be the same that he had prefixed to his book 'On Glory,' which he had lately sent to Atticus. It was his custom, it seems, to prepare at leisure a number of different proems adapted to the general view of his studies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he should afterward publish; so that by mistake he had used this preface twice; he composed, therefore, a new one on ship-board for the piece 'On Glory.' Ad Att. 16. 6. Middl. p. 310.

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though he had not dissuaded the voyage; thinking it indecent to give advice to a man of his experience; but now told him plainly, that he had escaped two great imputations on his character; the one, of too hasty a despair and desertion of the common cause; the other, of the vanity of going to see the Olympic games. This last, as Cicero says, 'would have been shameful for him in any state of the republic, but in the present unpardonable; and professes himself therefore greatly obliged to the winds for preserving him from such an infamy, and, like good citizens, blowing him back to the service of his country."

Brutus informed him likewise of what had passed in the senate on the 1st of August, and how Piso had signalized himself by a brave and honest speech, and some vigorous motions in favour of the public liberty, in which nobody had the courage to second him: he produced also Antony's edict, and their answer to it, which pleased Cicero exceedingly; but, on the whole, though he was still satisfied with his resolution of returning, yet he found no such reason for it as his first intelligence had suggested, nor any hopes of doing much service at Rome, where he arrived on the last of the month.

Middl. p. 315.

The senate met the next morning, to which Cicero was particularly summoned by Antony, but excused himself by a civil message, as being too much indisposed by the fatigue of his journey. Antony took this as an affront, and, in a great rage, openly threatened in the senate to order his house to be pulled down about his ears.[g] The business of the day was to decree some new and extraordinary honours to the memory of Cæsar,

[g] Plutarch, in Cic. says, "that Antony sent soldiers with orders either to bring him, or set his house on fire; but, being dissuaded from this violence by the interposition of the house, he was satisfied to make Cicero lose his pledge." The consuls had in former times obliged the senators to lodge certain pledges in their hands, which they were to lose if they refused obedience to their orders. But Cicero had given no pledge to Antony, nor was it now the custom; and, though in his first Philippic he exclaims against the injurious treatment he now met with from Antony, he must be considered as complaining only of a passionate threat.

with a religious supplication to him as to a divinity.[h] Cicero was determined not to concur in it, yet knew that an opposition would not only be fruitless, but dangerous; and for that reason stayed away. Antony, on the other hand, was desirous to have him there, fancying that he would either be frightened into a compliance, which would lessen him with his own party; or, by opposing what was intended, make himself odious to the soldiery. The decree passed without any contradiction.

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The senate met again the next day, when Antony thought fit to absent himself, and leave the stage clear to Cicero, who accordingly appeared, and delivered the first of those speeches, which were afterward called his Philippics. He opened it with a particular account of the motives of his late voyage and sudden return; of his interview with Brutus, and his regret at leaving him. He then declared that "he came to second Piso; and, in case of any accidents, of which many seemed to surround him, to leave that day's speech as a monument of his perpetual fidelity to his country." After complaining of Antony's injurious treatment of him the day before, and condemning the decree to which they were forced to give their consent, he returned thanks to Piso for what he had said in that place the month before; wished that he had been present to second him; and reproved the other consulars for betraying their dignity

[h] Cicero, Phil. 1. expresses himself in this manner on the subject of this religious supplication: "Do you imagine, conscript fathers, though I had been forced to attend the house, that I should have given my vote for decreeing that parental obsequies should be mixed with public thanksgivings; that religious rites, inexpiable, should be introduced among us; that supplications should be ordered to the dead? I will not say to whom. Had he been a Lucius Brutus, who, with his own hand, freed his country from regal slavery, and through a succession of almost 500 years, transmitted a representative capable of being fired with the same noble sentiments, and performing a like glorious exploit; never should I have been brought to consent to the decree: shall the dead be joined in the worship due to the immortal gods, and the man who no where has a monument of parental obsequies, be honoured with the rites of public supplication? This opinion, conscript fathers, I should have delivered, that I might have been able easily to vindicate myself to the Roman people, in case that any heavy blow had fallen upon them through war, through pestilence, or famine; part of these indeed we already feel, and more I am afraid now threaten us. But the immortal gods, I hope, will pardon the people of Rome, who do not approve of this decree, and the senate who are compelled to grant it."

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by deserting him. As to public affairs, he dwelt much on Antony's abuse of their decree to confirm Cæsar's acts, and the plundering the temple of Opis of those sums which might have been of great service to the state. He shewed also the unreasonableness of two laws which Antony had proposed: the one to form a third order of judges, to consist of military men; and the other by which those convicted either of riotous or treasonable practices, should be at liberty to appeal to the people. He then exhorted the two consuls to follow the true path to glory, telling them, "that to be dear to our citizens, to deserve well of our country, to be praised, respected, beloved, was truly glorious; to be feared and hated always invidious, detestable, weak, and tottering; that Cæsar's fate was a warning to them how much better it was to be loved than to be feared; that no man could live happy who held life on such terms, that it might be taken from him not only with impunity, but with praise."

Antony was greatly enraged at this speech, and summoned another meeting of the senate, for the 19th, where he again required Cicero's attendance; but Cicero did not think proper to obey the summons. The consul made a bitter invective against him, which he had been preparing ever since the last meeting, and in which he charged him with every thing his resentment could suggest: but chiefly insisted on his being not only privy to the murder of Cæsar, but the contriver of it, as well as the author of every step which the conspirators had since taken. Cicero assures us, that his intention was to inflame the soldiers to some violence, whom he had placed for that purpose about the avenues of the temple of Concord, where the senate met, and within hearing even of their debates. This determined him immediately to retire from Rome, and its neighbourhood, to his farthest villas near Naples, where he composed his second Philippic, by way of reply to An-

tony, not delivered in the senate, as the tenor of it seems to imply, but finished in the country, nor intended to be published, till things were actually come to extremity. The oration is a most bitter invective on Antony's whole life, describing it as a perpetual scene of lewdness, faction, violence, rapine, heightened with all the colours of wit and eloquence.

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Brutus and Cassius, during these transactions, at last clearly seeing that Antony meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more desperate, left Italy: and they took occasion, a little before their departure, to write the following letter in common to Antony:

Middl. p. 313.

BRUTUS AND CASSIUS, PRÆTORS, TO ANTONY, CONSUL.

"If you are in good health, it is a pleasure to us. We have read your letter, exactly of a piece with your edict, abusive threatening, wholly unworthy to be sent from you to us. For our part, Antony, we have never done you any injury; nor imagine that you would think it strange that prætors and men of our rank should require any thing, by edict, of a consul. But if you are angry that we have presumed to do it, give us leave to be concerned that you would not indulge that privilege at least to Brutus and Cassius: for, as to our raising troops, exacting contributions, soliciting armies, sending expresses beyond sea; since you deny that you ever complained of it, we believe you; and take it as a proof of your good intention: we do not, indeed, own any such practices; yet think it strange, when you objected nothing of that kind, that you could not contain yourself, from reproaching us with the death of Cæsar. Consider with yourself whether it is to be endured, that, for the sake of the public quiet and liberty, prætors cannot depart from their rights by edict, but the consul must threaten them with arms. Do not think to

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. 408th consulship. frighten us with such threats: it is not agreeable to our character to be moved by any danger: nor must Antony pretend to command those by whose means he now lives free. If there were other reasons to dispose us to

raise a civil war, your letter would have no effect to hinder it: for threats can have no influence on those who are free. But you know very well that it is not possible for us to be driven to any thing against our will; and for that reason, perhaps, you threaten, that, whatever we do, it may seem to be the effect of fear. These then are our sentiments: we wish to see you live with honour and splendour in a free republic; have no desire to quarrel with you; yet value our liberty more than your friendship. It is your business to consider again and again what you attempt, and what you can maintain; and to reflect, not how long Cæsar lived, but how short a time he reigned: we pray the gods that your counsels may be salutary both to the republic and to yourself; if not, wish, at least, that they may hurt you as little as they may consist with the safety and dignity of the republic. August the 4th."

Middl. p. 313. The two prætors were to succeed of course to the government of some province at the expiration of their office. Cæsar had intended Macedonia for Brutus, and Syria for Cassius: but as these were two of the most important commands of the empire, and would throw a great power into their hands, at a time when their enemies were taking measures to destroy them; so Antony contrived to get two other provinces of an inferior kind decreed to them, Crete to Brutus, and Cyrene to Cassius; and, by a law of the people, procured Macedonia and Syria to be conferred upon himself and his colleague Dolabella; in consequence of which, he sent his brother Caius, in all haste, to possess himself of the first, and Dolabella to secure the second, before their rivals could be in a condition to seize them by force, of which they were greatly apprehensive; taking it for granted, that

this was the project which Brutus and Cassius were now meditating. Cassius had acquired a great reputation in the east by his conduct in the Parthian war, and Brutus was highly honoured in Greece for his reputation of virtue and love of philosophy: they resolved therefore to slight the petty provinces which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerful ones that Cæsar had promised them: and with that view had provided the fleets above mentioned, to transport themselves to those countries, which they had destined for the scene of action; Brutus to Macedonia, Cassius to Syria; where we shall soon have occasion to give a farther account of their success.

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The desperate state of the party of the conspirators, at this time, cannot be better represented than by giving the reader a letter of Cicero to Cassius: "It gives me great pleasure to find that my late speech [his first Philippic] has received your approbation. If I could more frequently enforce the same sentiments, the liberties of the republic might easily be recovered. But that far more desperate and detestable scoundrel [Antony] than he at whose death you said, the worst of all villains is expired, is watching for a pretence to begin his murderous purposes: and his single view in charging me with having advised the killing of Cæsar is merely to excite the veteran soldiers against my life. But this is a danger which I am not afraid to hazard, since he gives me a share with you in the honour of that glorious deed. Hence it is, however, that neither Piso, who first ventured to inveigh against the measures of Antony; nor myself, who made a speech afterward to the same purpose, about a month afterward: nor P. Servilius, who followed my example, can any of us appear with safety in the senate. For this inhuman gladiator has evidently a design upon our lives, and he hoped to have rendered me the first victim of his cruel vengeance. With this sanguinary view he entered the se-

Ep. Fam. 12. 2. Melm. 12. 24.

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nate on the 19th of September, having several days before retired to the villa of Metellus, in order to prepare an inflammatory speech against me. But who shall reconcile the silent meditations of eloquence with the noisy revels of lewdness and debauchery? Accordingly, it was the opinion of all his audience, that he could not so properly be said to have delivered a speech, as to have discharged, with his usual indecency, the horrid fumes of his scandalous intemperance.

"You are persuaded, you tell me, that my credit and eloquence will be able to produce some good effect. and some indeed it has produced, considering the sad situation of our affairs. It has rendered the people sensible that there are three persons of consular rank, who, because they are in the interest of the republic, and have spoken their sentiments in the senate with freedom, cannot attend that assembly without the danger of being assassinated. And this is all the good you are to expect from my oratory. A certain relation of yours[i] is so captivated with his new alliance, that he no longer concerns himself in the success of your games; but, on the contrary, is mortified at those peals of applause with which your brother[k] was distinguished. Another of your family has been softened by some grants, which it is pretended that Cæsar had designed to confer upon him. This, however, might be borne with patience: but is it not utterly beyond all endurance, that there should be a man, who dares openly to avow that he supports the measures of that scoundrel Antony, with the hopes that his son will be chosen consul, when you and Brutus are entitled to be candidates for that office? As to our friend L. Cotta, a fatal despair (for so he terms it himself) has almost entirely driven him from the senate. L. Cæsar, that firm and excellent patriot, is prevented from coming thither by his ill state of

[i] Lepidus is supposed to be the person here meant. He was related to Cassius by his own marriage, and had lately married his son to Antony's daughter. Melm.
[k] He conducted the games which Cassius gave as prætor.

health: and S. Sulpicius, who is a true friend to the cause of liberty, and whose authority might be of infinite service in the present conjuncture, is unhappily absent from Rome. After having mentioned these, I must take the liberty to say, that I cannot add any others, excepting the consuls elect, who may be justly deemed as well-wishers to the republic. The truth is, these are the only persons upon whose advice and authority the commonwealth can depend. And small, indeed, would their number be, even in the best of times: how unequal then must their strength be found, to combat against the worst? All our hopes, therefore, rest entirely upon you and Brutus; I mean, if you have not withdrawn from us with a view only to your own preservation: for, if that should be the case, we have nothing, alas! to hope neither from Brutus nor from you. But if, on the contrary, you are forming some glorious enterprise, worthy of your exalted characters; I doubt not but the republic, by your assistance, will soon recover her liberties; and I have only to wish, that I may not be destroyed ere that happy day shall arrive. In the mean time, my best services neither are, nor shall be wanting to your family: and, whether they should apply to me for that purpose, or not, I shall never fail to give them proofs of my friendship towards you. Farewell."

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Antony kept no longer any measure with the republican party: he declared himself more and more openly every day against the conspirators, and, to ingratiate himself with the veteran soldiers, threatened them in his edicts, and discovered an intention to revenge the death of Cæsar. After the decree of a religious supplication to Cæsar, and parental obsequies above mentioned, he erected a statue in the rostra, and inscribed it to the most worthy parent of his country. These acts were so many public and solemn declarations, that the conspirators were not only murderers, but parricides. All the hopes, therefore, of the republicans were now

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. 408th consulship. grounded in the quarrel between Antony and Octavius. The latter, perceiving there was nothing to be done for him in the city against a consul armed with supreme power both civil and military, formed a design against Antony's life, and actually provided certain slaves to assassinate him, who were discovered and seized with poniards in Antony's house, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot. The story was supposed by many to be forged by Antony, to justify his treatment of Octavius, and his depriving him of the estate of his uncle: but the greatest part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact, and Cicero says, that all men of sense both believed and applauded it. These two chiefs of the Cæsarians now made open preparations for war. Antony left Rome in the beginning of October, in order to meet and engage in his service four legions from Macedonia, which had been sent thither by Cæsar, on their way to Parthia, and were now, by his orders, returning to Italy. Octavius, on his side, sent also some of his adherents, with money, to engage them to prefer his service to Antony's, while he himself went into Campania, to solicit the veterans distributed in the colonies about Capua. Those of Calatia and Casilinum immediately joined him, to the number of 1000, to each of whom he distributed 500 *denarii*: these were afterward called *evocati*. Antony was not so well received at Brundusium, where he arrived the 8th of October: for the soldiers, discontented with his behaviour towards the conspirators, received him without any signs of joy, and followed him in silence to his tribunal, to hear what he had to say for himself. He began by reproaching them with their ingratitude, in not being sensible of their obligations to him, who, instead of sending them upon an expedition to Parthia, brought them into Italy; but when he came to the point, and offered them only one hundred *denarii*, whilst Octavius gave five times as much to those who followed him, they all left his tribunal. This affront put him into

Suet. in Oct. 10. Plut. in Ant.

Ep. Fam. 12. 23.

Cic. Ibid. Vell. Pat. 2. 6. App. 1. 3. p. 543. 546, et 558. Dio, l. 45.

About 18*l*.

such a rage, that, calling together the centurions, whom he suspected to be the authors of their disaffection, he ordered them to be massacred in his own lodgings, while he and his wife Fulvia stood calmly looking on. Octavius's emissaries greatly profited by this mad behaviour, and spread among the soldiers billets, in which they compared the usage they had met with from Cæsar, and what they might expect from his son and heir, with this treatment of Antony. All he could do by his promises and threats was to engage the legion of the Alaudæ[l] to follow him: the other three, without taking his money or giving him any mark of affection, took their route along the Adriatic coast, without declaring yet for any side.

Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. 403th consulship. Philip. 3. et 5. App. p. 651.

Antony stayed in those parts till the end of October. Octavius, on his side, was very active in soliciting the veterans in all the colonies, and was equally pressing to gain the republicans over to his interest, and particularly Cicero: by whose influence he hoped to gain the others, offering to be their head against Antony. He wrote, therefore, letter after letter to Cicero[m] to assure him of

[l] This legion was raised by J. Cæsar, and composed of the natives of Gaul armed and disciplined after the Roman manner, to which he gave the freedom of Rome. He called it by a Gallic name Alaudæ; which signifies a kind of lark or little bird with a tuft or crest rising upon its head: in imitation of which the legion wore a crest of feathers on the helmet; from which origin the word was adopted into the Latin tongue. Antony, out of compliment to these troops, and to assure himself of their fidelity, had lately made a judiciary law, by which he erected a third class of judges, to be drawn from the officers of this legion, and added to the other two of senators and knights; for which Cicero often reproaches him as a most infamous prostitution of the dignity of the republic. Philipp. 1. 8. Middl. p. 325.

[m] "I had two letters the same day from Octavius; he presses me to come immediately to Rome; is resolved, he says, to do nothing without the senate.—I tell him that there can be no senate till the 1st of January, which I take to be true. He adds also: 'nor without my advice.' In a word he urges: I hang back: I cannot trust his age; do not know his real intentions; will do nothing without Pansa; am afraid that Antony may prove too strong for him; and therefore unwilling to stir from the sea; yet would not have any thing vigorous done without me. Varro does not like the conduct of the boy, but I do. He has firm troops, and may join with D. Brutus: what he does he does openly; musters his troops at Capua; pays them; we shall have a war, I see, instantly." Ad Att. 16. 9.

"I have letters every day from Octavius, to undertake his affairs; to come to him at Capua; to save the state a second time: he resolves to come directly to Rome.

'Urg'd to the fight, 'tis shameful to refuse,
Whilst fear yet prompts the safer part to choose.' Hom. Il. 7.

He has hitherto acted, and acts still with vigour, and will come to Rome with a great force. Yet he is but a boy: he thinks the senate may be called immediately: but who will come? or, if they do, who, in this uncertainty of affairs, will declare

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his good dispositions and to ask his advice, whether he should advance to Rome, before Antony's return, with 3000 veterans, or keep the post of Capua, and oppose his progress there; or go to the Macedonian legions, who were marching along the Adriatic sea, and who, he hoped, were in his interest. Cicero advised him to march to Rome, where he was likely to have the lower people on his side. He did so, and, being produced in the rostra by the tribune Canutius, made a speech against Antony, declaring that he came to deliver the republic from his oppression: he nevertheless let drop some expressions which greatly startled the republicans; for, stretching out his hand to Cæsar's statue, he made use of this oath: "So may I arrive at the honours of my father." He did not think proper to wait Antony's return, but left the city to join the rest of his soldiers.

Antony, in his way back to Rome, marched with colours displayed, and raised contributions in all the great towns: he entered the city at the head of his legion, and posted it about his own house, giving the word of command, and obliging them to do duty as in a camp. He published at the same time several fierce and threatening edicts, in which he gave Octavius the name of Spartacus; reproached him with the ignobleness of his birth; charged Cicero with being the author of all his councils; abused young Quintus as a perfidious wretch, who had offered to kill both his father and uncle; forbade three of the tribunes, under pain of death, to appear in the senate: Q. Cassius, the brother of the conspirator, Carefulenus, and Canutius. In this

Middl. p. 329.

against Antony? He will be a good guard to us on the 1st of January; or it may come, perhaps, to blows before. The great towns favour the boy strangely—They flock to him from all parts, and exhort him to proceed: could you ever have thought it?" Ibid. 11. They were not therefore so much in the interest of the conspirators, as Cicero sometimes affirms.

In the hurry of all these politics, he was prosecuting his studies still with his usual application; and, besides the "Second Philippic" already mentioned, now finished his book "Of Offices, or the Duties of Man," for the use of his son. He now also drew up, as it is thought, his "Stoical Paradoxes," or an illustration of the peculiar doctrines of that sect, from the examples and characters of their own countrymen, which he addressed to Brutus. Middl. p. 327.

humour he summoned the senate on the 24th of November, with severe threats to those who should absent themselves; yet he himself neglected to come, and adjourned it by edict till the 28th. But, while all people were in expectation of some extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly, which he had prepared, to declare young Cæsar a public enemy; he happened to receive the news that two of the legions from Brundusium, the fourth, and that called *the martial*, had actually declared for Octavius, and had posted themselves at Alba in the neighbourhood of Rome. This shocked him so much, that, instead of prosecuting what he had projected, he only huddled over what nobody opposed, the decree of a supplication to Lepidus; and the same evening, after he had distributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the several provinces of the empire, which few or none of them durst accept from so precarious a title, he changed the habit of the consul for that of a general, and left the city with precipitation, to put himself at the head of his army, and possess himself by force of Cisalpine Gaul, assigned to him by a pretended law of the people, against the will of the senate.

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Philipp. 3. 9. et 8.

On the news of his retreat, Cicero presently quitted his books and the country, and set out towards Rome. He seemed to be called by the voice of the republic, to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him; there was not a consul, and scarce a single prætor, in the city, nor any troops from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived on the 9th of December, and immediately conferred with Pansa (for Hirtius lay very ill) about the measures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into the consulship. Before his leaving the country, Oppius had been with him to press him again to undertake the affairs of Octavius and the protection of the troops: but his answer was, "that he could not consent to it, unless he were first assured, that Octavius would not only be no

Middl. p. 330.

Ad Att. 16. 15.

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enemy, but even a friend to Brutus; that he could be of no service to Octavius till the 1st of January, and there would be an opportunity before that time of trying Octavius's disposition in the case of Casca, who had been named by Cæsar to the tribunate, and was to enter upon it on the 10th of December: for, if Octavius did not oppose or disturb his admission, that would be a proof of his good intentions." Oppius undertook for all this on the part of Octavius, and Octavius himself confirmed it, and suffered Casca, who gave the first blow to Cæsar, to enter quietly into his office. The tribunes, in the mean time, in the absence of the superior magistrates, called a meeting of the senate on the 19th. Cicero had resolved not to appear there any more till he should be supported by the new consuls; but happening to receive, the day before, the edict of D. Brutus, by which he prohibited Antony the entrance of his province, and declared that he would defend it against him by force, and preserve it in its duty to the senate, he thought it necessary for the public service and the present encouragement of Brutus, to procure, as soon as possible, some public declaration in his favour: he went, therefore, to the senate very early, which, being known to the other senators, presently drew together a full house, in expectation of hearing his sentiments in so nice and critical a situation of the public affairs.

The senate being assembled, the tribunes acquainted them, that the business of that meeting was to provide a guard for the security of the new consuls, and the protection of the senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking the whole state of the republic into consideration. Upon this Cicero opened the debate, and represented to them "the danger of their present condition, and the necessity of speedy and resolute councils against an enemy, who lost no time in attempting their ruin. That they had been ruined indeed before, had it not been for the courage

and virtue of young Cæsar, who, contrary to all expectation, and without being even desired to do what no man thought possible for him to do, had, by his private authority and expense, raised a strong army of veterans, and baffled the designs of Antony: that if Antony had succeeded at Brundusium, and prevailed with the legions to follow him, he would have filled the city at his return with blood and slaughter: that it was their part to authorize and confirm what Cæsar had done, and to empower him to do more, by employing his troops in the farther service of the state; and to make a special provision also for the two legions which declared for him against Antony. As to D. Brutus, who had promised by edict to preserve Gaul in the obedience of the senate, that he was a citizen born for the good of the republic: the imitator of his ancestors; nay, had even exceeded their merit: that it was necessary therefore to confirm by public authority what Brutus had done by private, in preserving the province of Gaul, the flower of Italy, and the bulwark of the empire. Then, after largely inveighing against Antony's character, and enumerating particularly all his cruelties and violences, he exhorts them, in a pathetic manner, to act with courage in the defence of the republic, or die bravely in the attempt: that now was the time either to recover their liberty, or to live for ever slaves: that if the fatal day was come, and Rome was destined to perish, it would be a shame for them, the governors of the world, not to fall with as much courage as gladiators were used to do, and die with dignity rather than live with disgrace. He puts them in mind of the many advantages which they had towards encouraging their hopes and resolution: the body of the people alert and eager in the cause; young Cæsar in the guard of the city; Brutus of Gaul; two consuls of the greatest prudence, virtue, concord, between themselves; who had been meditating nothing else, for many months past, but the public tranquillity; to all which

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he promises his own attention and vigilance both day and night for their safety. On the whole, therefore, he gives his vote and opinion that the new consuls, C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, should take care that the senate may meet with security on the 1st of January: that D. Brutus, emperor and consul elect, had merited greatly of the republic, by defending the authority and the liberty of the senate and people of Rome: that his army, the towns and colonies of his province, should be publicly thanked and praised for their fidelity to him: that it should be decreed of the last consequence to the republic, that D. Brutus and L. Plancus (who commanded the Farther Gaul) emperor and consul elect, as well as all others, who had the command of provinces, should keep them in their duty to the senate, till successors were appointed by the senate: and since, by the pains, virtue, and conduct of young Cæsar, and the assistance of the veteran soldiers who followed him, the republic had been delivered, and was still defended, from the greatest dangers; and since *the martial* and fourth legions, under that excellent citizen and quæstor Egnatuleius, had voluntarily declared for the authority of the senate, and the liberty of the people; that the senate should take special care that due honours and thanks be paid to them for their eminent services: and that the new consuls, on their entrance into office, should make it their first business to see all this executed in proper form." To all this the house unanimously agreed, and ordered a decree to be drawn conformably to his opinion.

From the senate he passed directly to the forum, and, in a speech to the people, gave an account of what had passed. Those speeches, which stand the third and fourth in the order of his Philippics, were extremely well received by the senate and people; speaking afterward of the latter of them to the same people, he says: "If that day had put an end to my life, I had reaped sufficient fruit from it, when you all, with one mind and

Phil. 6. 1.

voice, cried out, that I had twice saved the republic." As he had now broken all measures with Antony, beyond the possibility of a reconciliation, so he published, probably, about this time, his second Philippic, which had hitherto been communicated only to a few friends. Year of ROME 709. B.C. 43. — 408th consulship.

The short remainder of this turbulent year was spent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new consuls and the defence of the state: and the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence, from the certain accounts that were brought to Rome that Antony was actually besieging Mutina, into which Brutus, unable to oppose him in the field, had thrown himself with all his forces, as the strongest town of his province, and the best provided to sustain a siege. Young Cæsar, in the meanwhile, without expecting the orders of the senate, but with the advice of Cicero, by which he pretended to govern himself in every step, marched out of Rome at the head of his troops, and followed Antony into the province; in order to observe his motions, and take all occasions of distressing him; as well as to encourage Brutus to defend himself with vigour till the consuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

CHAP. XIII.

The senate sends an embassy to Antony with peremptory orders to raise the siege of Mutina: and Hirtius marches at the head of an army to join Octavius. Antony refuses to comply with the orders of the senate, and his proposals are reciprocally rejected: it is voted that there is a tumult; that Antony is an adversary; and that the town shall take the Sagum. M. Brutus's success in Macedonia. Trebonius surprised and killed by Dolabella in Asia, who is voted an enemy by the senate. Cassius makes himself master of Syria and all the forces in the east. Lepidus exhorts the senate to pacific measures; and Antony endeavours to draw off the consuls and Octavius from the interest of Cicero and his party without effect. Two successive battles, in which Antony is defeated, and both the consuls lose their lives.

A. Hirtius, } Consuls.
C. Vibius Pansa, }

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The two consuls were no sooner inaugurated, than the senate assembled to consider of the present state of the

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republic, in order to perfect what had been resolved upon at their last meeting, and to contrive some farther means for the security of the public tranquillity. They both spoke with great spirit and firmness, offering themselves as leaders in asserting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the assembly to courage and resolution in the defence of so good a cause,[n] and, when they had done, they called upon Q. Fufius Calenus, to deliver his sentiments the first. He had been consul four years before, and was father-in-law to Pansa, which, by custom, was a sufficient ground for paying him that compliment. Calenus's opinion was, "that, before they proceeded to acts of hostility, they should send an embassy to Antony, to admonish him to desist from his attempt upon Gaul, and submit to the authority of the senate." Piso and several others were of the same mind, alleging it to be unjust and cruel to condemn a man, till they had first heard what he had to say for himself.

Phil. 5. 1, 2, 3.

But Cicero in a speech which makes his fifth Philippic, opposed this motion with great warmth, "not only as vain and foolish, but dangerous and pernicious: he declared it dishonourable to treat with any one who was in arms against his country, until he laid them down, and sued for peace, in which case no man would be more moderate or equitable than himself: that they had in effect proclaimed him an enemy already, and had nothing left but to confirm it by decree. That, whatever was the purpose of their embassy or message, it would signify nothing; if, to beg him to be quiet, he would despise it; if, to command him, he would not obey it.—That, without any possible good, it would be a certain damage; would necessarily create delay, and obstruction to the operations of the war; check the zeal of the army, damp the spirits of the people, whom they now saw so brisk and eager in the cause. That his opinion therefore

n "Ut oratio consulum animum meum erexit, spemque attulit non modo salutis conservandæ verum etiam dignitatis pristinæ recuperandæ." Phil. 5. 1.

was to make no farther mention of an embassy, but to enter instantly into action; that there should be a cessation of all civil business; a public tumult proclaimed; the shops shut up: and that, instead of their usual gown, they should all put on the sagum, or habit of war; and that levies of soldiers should be made in Rome, and through Italy, without any exception of privilege or dismission from service.—That the very fame of this vigour would restrain the madness of Antony, and let the world see that the case was not, as he pretended, a struggle only of contending parties, but a real war against the commonwealth.—That the whole republic should be committed to the consuls, to take care that it received no detriment; and that pardon should be offered to those of Antony's army, who should return to their duty before the 1st of February."—The consuls favoured the opinion of Calenus, but did not suffer the question to be put to the vote, seeing a clear majority on the side of Cicero.[o] The debate, being continued till night, was adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the same warmth for three days successively. The firmness of Antony's friends, and the reasonableness of the proposal, prevailed at last for an embassy; and three consular senators were nominated to it, S. Sulpicius, L. Piso, and L. Philippus. But their commission was strictly limited, and drawn up by Cicero himself; giving them no power to treat with Antony, but only to carry to him the peremptory commands of the senate to quit the siege of Mutina, and to desist from all hostilities in Gaul. They had instructions likewise, after the delivery of their message, to speak with D. Brutus in Mutina, and signify to him and his army, that the senate and people had a grateful sense of their services, which would one day be a great honour to them. The unusual length of these debates greatly raised the curiosity of the city, and drew the whole body of the people into the forum, to

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[o] Appian says, that Salvius, one of the tribunes, interposed his negative.

Year of ROME 710. B.C. 42. 409th consulship. expect the issue; where they called upon Cicero, with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deliberations. He went therefore directly from the senate into the rostra, being produced by Apuleius, the tribune, and pronounced his sixth Philippic. His seventh he pronounced in the senate, during the embassy, to lay open the intrigues of Calenus, who was endeavouring to obviate the offence which might be given by Antony's refusal to comply with what was enjoined; contriving specious answers for him, and representing them as a reasonable ground of an accommodation, in hopes to cool the ardour of the city for the prosecution of the war. He kept a constant correspondence with Antony, and took care to publish such of his letters as were proper to depress the hopes and courage of his adversaries, and keep up the spirits of his friends.

Ep.Fam. 11.8. The consuls, in the meanwhile, were taking care that the expectation of the effect of the embassy should not supersede their preparations for war; and agreed between themselves, that one of them should march immediately to Gaul with the troops which were already provided, and the other stay behind to perfect the new levies, which were carried on with great success both in Phil.7. 8, 9. the city and the country: for Cicero tells us, that all the capital towns of Italy were vying with each other in voluntary contributions of money and soldiers; and in decrees of infamy and disgrace to those who refused to list themselves into the public service. The first part fell by lot to Hirtius; who though but lately recovered from a dangerous disorder, marched without loss of time at the head of a brave army; and particularly of the two legions, *the martial* and the fourth, which were esteemed the flower and strength of the whole, and now put themselves under the command and auspices of the consul; and this seems to prove that there was a good understanding between Hirtius and Octavius; and that the

last could rely upon the consul.[p] With these, in conjunction with Octavius, he hoped to obstruct all the designs of Antony, and prevent his gaining any advantage against Decimus, till Pansa could join them; which would make them superior in force, and enable them to give him battle, with good assurance of victory. He contented himself, in the meanwhile, with dispossessing Antony of some of his posts, and distressing him, by straitening his quarters and opportunities of forage; in which he had some success, as he signified in a letter to his colleague Pansa, which was communicated to the senate: "I have possessed myself (says he) of Claterna, and driven out Antony's garrison; his horse were routed in the action, and some of them slain."

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Phil. 8. 2.

The ambassadors returned about the beginning of February, having been retarded, somewhat longer than they intended, by the death of S. Sulpicius. They reported to the senate, that Antony refused to perform any part of what was required, and would not suffer them to speak with Brutus, but continued to batter the town with great fury in their presence: and they laid before the assembly some conditions of his own, which, contrary to their instructions, they were weak enough to receive from him.[q] The purport of them was, "that the senate should assign lands and rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the other grants which he and Dolabella had made in their consulship; that all his decrees from Cæsar's books and papers should stand

Middl. p. 352.

[p] Cicero, in one of his letters to Brutus, says, that the conduct of Octavius was truer to the interest of the state than that of Hirtius's; which only proves that Octavius was a better dissembler.

[q] Appian tells us, that the commissioners, ashamed to have brought Antony so insolent a command, delivered it into his hands without saying a word. That Antony at sight of it fell into a rage, and uttered many violent threats against the senate, and Cicero in particular, telling the deputies that it amazed him that Cæsar, who had done such mighty services in the Roman empire, should be esteemed a tyrant, and that men should not have the same opinion of Cicero, who having been made a prisoner of war and pardoned, now sided with the murderers of his merciful conqueror; favouring Decimus, whom he a little before detested: and supporting in the government of Gaul the man named by the pretended tyrant against the consul named by the people; that he had consented to the amnesty for the sake of two men, whom he respected; but that he would annul that indemnity, with which they were not content.

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firm; that no account should be demanded of the money taken from the temple of Opis; nor any inquiry made into the conduct of the seven commissioners created to divide the lands to the veteran soldiers; and that his judiciary law should not be repealed: on these terms he offered to give up Cisalpine Gaul, provided that he might have the greater Gaul in exchange for five years, with an army of six legions, to be completed out of the troops of D. Brutus." This report contributed greatly towards bringing the house into Cicero's sentiments; but, contrary to expectation, he found Calenus's party still strong enough to give him much trouble, and even to carry some points against him, all tending to soften the rigour of his motions, and to give them a favourable turn towards Antony. He moved the senate to decree that a war or rebellion was actually commenced; they carried it for a tumult: he urged them to declare Antony an enemy; they carried it for the softer term of an adversary: he proposed, that all persons should be prohibited from going to Antony; they excepted Varius Cotyla, one of his lieutenants, who was then in the senate, taking notes of every thing that passed. In these votes Pansa himself and all the consular senators concurred; even L. Cæsar, who, though a true friend to liberty, yet, being Antony's uncle, thought himself obliged by decency to vote on the milder side. But Cicero, in his turn, easily threw out what was warmly pressed on the other side, the proposal of a second embassy; and carried likewise the main question, of requiring the citizens to change their ordinary gown for the sagum, or habit of war; by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. Cicero, though all consular senators were excused on these occasions from changing their habit, put it on immediately. In a letter to Cassius, he gives the following short account of the state of things at this time. "We have excellent consuls, but most shameful consulars: a

Phil. 12. 7.

Phil. 8. 1. 10.

Ep. Fam. 12. 4. Melm. 13. 6.

brave senate, but the lower they are in dignity, the braver: nothing firmer and better than the people, and all Italy universally; but nothing more detestable and infamous than our ambassadors Philip and Piso; who, when sent only to carry the orders of the senate to Antony, none of which he would comply with, brought back of their own accord intolerable demands from him; wherefore all the world now flock about me, and I am grown popular in a salutary cause." The senate met again the next day, to draw into form and perfect what had been resolved in the preceding debate, and Cicero took the occasion to expostulate with them for their lenity the day before, which is the subject of his eighth Philippic. The ninth was pronounced the day following, the senate being assembled to deliberate on the proper honours to be decreed to the memory of Sulpicius, who died upon the embassy; Cicero, after speaking largely in his praise, advised to pay him all the honours which had ever been paid to any who had lost their lives in the service of their country; a public funeral, sepulchre, and statue. The statue was objected to by Servilius, but Cicero carried it; and we are told by a writer of the third century, that it remained to his time in the rostra of Augustus.[r]

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Pomponius de Origine Juris.

The senate had heard nothing of Brutus and Cassius from the time of their leaving Italy, till Brutus now sent public letters to the consuls, giving a particular account of his success against Antony's brother Caius, in securing Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, with all the several armies in those countries, to the interests of the republic. Brutus, when he left Italy, sailed directly for Athens; where he spent some time in concerting measures how to accomplish this design.[s] Here he

[r] He was esteemed the ablest lawyer in Rome, and left behind him near a hundred and eighty books on nice and difficult questions on the law. Digest. l. 1. tit. 2. parag. 43.

[s] Dio, l. 47. tells us, that he and Cassius were received at Athens with all imaginable honours, and that the Athenians erected statues to them, which they placed

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gathered about him all the young nobility and gentry of Rome, who, on account of their education, had been sent to this celebrated school of learning; and among the rest M. Cicero, whom he made one of his lieutenants, though he was but twenty years old, and of whom he gives, in his public and private letters, a very great character.[t] Many of Pompey's soldiers, who had fought at Pharsalia, and were dispersed in the country, readily joined a general who defended the same cause. A legion commanded by L. Piso, one of C. Antony's lieutenants, surrendered itself to young Cicero. Some stragglers of Dolabella's army, and two separate bodies of his horse in their march through Thessaly and Macedonia, deserted their leaders, and came over to him; but what chiefly strengthened him with the accession of Q. Hortensius, the proconsul of Macedonia; who, instead of keeping the province for Antony's brother, delivered it up to Brutus, together with the command of all the troops. These forces were soon considerably augmented by three legions, under the command of Vatinius, who had been sent by Cæsar into Illyricum, to suppress some commotions there. But the people of the country, upon the news of Cæsar's death, attacked him, and forced him to retire to Dyrrachium. During these transactions, C. Antonius, arrived at Apollonia, with seven cohorts, and set out immediately to secure the troops under Vatinius, but Brutus got there before him; and Vatinius, knowing the troops to be well affected to his enemy, opened the gates, and delivered them up to him. Brutus's[u] letters informed the consuls

near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had formerly delivered their state from tyranny.

[t] He took also into his service young Horace, whose father, though no more than a freedman, and a collector of taxes by profession, gave him an equal education with the senators' children; he served in the rank of military tribune.

[u] "Brutus C. Antoni fratri M. Antonii, in Macedonia, Vatinioque circa Dyrrachium volentes legiones extorserat; sed Antonium bello lacessierat; Vatinium dignatione obruerat; cum et Brutus cuilibet ducum præferendus videretur, et Vatinius nulli (nomini) non esset postferendus." Vell. Pat. 2. 69. Krause, p. 336. This is the last time we hear any thing of Vatinius: he died probably soon after. The severe sentence of Paterculus is grounded probably on the abuse contained in Cicero's

of this success, and he promised soon to give a good account of Antony himself. Year of ROME 710. B. C. 42.

Pansa no sooner received the letters, than he summoned the senate to acquaint them with the contents. 409th consulship. After they were read, the consul spoke largely in the praises of Brutus; extolled his conduct and services; Middl. p. 364. and moved that public honours and thanks should be decreed to him: and then, according to his custom, called upon his father-in-law, Calenus, to declare his sentiments the first, who, in a premeditated speech, delivered from writing, acknowledged "Brutus's letters to be well and properly drawn; but, since what he had done was done without any commission and public authority, that he should be required to deliver up his forces to the orders of the senate, or the proper governors of the provinces." Cicero spoke next, and pronounced his tenth Philippic, which is an expostulation with Calenus, on account of his enmity to the Brutuses, and a panegyric upon the whole conduct of M. Brutus, which he concluded by proposing the following decree: "Whereas, by the pains, counsel, industry, and virtue of Q. Cæpio Brutus,[x] proconsul, in the utmost distress of the republic, the province of Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, with all their legions, armies, horse, are now in the power of the consuls, senate, and people of Rome; that Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, has acted therein well, and for the good of the republic, agreeably to his character, the dignity of his ancestors, and to his usual manner of

invective against him, where he says, "No one could look upon him without a sigh, or speak of him without execration; that he was the dread of his neighbours, the disgrace of his kindred, and the utter abhorrence of the public in general." At least his behaviour both in the city and the field shew him to have been a man of spirit and parts; and perhaps his moral character was not so bad as the orator has painted it: the same Cicero, in a letter to Vatinius, Fam. 5. 11. writes in the following strain:

"I am by no means surprised to find that you are sensible of my services; on the contrary, I perfectly well know, and you have upon all occasions declared, that no man ever possessed a more grateful heart . . . . . and there is no employment in which I can be engaged upon your account, that I shall not think both easy and honourable."

[x] It appears that M. Brutus had been lately adopted by his mother's brother, Q. Servilius Cæpio, whose name, according to custom, he now assumed, with the possession of his uncle's estate.

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serving the commonwealth; and that his conduct is, and ever will be acceptable to the senate and people of Rome. That Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, be ordered to protect, guard, and defend the provinces of Macedonia, Illyricum, and all Greece, and command that army which he himself has raised: that, whatever money he wants for military service, he may use and take it from any part of the public revenues where it can be best raised; or borrow it where he thinks proper; and impose contributions of grain and forage; and take care to draw all his troops as near Italy as possible. And whereas it appears, by the letter of Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, that the public service has been greatly advanced by the endeavours and virtue of Q. Hortensius, proconsul; and that he concerted all his measures with Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, to the great benefit of the commonwealth; that Q. Hortensius, proconsul, has acted therein rightly, regularly, and for the public good; and it is the will of the senate, that Q. Hortensius, proconsul, with his quæstors, pro-quæstors, and lieutenants, hold the province of Macedonia, till a successor be appointed by the senate."[y]

Though Brutus intimates nothing in his public letters but what was prosperous and encouraging, yet, in his private accounts to Cicero, he signified a great want of money and recruits; and begged to be supplied with both from Italy, especially with recruits; either by a vote of the senate, or, if that could not be had, by some secret management, without the privity of Pansa; to Ad Brut. 2. 6. which Cicero answered, "You tell me that you want two necessary things, recruits and money: it is difficult

y Cicero sent his speech to Brutus, with that also which he made on the 1st of January; of which Brutus says in answer to him, "I have read your two orations: you expect now, without doubt, that I should praise them: I am at a loss what to praise the most in them, your courage, or your abilities: I allow you now in earnest to call them Philippics, as you intimated jocosely in a former letter." Thus the name of Philippics, which seems to have been thrown out at first in gaiety and jest only, being taken up and propagated by his friends, became at last the fixed and standing title of these orations; which yet, for several ages, were called indifferently either Philippics or Antonians. Middl. 369.

to help you. I know no other way of raising money, Year of
which can be of use to you, but what the senate has de- ROME
creed, of borrowing from the cities. As to recruits, I 710.
do not see what can be done: for Pansa is so far from B.C. 42.
granting any share of his army or recruits to you, that 409th consulship.
he is even uneasy to see so many volunteers going over to you: his reason, I take it, is, that he thinks no forces too great for the demands of our affairs in Italy: for, as to what many suspect, that he has no mind to see you strong, I have no suspicion of it."

But there came news of a different kind, about the Middl.
same time, to Rome, of Dolabella's successful exploits p. 373.
in Asia. He left the city, as it is said above, before the expiration of his consulship, to possess himself of Syria, which had been allotted to him by Antony's management: and, taking his way through Greece and Macedonia, to gather what money and troops he could raise in those countries, he passed over into Asia, in hopes of inducing that province to abandon Trebonius and declare for him: having sent his emissaries, therefore, before him to prepare for his reception, he arrived before Smyrna, where Trebonius resided, without any show of hostility, or forces sufficient to give any great alarm, pretending to desire nothing more than a free passage through the country to his own province. Trebonius refused to admit him into the town; but consented to supply him with refreshments without the gates; where many civilities passed between them, with great professions on Dolabella's part of amity and friendship to Trebonius, who promised, in his turn, that, if Dolabella would depart quietly from Smyrna, he should be received into Ephesus, in order to pass forward towards Syria. To this Dolabella seemingly agreed; and, finding it impracticable to take Smyrna by open force, contrived to surprise it by stratagem: embracing therefore Trebonius's offer, he set forward towards Ephesus; but, after he had marched several miles, and Trebonius's

Year of ROME 710. B.C. 42. men, who were sent after to observe him, were retired; he turned back instantly in the night, and, arriving again at Smyrna before day, found it, as he expected,

409th consulship. negligently guarded, and without any apprehension of an assault; so that his soldiers possessed themselves of

Philipp. 11. 2, 3. it without opposition, and seized Trebonius himself in his bed before he knew any thing of his danger. Dolabella treated him with the utmost cruelty; kept him two days under torture, to extort a discovery of all the money in his custody; then ordered his head to be cut off and carried about on a spear; and his body to be dragged about the streets and thrown into the sea. This was the first blood that was spilt on account of Cæsar's death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal conspirators, and the only one who was of consular rank. It had been projected, without doubt, in concert with Antony, to make the revenge of Cæsar's death the avowed cause of their arms, in order to draw the veterans to their side, or make them unwilling at least to act against them; and it gave a clear warning to Brutus and his associates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a sad presage, to all honest men, of the cruel effects and merciless fury of the impending war.

Middl. p. 375. On the news of Trebonius's death, the senate was summoned by the consul, where Dolabella was unanimously declared a public enemy, and his estate confiscated. Calenus himself first proposed the vote, and said, that, if any thing more severe could be thought of, he would be for it. But he moved another question which greatly perplexed Cicero, about the choice of a general, to manage the new war against Dolabella. Two opinions were proposed; the one that P. Servilius should be sent with an extraordinary commission; the other, that the two consuls should jointly prosecute the war, with the provinces of Syria and Asia allotted to them. This was very agreeable to Pansa, and pushed

therefore not only by his friends, but by all Antony's party, who fancied that it would take off the attention of the consuls from the war of Italy; give Dolabella time to strengthen himself in Asia; raise a coldness between the consuls and Cicero, if he ventured to oppose it; and, above all, put a public affront upon Cassius; who, by his presence in those parts, seemed to have the best pretension to that commission. The debate continued through the first day without coming to any issue, and was adjourned to the next. In the mean time Cassius's mother-in-law, Servilia, and other friends, were endeavouring to prevail with Cicero to drop the opposition, for fear of alienating Pansa, but in vain; for he resolved at all hazards to defend the honour of Cassius, and, when the debate was renewed the next morning, exerted all his interest and eloquence to procure a decree in his favour, which is the purport of the eleventh Philippic. From the senate he went directly to the forum, to give the people an account of the debate, and recommend to them the interests of Cassius: hither Pansa followed him, and, to weaken the influence of his authority, declared to the citizens, that what Cicero contended for was against the will and advice of Cassius's nearest friends and relations: and in the end the consul prevailed.[a] But Cassius was at that time master of Syria, and at the head of eight legions, with which he soon put an end to Dolabella's triumphs.

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Ep. Fam. 12 7. and 11.

Syria, after the Alexandrian war, had been left by Cæsar in the hands of Sextus Cæsar, a young man of his family, with one legion. The youth having lost the affection of his soldiers, who probably had served under

Livy, 114. Appian, l. 3. Dio, l. 47.

[a] The statue of Minerva, which Cicero upon his going into exile had dedicated in the Capitol, by the name of the Guardian of the city, was, about the end of the last year, thrown down and shattered to pieces by a tempest of thunder and lightning. This the later writers take notice of as ominous, and portending the fall of Cicero himself: though neither Cicero nor any of that time made any such reflection upon it. The senate, however, out of respect to him, passed a decree in a full house, on the 18th of March, that the statue should be repaired and restored to its place. Ep. Fam. 12. 15. So that it was now made, by public authority, what he himself had designed it to be, a standing monument to posterity, that the safety of the republic had been the constant object of his counsels. Middl. p. 383.

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Pompey, Cæcilius Bassus, a Roman knight (who, as we have before mentioned, hid himself at Tyre after the battle of Pharsalia), undertook to dispossess him of his government. Having gathered a small force in the place of his retirement, he openly attacked S. Cæsar, during the African war, and, meeting with a repulse, he had recourse to intrigues, in which he succeeded so well, that Sextus was murdered by his own men, who, at the same time, took Bassus for their chief, and put him in possession of the province. Bassus applied himself immediately to fortify Apamea, a very strong city, and there formed his arsenal. Cæsar sent against him Antistius Vetus, who besieged him in his fortress, but was obliged by the Parthians to retire. Statius Marcus, who had the government of Syria after his prætorship, with three legions, did not find himself strong enough to reduce Bassus, and called to his assistance Q. Marcius Crispus, governor of Bithynia, with three more legions, who jointly laid siege to Apamea. Things were in this situation when Cassius landed in those parts. Lentulus Spinther, quæstor to Trebonius, supplied him with some men and money: and the two governors readily yielded to him the six legions under their command. Bassus was forced to follow their example, and open the gates of Apamea, his soldiers having sent a deputation to Cassius with a tender of their services. This success, so great and unexpected, was soon followed by another piece of good fortune. Dolabella had sent his lieutenant, Aulus Allienus, into Egypt, to demand the assistance of Cleopatra, who then was sole sovereign; having lately destroyed the last of the Ptolemies, her brother and husband, by poison. The queen sent immediately a fleet to his assistance, and Allienus conducted by land four legions. Cassius, having notice of their march, went and met him in Judea, and obliged him to give up all his troops. Thus Cassius was master of a strong army, consisting of eleven legions, before the 7th

Ep. Fam. 12. 11.

of March, the date of a letter to Cicero, giving an account of this success. Year of ROME 710. B.C. 42.

D. Brutus was reduced by this time to such straits in Mutina, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that, if he fell into Antony's hands, he would be treated no better than Trebonius. The mention, therefore, of a pacification being revived in the senate, and recommended by Pansa himself, upon an intimation given by Antony's friends that he was now in a disposition to submit to reason, Cicero, out of a concern for Brutus's safety, consented to a decree for a second embassy, to be executed by himself and Servilius, and three other consular senators: but, finding upon recollection, that there appeared no symptoms of any change in Antony, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced that he had made a false step, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time; which was of great use to Antony, as it would retard the attempts of relieving Mutina, and give an opportunity to Ventidius to join him, who was marching towards him at that time with three legions. At the next meeting of the senate he retracted his opinion, and declared against the late decree, as dangerous and insidious; and in a warm and pathetic speech (which is his twelfth Philippic) pressed them so strongly to repeal it, that the thing was wholly dropped; and Pansa, about the end of the month, marched towards Gaul, at the head of his new-raised army, in order to join Hirtius and Octavius, and, without farther delay, to attempt a decisive battle with Antony for the delivery of D. Brutus. 409th consulship. Middl. p. 383.

Antony, at the same time, while he was perplexing the counsels of the senate by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring also by his letters to shake the resolution of Hirtius and Octavius, and draw them off from the cause, which they were now supporting; but their answers seem to have been short and firm; referring Ib. p. 389.

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him constantly to the authority of the senate: yet, as things were now drawing towards a crisis, he made one effort more upon them; and, in the following expostulatory letter, reproached them, with great freedom, for deserting their true interest, and suffering themselves to be duped and persuaded by Cicero to revive the Pompeian cause, and establish a power, which, in the end, would destroy them.

ANTONIUS TO HIRTIUS AND CÆSAR.

"Upon the news of Trebonius's death, I was equally affected both with joy and with grief. It was matter of real joy to me to see a villain suffer the vengeance due to the ashes of the most illustrious of men; and that, within the circle of the current year, the divine providence has displayed itself, by the punishment of parricide, inflicted already on some, and ready to fall upon the rest. But, on the other hand, it is a subject of just grief to me, that Dolabella should be declared an enemy, because he has killed a murderer; and that the son of a buffoon should be dearer to the people of Rome than Cæsar, the father of his country: but the cruelest reflection of all is, that you, Hirtius, covered with Cæsar's favours, and left by him in a condition which you yourself wonder at; and you too, young man, who owe every thing to his name, are doing all which is in your power, that Dolabella may be thought justly condemned; that this wretch be delivered from the siege, and Cassius and Brutus be invested with all power. You look upon the present state of things, as people did upon the past; call Pompey's camp the senate; have made the vanquished Cicero your captain; are strengthening Macedonia with armies; have given Africa to Varus, twice a prisoner; have sent Cassius into Syria; suffered Casca to act as tribune; suppressed the revenues of the Julian Luperci; abolished the colonies of veterans, established by law, and the decrees of the senate; promise to restore

to the people of Marseilles what was taken from them by right of war; forget that a Pompeian was made incapable of any dignity by Hirtius's law; have supplied Brutus with Apuleius's money; applauded the putting to death Poetus and Menedemus, Cæsar's friends, whom he made free of the city; took no notice of Theopompus, when, stripped and banished by Trebonius, he fled to Alexandria: you see Ser. Galba in your camp, armed with the same poniard with which he stabbed Cæsar; have enlisted my soldiers and other veterans, on pretence of destroying those who killed Cæsar, and then employ them, before they know what they are doing, against their quæstor, or their general, or their comrades.—What have you not done, which Pompey himself, were he alive, or his son, if he could, would not do? In short, you deny that any peace can be made, unless I set Brutus at liberty, or supply him with provisions: can this please those veterans who have not yet declared themselves? For, as to your part, you have sold yourselves to the flatteries and poisoned honours of the senate. But you come, you say, to preserve the troops which are besieged. I am not against their being saved, or going wherever you please, if they will but leave him to perish, who has deserved it. You write me word that the mention of concord has been revived in the senate, and five consular ambassadors appointed: it is hard to believe that those who have driven me to this extremity, when I offered the fairest conditions, and was willing to remit some part of them, should do any thing with moderation or humanity: nor is it probable, that the same men, who voted Dolabella an enemy for a most laudable act, can ever forgive me, who am in the same sentiments with him. Wherefore it is your business to reflect, which of the two is the more eligible, or more useful to our common interest, to revenge the death of Trebonius, or of Cæsar: and which the more equitable; for us to act against each other, that the Pompeian

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Middl. p. 393. In this interval Lepidus wrote a public letter to the senate, to exhort them to pacific measures, and to save the effusion of civil blood, by contriving some way of reconciling Antony and his friends to the service of his country; without giving the least intimation of his

thanks for the public honours which they had lately decreed to him. This was not at all agreeable to the senate, and confirmed their former jealousy of his disaffection to the republic, and good understanding with Antony. They agreed, however, to a vote proposed by Servilius, "that Lepidus should be thanked for his love of peace, and care of the citizens; yet should be desired not to trouble himself any farther about it, but to leave that affair to them; who thought that there could be no peace unless Antony should lay down his arms and sue for it." This letter gave Antony's friends a fresh handle to renew their instances for a treaty, for the sake of obliging Lepidus, who had it in his power, they said, to force them to it. Cicero pronounced, on this occasion, his thirteenth Philippic, to confute their arguments; and, in the course of it, read to the house Antony's letter to Hirtius and Cæsar, paragraph by paragraph, making all along, with great wit and spirit, his own comment and remarks upon it. C. Antony, whom we mentioned above to have retreated with seven cohorts in Apollonia, not daring to wait for Brutus's arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to Buthrotum to seek his fortune elsewhere, in quarters more secure and remote; but, being overtaken and attacked on his march by a part of Brutus's army, he lost three of his cohorts in the action; and, in a second engagement with another body of troops which young Cicero commanded, was entirely routed and taken prisoner; which made Brutus absolute master of the country without opposition. He treated his prisoner with great lenity, and seemed much disposed to give him his liberty; which he would have done, if he had not met with the strongest opposition from Cicero and the senate.[a]

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Middl. p. 399.

[a] He not only wrote to the senate about it himself, but permitted Antony to write too, and with the style of proconsul: which surprised and shocked all his friends at Rome, and especially Cicero, who expostulates with him for it in the following letter:

"On the 13th of April (says he) your messenger Pilus brought us two letters,

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The siege of Mutina had lasted now four months; and it was invested so closely by Antony, and he had posted himself so advantageously, that no succours could be thrown into it. Brutus, though reduced to the utmost straits, defended it still with the greatest resolution.[b] Upon the approach of Pansa's army, Antony privately drew out some of his best troops, with a design to surprise him on the road before their union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will.

We have a particular account of the action, in a letter to Cicero from Ser. Galba,[c] one of the conspirators against Cæsar, who bore a principal part and command in it.

one in your name, the other in Antony's, and gave them to Servilius, the tribune: he to Cornutus, the prætor. They were read in the senate. Antony proconsul, raised as much wonder as if it had been Dolabella emperor, from whom also there came an express; but nobody, like your Pilus, was so hardy to produce the letters, or deliver them to the magistrates. Your letter was read; short indeed, but extremely mild towards Antony: the senate was amazed at it. For my part, I did not know how to act. Should I affirm it to be forged?—What if you should own it? Should I admit it to be genuine? That was not for your honour. I chose, therefore, to be silent that day. On the next, when the affair had made some noise, and Pilus's carriage had given offence, I began the debate, and said much of proconsul Antony. Sextius performed his part, and observed to me afterward in private, what danger his son and mine would be liable to, if they had really taken up arms against a proconsul. You know the man; he did justice to the cause. Others also spoke; but our friend Labeo took notice that your seal was not put to the letter; nor any date added; nor had you written about it, as usual, to your friends; from which he maintained the letter to be forged; and, in short, convinced the house of it. It is now your part, Brutus, to consider the whole state and nature of the war: you are delighted, I perceive, with lenity; and think it the best way of proceeding: this, indeed, is generally right; but the proper place of clemency is in cases and seasons very different from the present: for what are we doing now, Brutus? We see a needy and desperate crew threatening the very temples of the gods; and that the war must necessarily decide, whether we are to live, or not. Who is it then whom we are sparing, or what is it that we mean? Are we consulting the safety of those who, if they get the better, are sure not to leave the least remains of us? For what difference is there between Dolabella and any one of the three Antonies? If we spare any of these, we have been too severe to Dolabella. It was owing chiefly to my advice and authority that the senate and people are in this way of thinking, though the thing itself indeed also obliged them to it: if you do not approve this policy, I shall defend your opinion, but cannot depart from my own: the world expects from you nothing either remiss or cruel: it is easy to moderate the matter, by severity to the leaders, generosity to the soldiers."

[b] The old writers have recorded some stratagems, which are said to have been put in practice on this occasion: "How Hirtius provided men skilled in diving, with letters written on lead, to pass into the town under the river which runs through it, till Antony obstructed that passage by nets and traps placed under water: which gave occasion to another contrivance of sending their intelligence backwards and forwards by pigeons." Front. de Stratagem. l. 3. 13. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 10. 37. Dio, p. 315.

[c] He had been one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul; but not being favoured by him in his pursuit of the consulship, he joined in the conspiracy with Brutus and Cassius. He was great grandfather to the emperor Galba.

"On the 15th of April, the day on which Pansa was to arrive in Hirtius's camp (in whose company I was, for I went 100 miles to meet him and hasten his march), Antony drew out two of his legions, the second and thirty-fifth; and two prætorian cohorts; the one his own, the other Silanus's,[d] with part of the Evocati; and came forward towards us, imagining that we had nothing but four legions of new levies. But, in the night to secure our march to the camp, Hirtius had sent us the martial legion, which I used to command, and two prætorian cohorts. As soon as Antony's horse appeared in sight, neither the martial legion, nor the prætorian cohorts, could be restrained from attacking them; so that, when we could not hold them in, we were obliged to follow them against our wills. Antony kept his forces within Castel-franco" [Ad forum Gallorum, a small village on the Æmilian way between Modena and Bologna]; "and, being unwilling to have it known, that he had his legions with him, shewed only his horse and light-armed foot. When Pansa saw the martial legion running forward against his orders, he commanded two of the new-raised legions to follow him. As soon as we got through the straits of the morass and the woods, we drew up the twelve cohorts" [the ten of the martial legion, and the two prætorian] "in order of battle. The other two legions were not yet come up. Antony immediately brought all his troops out of the village ranged likewise in order of battle, and without delay engaged us. At first they fought so briskly on both sides, that nothing could possibly be fiercer: though the right wing, in which I was with eight cohorts of the martial legion, put Antony's thirty-fifth legion to flight, at the first onset, and pursued it above 500 paces from the place where the action

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Ep. Fam. 10. 30.

[d] He was military tribune in the army of Lepidus, and, by the connivance, if not by the express orders of that general, had conducted a body of troops to the assistance of Antony. Dio, 46. 336.

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began: wherefore, observing the enemy's horse attempting to surround our wing, I began to retreat, and ordered the light-armed troops to make head against the Moorish horse, and prevent their coming upon us behind. In the meanwhile I perceived myself in the midst of Antony's men, and Antony himself but a little way behind me. Upon which, with my shield thrown over my shoulder, I pushed on my horse with all speed towards the new legion that was coming towards us from the camp: and, whilst Antony's men were pursuing me, and ours, by mistake, throwing javelins at me, I was preserved, I know not how, by being presently known to our soldiers. Cæsar's prætorian cohort sustained the fight a long time on the Æmilian road: but our left wing, which was the weaker, consisting of two cohorts of the martial legion, and the prætorian of Hirtius, began to give ground; being surrounded by Antony's horse, in which he is very strong. When all our ranks had made good their retreat, I retreated myself the last, to our camp. Antony, as the conqueror, fancied that he could take it; but, upon trial, lost many of his men in the attempt, without being able to do us any hurt. Hirtius, in the mean time, hearing of the engagement, marched out with twenty veteran cohorts, and, meeting Antony on his return, entirely routed and put to flight his whole army, in the very same place where they had fought before. About ten at night, Antony regained his camp at Mutina with all his horse. Hirtius retired to that camp which Pansa had quitted in the morning, and where he left the two legions which Antony attacked: thus Antony has lost the greater part of his veteran troops, yet not without some loss of our prætorian cohorts and the martial legion: we took two of Antony's eagles, and sixty standards; and have gained a considerable advantage." Besides this letter from Galba, there came letters also severally from the two consuls and Octavius; confirming the other account, with the addition of some farther

particulars: "That Pansa, fighting bravely at the head of his troops, had received two dangerous wounds, and was carried off the field to Bononia: that Hirtius had scarce lost a single man: and that, to animate the soldiers the better, he took up the eagle of the fourth legion, and carried it forward himself: that Cæsar was left to the guard of their camp; where he was likewise attacked by another body of the enemy, whom he repulsed with great loss." Antony reproached Octavius, afterward with running away from this engagement in such a fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his horse or general's habit: but the account just mentioned was given by Cicero, from letters that were read to the senate, in which Hirtius declared him to have acted with the greatest courage.

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Suet. in Aug.

The news reached Rome on the 20th of April: the day following the senate was summoned by Cornutus, the prætor, to deliberate on the letters of the consuls and Octavius. Servilius's opinion was, "That the city should not quit the Sagum; and that a public thanksgiving should be decreed jointly to the honour of the consuls and Octavius." Cicero declared strongly against quitting the Sagum, till D. Brutus was quite delivered from the siege: and, having shewed how well the three generals deserved the title of emperor, he decreed a thanksgiving of fifty days in the name of the three jointly. He then proposed that a monument should be raised to those who, in the defence of their country, had been killed in battle; that the former assurances made to the legions of the full and punctual payment of all which had been promised to them, as soon as the war should be over, should be renewed; and for those, in the mean time, who had lost their lives for their country, that the same rewards which would have been given them, if they had lived, should be given immediately to their parents, children, wives, and brothers.[*]

[*] The greatest part of this fourteenth Philippic, and last oration of Cicero, is a panegyric upon himself: he tells us, that, when the news of Antony's defeat was

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Antony, being cruelly mortified by this defeat, kept himself close within his camp, and resolved to hazard nothing farther, but to act only on the defensive; except by harassing the enemy with his horse, in which he was far superior. He still hoped to make himself master of Mutina, which was reduced to extremity; and, by the strength of his works, to prevent their throwing any relief into it. Hirtius and Octavius, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined at all hazards to relieve it; and, after two or three days spent in finding the most likely place of breaking through the intrenchments, they made their attack with such vigour, that Antony, rather than suffer the town to be snatched out of his hands, chose to draw out his legions, and come to a general battle. The fight was bloody and obstinate; and

known, the people of Rome carried him into the Capitol in a kind of triumph. "For that, after all (he says), is a just and real triumph, when, by the general voice of the city, a public testimony is given to those who have deserved well of the commonwealth. For, if in the common joy of the whole city they congratulated me singly, it is a great declaration of their judgment; if they thanked me, still greater; if both, nothing can be imagined more glorious." He then observes, "that he was forced to say so much of himself against his will, by the strange envy and injuries which he had lately suffered;—that the insolence of the factions, as they all knew, had raised a report and suspicion upon him of his aiming at a tyranny; that he had formed a design to make himself master of the city, and declare himself dictator, and would appear publicly with the fasces within a day or two: though his whole life had been spent in defending the republic from tyranny; as if he who had destroyed Catiline, for that very crime, was of a sudden become a Catiline himself. That, if the report had found credit in the city, their design was by a sudden assault upon his person, as upon a tyrant, to have taken away his life:—that the thing itself was manifest, and the whole affair should be laid open in proper time:—that he had said all this not to purge himself to them, to whom he should be sorry to want an apology, but to admonish certain persons of jejune and narrow minds to look upon the virtue of excellent citizens as the object of their imitation, not of their envy; since the republic was a wide field, where the course of glory was open to many; that, if any man contested with him the first place in the government, he acted foolishly, if he meant to do it by opposing vice to virtue; that, as the race was gained by running the fastest, so virtue was only to be conquered by a superior virtue:—that they could never get the better of him by bad votes, by good ones perhaps they might; and he himself should be glad of it.—That the people of Rome were perpetually inquiring, how men of their rank voted and acted; and formed their judgment of them accordingly;—that they all remembered, how, in December last, he was the author of the first step towards recovering their liberty: how, from the 1st of January, he had been continually watching over the safety of the commonwealth: how his house and his ears were open day and night to the advice and informations of all who came to him," &c. And, in a letter to Brutus, he says, "that he reaped on the day he was carried to the Capitol the full fruit of his toils, if there be any fruit in true and solid glory." Could any body help laughing when they heard Cicero vindicate himself seriously from aiming at tyranny, and his friend Apuleius, the tribune, make a speech to the people to confute this report? Was there a man in Rome who was not sensible that he had no strength of his own, but was a mere tool in the hands of another.

Antony's men, though obliged to give ground, bravely disputed every inch of it, till D. Brutus, taking the opportunity, at the same time, to sally out of the town, at the head of his garrison, helped greatly to determine and complete the victory. Hirtius pushed his advantage with great spirit, and forced his way into Antony's camp; but, when he had gained the middle of it, was unfortunately killed near the general's tent: Pontius Aquila, one of the conspirators, was killed likewise in the same place: but Octavius, who followed to support them, made good their attempt, and kept possession of the camp, with the entire defeat and destruction of Antony's best troops; while Antony himself, with all his horse, fled with great precipitation towards the Alps. The consul Pansa died the day following of his wounds at Bononia.[f]

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[f] Dr. Middleton, p. 429, gives the following character of the two consuls: Hirtius was a man of letters and politeness; intimately intrusted with Cæsar's counsels, and employed to write his acts: but, as he was the proper creature of Cæsar, and strongly infected with party, so his views were all bent on supporting the power that had raised him, and serving his patron, and not the public. In the beginning, therefore, of the civil war, when he was tribune of the people, he published a law, to exclude all who were in arms with Pompey, from any employment or office in the state: which made him particularly obnoxious to the Pompeians, who considered him as their most inveterate enemy. Pansa, whose father had been proscribed by Sylla, was attached with equal zeal to Cæsar, as to the head and reviver of the Marian cause; and served him in all his wars with singular affection and fidelity. He was a grave, sincere, and worthy man; and, being naturally more moderate and benevolent than Hirtius, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miseries of the oppressed Pompeians; many of whom he relieved by his humanity, and restored by his interest to the city and their estates. This made him very popular, and gained him the esteem of all the honest; so that Cassius, in defending his Epicurism to Cicero, alleges Pansa as an example of those genuine Epicureans, who placed their pleasure, or chief good, in virtuous acts. Before their entrance into the consulship, Q. Cicero gave a most wretched account of them "both, as of a lewd, luxurious pair; not fit to be trusted with the command of a paltry town, much less of the empire; and says, that if they were not removed from the helm, the republic would certainly be lost; since Antony would easily draw them into a partnership of his crimes; for when he served with them in Gaul, he had seen incredible instances of their effeminacy and debauchery in the face even of the enemy." But we must charge a great part of this character to the peevishness and envy of Quintus: for whatever they had been before, they were certainly good consuls; and out of their affection to Cicero, and regard to his authority, governed themselves generally, in all great affairs, by his maxims. They were persuaded that the design of revenging Cæsar's death would throw the republic again into convulsions, and flowed from no other motive, than the ambition of possessing Cæsar's place; and resolved, therefore, to quell by open force all attempts against the public peace. From their long adherence to Cæsar, they retained indeed some prejudices in favour of that party; and were loath to proceed to extremities, till pacific measures were found ineffectual. This gave Cicero some reason to blame, but never to distrust them; to complain of their phlegm and want of vigour, as detrimental to the common cause; yet, while they were generally suspected by others, he always thought them sincere, though

CHAP. XIV.

The senate decrees honours to the two deceased consuls, and to D. Brutus and Octavius. Antony is not pursued; Octavius wanting the will, and Brutus the means, of following him. He is received by Lepidus, who writes to the senate to justify his behaviour; on the other side, D. Brutus joins Plancus, governor of Farther Gaul. Lepidus is declared, by the influence of Cicero, an enemy to the state. Octavius treats secretly with Antony and Lepidus, and demands the consulship by a deputation of his officers. Cicero appears no more upon the stage of action: his correspondence with the several generals abroad.

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THE death of the two consuls placed Octavius at once above control, by leaving him the master of both their armies; especially of all the veterans who were disaffected to D. Brutus; and it fell out so lucky and so opposite to all Octavius's views, as to give birth to a general persuasion that they had received foul play, and were both of them killed by his contrivance: for he was observed to be the first man who took up Hirtius's body in the camp, where some imagined him to have been killed by his own soldiers; and Pansa's physician, Glyco, was actually thrown into prison by Torquatus, Pansa's quæstor, upon a suspicion of having poisoned his wounds. But the chief ground of that notion seems to have lain in the fortunate coincidence of the event with the interests of Octavius: for M. Brutus thought it incredible, and, in the most pressing manner, begged of Cicero to procure Glyco's enlargement, and protect him from any harm; as being a worthy, modest man, incapable of such a villany, and who, of all others suffered the greatest loss by Pansa's death.

Ad. Brut. 6.

At Rome, the general rejoicings stifled all present attention to the loss of their consuls;[g] and Antony's

they did not, in all cases, act up to his wishes. The event confirmed his judgment of them; for they both not only exposed but lost their lives with the greatest courage in the defence of the republic; and shewed themselves to be the very men which Cicero had constantly affirmed them to be; and, though he imputes some little blame to Hirtius, yet of Pansa he declares, that he wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last.

N. B. Several medals were struck by the senate on the occasion of this victory; particularly one in honour of Pansa, exhibiting the head of the goddess of Liberty, crowned with laurel, and the inscription *Libertatis;* and, on the reverse, Rome sitting upon the spoils of enemies, holding a spear in her right hand, and a dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and Victory flying towards her to crown her with laurel; and the inscription, C. PANSA, C. F. C. N. See Morel. Fam. Rom.

[g] They were not regretted by Brutus's friends, who had all along entertained a

friends were so dejected for some time, that they gave Cicero no more opposition in the senate: where he Year of ROME 710. B.C. 43.

very bad opinion of them; and Cicero himself, confident of the good dispositions of his pupil Octavius, was not much concerned at first for their loss: these things appear by the following letters: 409th consulship.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

"While I was writing this, our affairs were supposed to be reduced to the last extremity: for all our letters and messages brought us sad accounts of our Brutus.* They did not, however, very much disturb me. For I could not by any means distrust the armies and the leaders, who are now acting for us: nor was I of the same opinion with the majority of our friends, for I did not condemn the fidelity of the consuls, which was vehemently suspected. I blamed their want of prudence and celerity in some cases, where, if they had exerted themselves, we should long ago have recovered the republic. For you are not ignorant of what moment it is, in public affairs, to seize the proper times of acting; and what a difference it makes, whether the same thing be decreed, undertaken, or transacted, sooner or later. If all the vigorous decrees, that have been made since the beginning of this disturbance, had either been carried into effect on the day when I proposed them, and not been put off from day to day; or if, from the time when they began to be put in execution, they had not still been delayed and postponed, we should have seen an end of the war before now. I have acquitted myself, Brutus, to the republic in all points, as that man ought to do, who, by the judgment of the senate and the people, is placed in that rank of authority in which I now am; and not merely in those things, which alone are to be required from man; fidelity, vigilance, and love of my country; for these are duties from which nobody ought to be excused; but I take it to be the part of him, who acts as one of the leaders in state affairs, to ensure even the prudence of his measures to the public: and, for my part, since I have assumed so much to myself, as to take the steerage of the republic into my hands, I should not think myself less culpable if I should draw the senate into any thing impertinently, than if I had drawn them into it treacherously. I know that a punctual account is sent you of all things that are done or going forwards among us. But what I would have you informed of particularly by me is this: that my mind is wholly intent on the war; nor cares to attend to any other object, unless when the immediate service of the city may have called it by accident to something else. But the greatest part of my attention is fixed upon you and Cassius. Wherefore prepare yourself, Brutus, in such a manner, as to be persuaded, that, if at this very time our affairs be crowned with success, it is you who must set the republic right; or, if any ill fortune has befallen us, it is you who must recover it."

Ad Brut. Ep. 8. Middl. Ed. p. 51.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

"Our affairs seem to have taken a more favourable turn. An account, I know, is sent you of all that has been done. The consuls answered the character which I often gave you of them in my letters. But young Cæsar has shewn a wonderful disposition to virtue. I wish that I may be able to hold and govern him still, in this height of honour and favour, as easily as I have hitherto done. It is now, indeed, become more difficult; yet I do not despair of it. For the young man is persuaded, and chiefly by me, that we owe our safety to his vigour: and, in truth, if he had not kept off Antony from the city, all had been lost. Nay, within three or four days before this most happy event, the city, struck with a kind of panic, was all running away at once, with their wives and children, to you; till being made easy again on the 20th of April, they began to wish, that you would rather come hither to them, than they go to you. On which day I reaped the full fruit of all my great pains and constant watchings, if there be any fruit at all from true and solid glory. For the whole multitude, which our city contains, flocked on that day to my house; whence I was carried by them first to the Capitol; then placed in the rostra, with the loudest acclamations and applause. There is nothing of vanity in me; nor indeed ought there to be: yet the consent of all orders, their thanks and gratulations, really move me; since it is truly noble to become popular by the preservation of the people. But I would have you hear of these things rather from others. I desire you

Ad Brut. Ep. 9. Middl. Ed. p. 54.

* D. Brutus.

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poured out all imaginable honours on the deceased Hirtius, Pansa, and Aquila; decreed an ovation to Cæsar;[h] and added a number of days to their thanksgiving, in honour of D. Brutus; whose deliverance happening to fall upon his birthday, he decreed likewise, that his name should be ascribed ever after to that day, in the fasti or public calendars, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. Antony's adherents were also declared enemies;[i] in which number Servilius himself, Cicero's great antagonist, included Ventidius; and moved to give Cassius the command of the war against Dolabella; to whom Cicero joined Brutus, in case they should find it useful to the republic.

The commanders abroad, who had been all greatly courted by Cicero, and had returned him civil answers, were so struck with Antony's defeat, that they redoubled their assurances to him of their firmness and zeal for the

to send me a punctual account of all your affairs and designs; and to take care, particularly, that your generosity may not seem to be carried to a degree of remissness. The senate is of opinion, and the Roman people of the same, that no enemies were ever more worthy of the last punishment, than those citizens, who have taken up arms against their country in the present war: on whom, indeed, I am taking a proper revenge, and pursuing in all my votes, with the approbation of all honest men. It is your part to determine what you ought to judge of this affair. My opinion of it is, that the case of the three Antonies is one and the same. We have lost two consuls; good ones, it is true; but barely good. Hirtius fell in the very midst of victory, after he had beaten the enemy, a few days before, in a great battle. For Pansa was forced to fly, being disabled by the wounds he had received. Brutus is now pursuing the remains of the enemy, and Cæsar also: but all are adjudged enemies, who have espoused the party of M. Antony. Most people, therefore, interpret that decree of the senate to extend also to your prisoners; whether taken in flight, or by surrender. I moved, indeed, for nothing more severe, though I was speaking upon C. Antonius by name; because I had resolved with myself, that the senate ought to take their information of the case from you. April 22d."

It is hard to believe, that it was the pure love of his country, unmixed with the low passions of fear and hatred, which engaged Cicero, contrary to all prudence and humanity, as well as the judgment of Brutus, to grant no quarter to Antony's adherents, and transform a civil contest into an inexpiable war.

[h] The decree of an ovation to Octavius was blamed by Brutus and his friends; yet seems, says Dr. Middleton, p. 434, "to have been wisely and artfully designed: for, while it carried an appearance of honour, it would regularly have stripped him of his power, if he had made use of it; since his commission was to expire of course, and his army be dissolved, upon his first entrance into the city: but the confusion of the times made laws and customs of little effect with those who had the power to dispense with them." If so, there was no wisdom or cunning in Cicero's contrivance: and if Cicero did believe that Octavius would disband his veterans to enjoy the honour decreed him, he must have possessed no great share of penetration.

[i] Atticus, at this time when Antony was deserted by almost all his friends, as a man utterly ruined, had the generosity to perform the most friendly offices to Fulvia, Antony's wife, and her children: which behaviour met with its due recompense soon after.

common cause.[k] But we shall soon see them all fall off, excepting Cornificius, and side with the rebel Antony.

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[k] Lepidus, who had suffered Silanus, a military tribune in his army, to carry succours to Antony at Mutina, and, after Antony's defeat, sent Culeo with a body of men, under a pretence of guarding the passes of the Alps; but most probably with secret instructions to favour Antony's march over these mountains, since he did not obstruct it, but, on the contrary, joined Antony: wrote, nevertheless, the following letter to Cicero:

M. LEPIDUS TO CICERO.

"Having received advice that Antony was advancing with his troops towards my province, and had sent before him a detachment of his cavalry, under the command of his brother Lucius; I moved with my army from the confluence of the Rhone and the Arar [the Saone, which falls into the Rhone at Lyons], in order to oppose their passage. I continued my march without halting, till I arrived at Forum Voconii [Le Luc in Provence]: and am now encamped somewhat beyond that town, on the river Argenteus [Argents], opposite to Antony. Ventidius has joined him with his three legions, and has formed his camp a little above mine. Antony, before this conjunction, had the second legion entire, together with a considerable number of men, though indeed wholly unarmed, who escaped from the general slaughter of his other legions. He is extremely strong in cavalry; for as none of those troops suffered in the late action, he has no less than .... horse." [The number is omitted in all the ancient manuscripts.] "Great numbers of his soldiers, both horse and foot, are continually deserting to my camp; so that his troops diminish every day. Both Silanus and Culeo have left his army, and are returned to mine. But, notwithstanding, I was greatly offended by their going to Antony, contrary to my inclination; yet, in regard to the connexions that subsist between us, and in compliance with my usual clemency, I have thought proper to pardon them. However, I do not, upon any occasion, employ their services; nor, indeed, suffer them to remain in the camp.

Ep. Fam. 10. 34. Melm. 14. 19.

"As to what concerns my conduct in this war, you may depend upon it, I shall not be wanting in my duty either to the senate or the republic: and, whatever farther measures I shall take to this end, I shall not fail to communicate them to you. The friendship that subsists between us, has, upon all occasions, been inviolably preserved on both sides; and we have mutually vied in our best good offices to each other. But I doubt not that, since this great and sudden commotion has been raised in the commonwealth, some false and injurious reports have been spread of me by my enemies, which, in the zeal of your heart for the interest of the republic, have given you much uneasiness. I have the satisfaction, however, to be informed, by my agents at Rome, that you are by no means disposed easily to credit these idle rumours: for which I think myself, as I justly ought, extremely obliged to you. I am so, likewise, for the former instances of your friendship, in promoting my public honours: the grateful remembrance of which, be assured, is indelibly impressed upon my heart. Let me conjure you, my dear Cicero, if you are sensible that my public conduct has, upon all occasions, been worthy of the name I bear, to be persuaded that I shall continue to act with equal, or, if possible, even with superior zeal. Let me hope too, that, the greater the favours are which you have conferred upon me, the more you will think yourself engaged to support my credit and character. Farewell. From my camp at Pons Argenteus, May 22d."

Asinius Pollio, the governor of Farther Spain, had strictly kept within the bounds of his province: before the news of Antony's defeat, he had written the two following letters to Cicero:

Correspondence between Pollio and Cicero.

ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO.

"You must not wonder that you have heard nothing from me in relation to public affairs, since the breaking out of the war. Our couriers have always found it difficult to pass unmolested through the forest of Castulo," [a city anciently of great note; at present it is only a small village called Cazorla, in the province of New Castile:] "but it it is now more than ever infested with robbers. These banditti, however, are by no means the principal obstruction to our intercourse with Rome, as the mails are perpetually searched and detained by the soldiers that are posted

Ep. Fam. 10. 31. Melm. 13. 11.

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The conquerors at Mutina were very much censured for giving Antony leisure to escape: but Octavius, from

for that purpose by both parties, in every quarter of the country. Accordingly, if I had not received letters by a ship which lately arrived in that river" [the Bætis or Quadalquivir], "I should have been utterly ignorant of what has been lately transacted in your part of the world. But, now that a communication by sea is thus opened between us, I shall frequently, and with great pleasure, embrace the opportunity of corresponding with you.

"Believe me, there is no danger of my being influenced by the persuasions of the person you mention." [Antony, or perhaps Lepidus.] "As much as the world abhors him, he is far from being detested to that degree which I know he deserves: and I have so strong an aversion to the man, that I would, upon no consideration, bear a part in any measures wherein he is concerned. Inclined both by my temper and my studies to be the friend of tranquillity and freedom, I frequently and bitterly lamented our late unhappy civil wars. But, as the formidable enemies which I had among both parties rendered it altogether unsafe for me to remain neuter, so I would not take up arms on that side where I knew I should be perpetually exposed to the insidious arts of my capital adversary." [Perhaps Cato; as Pollio had early distinguished himself by a public impeachment of that eminent man. See Dial de Caus. corrupt. Eloquent. 34.] "But, though my inclinations were not with the party I joined, my spirit, however, would not suffer me to stand undistinguished among them: in consequence of which I was forward to engage in all the dangers of the cause I espoused. With respect to Cæsar himself, I will confess that I loved him with the highest and most inviolable affection: as indeed I had reason. For, notwithstanding his acquaintance with me commenced so late as when he was in the height of his power, yet he admitted me into the same share of his friendship, as if I had been in the number of those with whom he had lived in the longest intimacy. Nevertheless, as often as I was at liberty to follow my own sentiments, I endeavoured that my conduct should be such as every honest man must approve: and, whenever I was obliged to execute the orders I received, it was in a manner that evidently discovered how much my actions were at variance with my heart. The unjust odium, however, that I incurred by these unavoidable compliances, might well teach me the true value of liberty, and how wretched a condition it is to live under the government of a despotic power. If any attempts, therefore, are carrying on to reduce us a second time under the dominion of a single person, whoever that single person may be, I declare myself his irreconcilable enemy. The truth is, there is no danger so great that I would not cheerfully hazard for the support of our common liberties. But the consuls have not thought proper to signify to me, either by any decree of the senate, or by their private letters, in what manner I should act in the present conjuncture. I have received, indeed, only one letter from Pansa since the ides of March, by which he advised me to assure the senate, that I was ready to employ the forces under my command in any service they should require. But this would have been a very imprudent declaration, at a time when Lepidus had professed in his public speeches, as well as in the letters he wrote to all his friends, that he concurred in Antony's measures." [It does not appear that Lepidus was so explicit.] "For could I possibly, without the consent of the former, find means to subsist my troops in their march through his provinces? But granting that I could have surmounted this difficulty, I must have conquered another and a still greater; as nothing less than a pair of wings could have rendered it practicable for me to have crossed the Alps, whilst every pass was guarded by the troops of Lepidus. Add to this, that I could by no means convey my dispatches to Rome: as the couriers were not only exposed, in a thousand different places, to the danger of being plundered, but were detained likewise, by the express orders of Lepidus. It is well known, however, that I publicly declared at Corduba, that it was my resolution not to resign this province into any other hands than those which the senate should appoint: not to mention how strenuously I withstood all the applications that were made me for parting with the thirtieth legion." [Very singular proofs these of his zeal for what Cicero called the republic.] "I could not, indeed, have given it up without depriving myself of a very considerable strength for the defence of the republic: as there are no troops in the whole world that are animated with a braver or more martial spirit than those of which this legion is composed. Upon the whole, I hope you will do me the justice to believe, in the first place, that I am

the beginning, had no thoughts of pursuing him: he had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced An- Year of ROME 710. B. C. 42.

extremely desirous of preserving the public tranquillity; as there is nothing I more sincerely wish than the safety of all my fellow-citizens: and in the second place, 409th that I am determined to vindicate my own and my country's cause. consul-

"It gives me greater satisfaction than you can well imagine, that you admit my ship. friend into a share of your intimacy. Shall I own, nevertheless, that I cannot think of him as the companion of your walks, and as bearing a part in the pleasantry of your conversation, without feeling some emotions of envy? This is a privilege, believe me, which I infinitely value: as you shall most assuredly experience by my devoting the whole of my time to your company, if ever we should live to see peace restored to the republic.

"I am much surprised that you did not mention in your letter, whether it would be most satisfactory to the senate that I should remain in this province, or march into Italy. If I were to consider only my own ease and safety, I should certainly continue here: but, as, in the present conjuncture, the republic has more occasion for legions than for provinces (especially as the loss of the latter may with great ease be recovered), I have determined to move towards Italy with my troops. For the rest, I refer you to the letter I have written to Pansa: a copy of which I herewith transmit to you. Farewell. Corduba, March the 16th." There must be an error in this date; or in the body of the letter, where Pollio writes, that he had received but one letter from Pansa since the 15th, or the ides of March. It was probably written about six weeks after, or in the end of May.

ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO.

. . . . Ep. Fam.

"I should be glad the senate would determine in what manner they would have 10. 32. me act. I am at the head of three brave legions, one of which Antony took great Melm. pains to draw over to his interest, at the commencement of the war. For this pur- 15. 7. pose, he caused it to be signified to them, that the very first day they should enter into his camp, every soldier should receive 500 denarii; [about 16*l*.] besides which, he also assured them, that, if he obtained the victory, they should receive an equal share of the spoils with his own troops: a reward which all the world knows would have been without end or measure. These promises made a deep impression upon them: and it was with great difficulty I kept them from deserting. I should not, indeed, have been able to have effected this, if I had not cantoned them in distant quarters: as some of the cohorts, notwithstanding they were thus separated, had the insolence to mutiny. Antony also endeavoured to gain the rest of the legions by immense offers. Nor was Lepidus less importunate with me to send him the thirtieth legion; which he solicited both by his own letters, and by those which he caused Antony to write. The senate will do me the justice, therefore, to believe, as no advantages could tempt me to sell my troops, nor any dangers, which I had reason to apprehend, if Antony and Lepidus should prove conquerors, could prevail with me to diminish their number, that I was thus tenacious of my army for no other purpose but to employ it in the service of the republic. And let the readiness with which I have obeyed all the orders I received from the senate, be a proof that I would have complied in the same manner with every other they should have thought proper to have sent me. I have preserved the tranquillity of this province; I have maintained my authority over the army; and have never once moved beyond the limits of my own jurisdiction. I must add, likewise, that I have never employed any soldier, either of my own troops, or those of my auxiliaries, in carrying any dispatches whatsoever: and I have constantly punished such of my cavalry whom I have found at any time attempting to desert. I shall think these cares sufficiently rewarded, in seeing the peace and security of the republic restored. But, if the majority of the senate and the commonwealth, indeed, in general, had known me for what I am, I should have been able to have rendered them much more important service. Corduba, June the 8th."

The same commander wrote the following letter, after receiving the news of Antony's defeat.

ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO.

"It is owing to Lepidus, who detained my couriers above a week, that I did Ep. Fam. not receive earlier advice of the several actions near Mutina: though, indeed, I 10. 33.

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tony's power so low, and raised his own so high as to be in a condition to make his own terms with him in the

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Melm. 15. 2.

should be glad to have been the last that was informed of this unhappy news, if it were utterly out of my power to be of any assistance in redressing its consequences. I wish the senate had ordered me into Italy, when they sent for Plancus and Lepidus: for if I had been present, the republic would not have received this cruel wound. And though some, perhaps, may rejoice in this event, from the great number of principal officers and veteran soldiers of the Cæsarean party who have perished; yet they will, undoubtedly, find reason to lament it, when they shall be sensible of the terrible desolation it has brought upon their country. For, if what is related concerning the number of the slain be in any degree true, the flower and strength of our armies is entirely cut off.

"I was well aware of the great advantage it would have proved to the republic, if I could have joined Lepidus; as I should have been able, and especially with the assistance of Plancus, to have dissipated those doubts which occasioned his delay in declaring for the senate. But the letters which I received from him being written (as you will perceive by the copies I herewith transmit) in the same spirit with those speeches, which, it is said, he made to his army at Narbo, I found it necessary to act with some sort of artifice towards him, if I hoped to obtain leave to march my troops through his province. I was apprehensive, likewise, if an engagement should happen before I could execute my designs, that the known friendship I had with Antony (though not superior, indeed, to that which Plancus entertained for him) would give my enemies an occasion of misrepresenting my intentions. For these reasons I dispatched two couriers from Gades in the month of April, by two different ships, with letters, not only to you and to Octavius, but to the consuls also, requesting to be informed in what manner my services might most avail to the republic. But, if I am right in my calculation, these ships did not sail till the very day on which the battle was fought between Pansa and Antony: as that was the soonest, I think, since the winter, that these seas were navigable. To these reasons for not marching I must add, that I had so little apprehension of this civil war, that I settled the winter-quarters of my troops in the very remotest parts of Lusitania. Both armies, it should seem, were as eager to come to an action, as if their greatest fears on each side were, lest some less destructive expedient might be found of composing our disturbances." [This is a severe censure of Cicero's management, and the style of the letter in general could not be agreeable to him.] "However, if circumstances required so much precipitation, I must do Hirtius the justice to acknowledge, that he conducted himself with all the skill and courage of a consummate general.

"I am informed, by my letters from that part of Gaul which is under the command of Lepidus, that Pansa's whole army is cut to pieces, and that he himself is since dead of his wounds. They add, that the martial legion is entirely destroyed, and that Lucius Fabatus, Caius Peducæus, and Decimus Carfulenus, are among the number of the slain. My intelligence farther assures me, that in the subsequent attack by Hirtius, both he and Antony lost all their legions: that the fourth legion, after having taken Antony's camp, was engaged and defeated by the fifth, with terrible slaughter: that Hirtius, together with Pontius Aquila, and, as it is reported, Octavius likewise, were killed in the action." [This gives some colour to Antony's reproach, that Octavius fled from, and disappeared for three days after the battle.] "If this should prove true, which the gods forbid, I shall be very greatly concerned. My advices farther import, that Antony has, with great disgrace, abandoned the siege of Mutina: however, that he has . . . complete regiments of horse still remaining, together with one which belongs to Publius Bagiennus, as also a considerable number of disarmed soldiers: that Ventidius has joined him with the seventh, the eight, and the ninth legions: and that Antony is determined, if there should be no hopes of gaining Lepidus, to have recourse to the last expedient, and arm not only the provincials, but even the slaves: in fine, that Lucius Antonius, after having plundered the city of Parma, has posted himself upon the Alps. If these several particulars are true, there is no time to be lost: and every man who wishes that the republic, or even the name of the Roman people, may subsist, should immediately, without waiting for the express orders of the senate, contribute his utmost assistance to extinguish these dreadful flames. I hear that D. Brutus is at the head of only seventeen cohorts, together with two incomplete legions of new-raised troops, which had been levied by Antony. I doubt not, however, that the remains of the

partition of the empire; of which he seems to have formed the plan from this moment. Whereas, if An- Year of ROME 710. B.C. 42.

forces commanded by Hirtius will join him. I hope so, at least; as there is little, I think, to be expected from any new recruits that may be raised; especially since nothing can be more dangerous than to give Antony time to recover strength. 409th consulship.

"My next letters from Italy will determine the plan of my operations: and as the corn is now cut down, and partly carried in, I shall be more at liberty to execute them without obstruction from the season of the year. In the mean time let me assure you, that I will neither desert nor survive the republic. It is a misfortune, however, that my distance from the scene of action is so great, and the roads so infested, that it is often six weeks, and sometimes more, ere I can be informed of any event that has happened. Farewell."

This letter is without a date, but appears to have been written in the end of June, or the beginning of July.

L. Munacius Plancus, who had been prætor during the Spanish war, was now governor of Farther Gaul, and had the command of three legions: upon the death of Cæsar, Cicero employed all his art to engage him on the side of the senate, (see Ep. Fam. 10. 3—7.) and Plancus, who was to succeed to the consulate the year following, together with D. Brutus, thought it for his interest to declare in favour of the public council of the state, which he saw supported by his colleague elect, by the two consuls, and Octavius. He had hesitated long before he declared himself. Correspondence between Plancus and Cicero.

PLANCUS, CONSUL ELECT, TO THE CONSULS, THE PRÆTORS, THE TRIBUNES, THE SENATE, AND THE COMMONS OF ROME.

"Before I make any professions with respect to my future conduct, I deem it necessary to justify myself to those who may think that I have held the republic too long in suspense concerning my designs. For I would by no means have it imagined that I am atoning for my past behaviour, when, in fact, I am only seizing the first favourable opportunity of publicly declaring a resolution, which I have long formed. I was in no sort ignorant, however, that, at a time of such general and alarming confusions, a less deliberate discovery of my intentions would have proved most to my own private advantage: as I was sensible that several of my fellow-citizens had been distinguished with great honours, by a more hasty explication of their purposes. But as fortune has placed me in such a situation that I could not be earlier in testifying mine, without prejudicing that cause, which I could better serve by concealing them; I was willing to suffer for a season in the good opinion of the world, as I preferred the interest of the public to that of my own reputation. That this was the genuine motive of my proceedings cannot reasonably, I trust, be questioned. For can it be supposed, that a man in my prosperous circumstances, and of my well-known course of life, whose utmost hopes too were upon the very point of being crowned, could be capable either of meanly submitting to the destructive ambition of another, or impiously cherishing any dangerous schemes of his own? But it required some time, as well as much pains and expense, to render myself able to perform those assurances I purposed to give to the republic, and to every friend of her cause; that I might not approach with mere empty professions to the assistance of my country, but with the power of performing an effectual service. To this end, as the army under my command had been strongly and frequently solicited to revolt, it was necessary to persuade them, that a moderate reward, conferred by the general voice of the commonwealth, was far preferable to an infinitely greater from any single hand. My next labour was to convince those many cities, which had been gained the last year by largesses and other donations, that these were obligations of no validity, and that they should endeavour to obtain the same benefactions from a better and more honourable quarter. I had still the farther task, to prevail with those who command in the neighbouring provinces to join with the more numerous party, in a general association for the defence of our common liberties, rather than unite with the smaller number, in hopes of dividing the spoils of a victory, that must prove fatal to the whole world. Add to this, that I was obliged to augment my own troops and those of my auxiliaries; that I might have nothing to fear, whenever I should think proper, contrary to the inclination of some about me, openly to avow the cause it was my resolution to de- Ep. Fam. 10. 8. Melm. 13. 17.

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tony had been wholly destroyed, together with the consuls, the republican party would have probably been too fend. Now I shall never be ashamed to acknowledge, that, in order to bring these several schemes to bear, I submitted, though very unwillingly, indeed, to the mortification of dissembling the intentions I really had, and of counterfeiting those which I certainly had not: as the fate of my colleague [D. Brutus] had taught me how dangerous it is for a man, who means well to his country, to divulge his resolutions ere he is sufficiently prepared to carry them into execution." [To what particular circumstance of Decimus's conduct Plancus alludes, history does not discover: perhaps he indiscreetly threatened, in his consulate, to annul Antony's acts, which imprudent declaration of his sentiments engaged Antony to dispossess him of the important province of Cisalpine Gaul.] "For this reason it was that I directed my brave and worthy lieutenant, C. Furnius, to represent to you, more fully than I thought prudent to explain in my dispatches, those measures which seemed necessary both for the preservation of this province, and of the republic in general; as being the more concealed method of conveying my sentiments to you upon that subject, as well as the safer with respect to myself.

"It appears, then, that I have long been secretly attentive to the defence of the commonwealth. But, now, that by the bounty of the gods, I am in every respect better prepared for that purpose, I desire to give the world not only reason to hope well of my intentions, but clear and undoubted proofs of their sincerity.

"I have five legions in readiness to march; all of them zealously attached to the republic, and disposed by my liberalities to pay an entire obedience to my orders. The same disposition appears in every city throughout this province: as they earnestly vie with each other in giving me the strongest marks of their duty. Accordingly they have furnished me with as considerable a body of auxiliary forces, both horse and foot, as they could possibly have raised for the support of their own national liberties. As for myself, I am ready either to remain here in order to protect this province, or to march wheresoever else the republic shall demand my services. I will offer you another alternative; and either resign my troops and government into any hands that shall be appointed, or draw upon myself the whole weight of the war; if, by this means, I may be able to establish the tranquillity of my country, or even retard those calamities with which it is threatened.

"If, at the time I am making these declarations, our public disturbances should happily be composed, I shall rejoice in an event so advantageous to the commonwealth, notwithstanding the honour I shall lose by being too late in the tender of my services." [This passage sufficiently discovers, says M. Melmoth, the true motive of Plancus's present declarations: as they appear evidently to have flowed from some reason he had to believe, that the contest between Antony and the senate was likely to be adjusted in an amicable manner.] "But, on the contrary, if I am early enough in my offers to bear a full part in all the dangers of the war, let me recommend it to every man of justice and candour to vindicate me against the malevolence of those, whom envy may prompt to asperse my character.

"In my own particular, I desire no greater reward for my services, than the satisfaction of having contributed to the security of the republic. But I think myself bound to recommend those brave and worthy men to your especial favour, who, partly in compliance with my persuasions, but much more in confidence of your good faith, would not suffer themselves to be prevailed upon by all the applications that have been made, both to their hopes and their fears, to depart from their duty to the commonwealth."

This letter, which bears no date, appears to have been written in the beginning of March: Cicero's answer to it, (Ep. Fam. 10. 10. Melm. 13. 18.) is dated March the 30th. In a subsequent letter, received at Rome the 7th of April, which is lost, he sent the senate a more satisfactory account of his designs, and acquainted them that he had begun his march towards Italy, which afforded Cicero an occasion to move, that honours should be decreed him: the following very instructive letter is an account of the debates of the senate on that occasion.

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

Ep. Fam. 10. 12. Melm. 13. 20.

"It is principally for the sake of my country, that I ought to rejoice in the very powerful succours with which you have strengthened the republic, at a juncture when it is well-nigh reduced to the last extremity. I protest, however, by all my

strong for him and Lepidus, who, though master of a good army, was certainly a weak general: when he was

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hopes of congratulating you on the victorious deliverance of the commonwealth, that a considerable part of the joy which I feel, upon this occasion, arises from the share I take in your glory. Great, indeed, is the reputation you have already acquired; and great, I am persuaded, are the honours that will hereafter be paid to you: for, assure yourself, nothing could make a stronger impression upon the senate than your late letter to that assembly. It did so, both with respect to those very important services which it brought us an account you had performed, and with regard to that strength of sentiment and expression with which it was drawn up. It contained nothing, however, which was in the least unexpected to myself: as I was not only perfectly well acquainted with your heart, and had not forgotten the promises you had given me in your letters; but as I had received from Furnius a full information of all your designs. They appeared, however, to the senate, much beyond what they had allowed themselves to hope: not that they ever entertained the least doubt of your disposition, but because they were by no means sufficiently apprized either of what you were in a condition to effect, or whither you purposed to march. It was with infinite pleasure, therefore, that I read the letter, which M. Varisidius delivered to me on your part. I received it, on the 7th of this month, in the morning, amidst a large circle of very worthy citizens, who were attending in order to conduct me from my house: and I immediately gave them a share in my joy. Whilst we were mutually congratulating each other upon this happy occurrence, Munatius [Plancus's brother] came to pay me his usual morning visit; to whom I likewise communicated your letter. It was the first notice he had received of an express being arrived from you: as Varisidius, in pursuance of your directions, did not deliver any of his dispatches till he had first waited upon me. A short time, however, after Munatius had left me, he returned with your letter to himself, together also with that which you wrote to the senate. We thought proper to carry the latter immediately to Cornutus, who, as prætor of the city, supplies the office of the consuls, in their absence, agreeably, you know, to an ancient and established custom. The senate was instantly summoned, and the expectation that was raised by the general report of an express being arrived from you, brought together a very full assembly. As soon as your letter was read, it was objected that Cornutus had not taken the auspices in a proper manner: and this scruple was confirmed by the general sentiment of our college [of augurs]. In consequence of this, the senate was adjourned to the following day: when I had a warm contest with Servilius, who strenuously opposed the passing of any decree to your honour. For this purpose, he had the interest [with Cornutus] to procure his own motion to be first proposed to the senate: which being rejected, however, by a great majority, mine was next taken into consideration. But, when the senate had unanimously agreed to it, P. Titius [one of the tribunes], at the instigation of Servilius, interposed his negative. The farther deliberation, therefore, upon this affair was postponed to the next day: when Servilius came, prepared to support an opposition, which in some sort might be considered as injurious to the honour even of Jupiter himself, as it was in the Capitol that the senate, upon this occasion, was assembled. I leave it to your other friends to inform you, in what manner I mortified Servilius, and with how much warmth I exposed the contemptible interposition of Titius. But this I will myself assure you, that the senate could not possibly act with greater dignity and spirit, or shew a stronger disposition to advance your honours, than it discovered upon this occasion. Nor are you less in favour with the whole city in general: as, indeed, all orders and degrees of men amongst us remarkably concur in the same common zeal for the deliverance of the republic. Persevere, then, my friend, in the glorious course upon which you have entered: and let nothing less than immortal fame be the object of your well-directed ambition. Despise the false splendour of all those empty honours that are short, transitory, and perishable. True glory is founded upon virtue alone: which is never so illustriously distinguished, as when it displays itself by important services to our country. You have at this time a most favourable opportunity for that purpose: which, as you have already embraced, let it not slip out of your hands till you shall have employed it to full advantage; lest it be said, that you are more obliged to the republic than the republic is obliged to you. As for my own part, you will always find me ready to contribute to the advancement, as well as to the support, of your

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Year of ROME 710. B. C. 42. pressed, therefore, to pursue Antony, he contrived still to delay it, till it was too late; thinking he was more

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PLANCUS TO CICERO.

Ep. Fam. 10. 9. Melm. 14. 2. . . . .

"I passed the Rhone, with my whole army, on the 27th of April: and immediately ordered a detachment of 1000 horse [or rather 3000 horse, as they are numbered in a subsequent letter] to advance before me from Vienna, by a shorter road, and by long marches. If I meet with no obstructions on the part of Lepidus, the republic will have reason to be satisfied with my diligence and expedition: but, if he should attempt to intercept my passage, I must take my measures as circumstances shall require. Of this, however, I will now assure you, that the army I am conducting is highly respectable, whether considered with regard to the nature, the number, or the fidelity of my troops. I will only add, that I desire your friendship upon no other terms, than as you are sure I shall always give you the warmest returns of mine."

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

Ep. Fam. 10. 14. Melm. 14. 4. "How pleasing was the letter I received from you two days before our victory at Mutina: wherein you gave me an account of the state of your troops, of your zeal for the republic, and of the expedition with which you were advancing to the relief of Brutus. But, notwithstanding the enemy was defeated before you could join our army, the hopes, nevertheless, of the commonwealth are still fixed entirely upon you: as the principal leaders of these infamous rebels have escaped, it is said, from the field of battle. You will remember, therefore, that to exterminate the remains of this party will be a service no less acceptable to the senate, than if you had given them the first repulse.

"I am waiting, as well as many others, with great impatience, for the return of your couriers. I hope that our late success will now induce even Lepidus himself to act in concert with you for the defence of the common cause. I entreat you, my dear Plancus, to employ your utmost endeavours for this important purpose; that every spark of this horrid war may be utterly and for ever extinguished. If you should be able to effect this, you will render a most godlike service to your country, and, at the same time, procure immortal honour to yourself. Farewell. May the 5th."

Cicero, after Antony's defeat at Mutina, obtained of the senate the honours in favour of Plancus, which Servilius and the tribune Titius had opposed before with success.

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

Ep. Fam. 10. 11. Melm. 14. 7. "I give you a thousand and a thousand thanks for your late favours, which, as long as I live, I shall always most gratefully acknowledge; more than this I dare not venture to promise. For I fear it will never be in my power to acquit such uncommon obligations: unless you should think (what your letter endeavours, indeed, with much serious eloquence, to persuade me), that to remember them is to return them. You could not have acted with a more affectionate zeal, if the dignities of your own son had been in question; and I am perfectly sensible of the high honours that were decreed to me in consequence of your first motion for that purpose. I am sensible too, that all your subsequent votes, in my behalf, were entirely conformable to the circumstances of the times, and the opinion of my friends; as I am informed, likewise, of the advantageous colours, in which you are perpetually representing me, as well as of the frequent contests with my injurious detractors. It is incumbent upon me, therefore, in the first place, to endeavour to convince the republic, that I am worthy of the praises you bestow upon me; and, in the next place, to render you sensible, that I gratefully bear your friendship in remembrance. I will only add, under this article, that I desire you to protect me in the honours I have thus procured by your influence: but I desire it no otherwise than as my actions shall prove that I am the man you wish to find me.

"As soon as I had passed the Rhone, I detached a body of 3000 horse under the conduct of my brother, with orders to advance towards Mutina; to which place I intended to follow them with the rest of my army. But, on my march thither, I

usefully employed in securing to his interest the troops of the consuls and watching the motions of the senate: and, besides, most of the officers and soldiers in his army were attached to Antony. D. Brutus was, from the first, apprehensive of his charge,[1] and, why he himself

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received advice that an action had happened, and that the siege was raised. Antony, I find, has no other resource left, but to return into these parts with the remains of his broken forces. His only hopes, indeed, are, that he may be able either to gain Lepidus, or his army; in which there are some troops no less disaffected to the republic, than those which served under Antony himself. I thought proper, therefore, to recall my cavalry, and to halt in the country of the Allobroges, that I might be ready to act as circumstances shall require. If Antony should retire into this country, destitute of men, I make no doubt, notwithstanding he should be received by the army of Lepidus, to be able to give a good account of him with my present forces. Should he even appear at the head of some troops, and should the tenth veteran legion revolt, which, together with the rest, was, by my means, prevailed upon to engage in the service of the republic; yet I shall endeavour, by acting on the defensive, to prevent him from gaining any advantage over us: which I hope to effect, till a reinforcement from Italy shall enable me to exterminate this desperate crew. I will venture, at least, to assure you, my dear Cicero, neither zeal nor vigilance shall be wanting on my part for that purpose. It is my sincere wish, indeed, that the senate may have no farther fears: but, if any should still remain, no man will enter into their cause with greater warmth and spirit, nor be willing to suffer more in the support of it, than myself.

"I am endeavouring to engage Lepidus to join with me in the same views: and I have promised him, if he will act with a regard to the interest of the republic, that I shall upon all occasions yield him an entire deference. I have employed my brother, together with Furnius and Laterensis, to negotiate this association between us, and no private injury done to myself shall ever prevent me from concurring with my greatest enemy, whenever it may be necessary for the defence of the commonwealth. But, notwithstanding these overtures should prove unsuccessful, I shall still persevere with the same zeal (and perhaps with more glory) in my endeavours to give satisfaction to the senate."

[1] D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

"You are sensible how great a loss the republic has sustained, by the death of Pansa. It behoves you, therefore, to exert all your credit and address to prevent our enemies from entertaining any reasonable hope of recovering their strength, now that we have lost both our consuls. I am preparing to pursue Antony immediately; and, I trust, shall be able to render it impossible either for Antony to continue in Italy, or for Ventidius to escape out of it.——I make it my first and principal request, that you would send to Lepidus, in order, if possible, to prevent that light and inconstant man from renewing the war, by joining Antony; as to Pollio, I suppose you see very clearly the measures he will pursue! [that he will act in concert with Lepidus.] They are both at the head of very numerous and warlike legions. I do not mention this as imagining you are not equally attentive to this important point; but from a firm persuasion that Lepidus, however dubious it may, perhaps, appear to the senate, will never act himself in the manner he ought. Let me entreat you, likewise, to confirm Plancus in his present resolutions: who, I should hope, when he sees Antony driven out of Italy, will not be wanting in his assistance to the republic. If the latter should have crossed the Alps, I purpose to post a proper number of forces to guard the passes of those mountains: and you may depend upon my giving you regular notice of all my motions. From my camp at Regium [Reggio between Modena and Parma]. April the 29th."

Correspondence between D. Brutus and Cicero. Ep. Fam. 11. 9. Melm. 14. 3.

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

"I look upon the obligations I have received from you, as nothing inferior even to those which I have conferred upon the republic: but I am not capable, you are well assured, of making you so ill a return as I have experienced from some of my ungrateful countrymen. It might, perhaps, in the present conjuncture, be thought to

Ep. Fam. 11. 10. Melm. 14. 6.

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was not able to pursue his enemy so soon as he wished, he gives the following reasons in a letter to Cicero:

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have somewhat of the air of flattery to say, that your single applause outweighs, in my esteem, their whole united approbation. It is certain, however, that you view my actions by the faithful light of dispassionate truth and reason: whereas they, on the contrary, look upon them through the darkest clouds of envy and malevolence. But I am little concerned how much soever they may oppose my honours, provided they do not obstruct me in my services to the republic: the very dangerous situation of which let me now point out to you, in as few words as possible.

"In the first place, you are sensible what great disturbances the death of the consuls may create in Rome: as it may give occasion to all the dangerous practices that ambition will suggest to those who are desirous of succeeding to their office. This is all that prudence will allow me to say in a letter; and all, indeed, that is necessary to be said to a man of your penetration. [No, Cicero the prophet had not this penetration, or wilfully shut his eyes.]—As to Antony, notwithstanding he made his escape from the field of battle with but a very few troops, and those too entirely disarmed; yet, by setting open the prisons, and by pressing all sorts of men that fell in his way, he has collected no contemptible number of forces. These have, likewise, been considerably augmented by the accession of the veteran and other troops of Ventidius; who, after a very difficult march over the Appennine mountains, has found means to join Antony in the fens of Sabata. [Between the Alps and the Appennines on the coast of Genoa.] The only possible scheme which the latter can pursue is either to have recourse to Lepidus, if that general should be disposed to receive him; or to post himself on the Alps and Appennines, in order to make depredations with his cavalry (in which he is exceedingly strong) on the neighbouring country; or to march into Etruria, [Tuscany] where we have no army to oppose him. Had Cæsar, however, passed the Appennine mountains, agreeably to my advice, I should have driven Antony into such difficulties, that, perhaps, without striking a single blow, I should have been able to have wasted his whole army by famine. But the misfortune is, that Cæsar will never be governed by me, nor will his army be governed by him: both which are very unhappy circumstances for our cause. This then being the sad state of public affairs, can I be solicitous, as I said above, what opposition I may meet with in respect to my own personal honours? The particulars I have here mentioned are of so very delicate a nature, that I know not how you will be able to touch upon them in the senate: or, if you should, I fear it will be to no purpose.—In the mean time, I am in no condition to subsist my troops any longer. When I first took up arms for the deliverance of the commonwealth, I had above 400,000 sestertia [about 322,000*l.* sterling] in ready money: but, at present, I have not only mortgaged every part of my estate, but have borrowed all I could possibly raise on the credit of my friends. I leave you to judge, therefore, with what difficulty I now maintain seven legions at my own expense. The truth is, I should not be equal to so great a charge, where I possessed of all Varro's immense treasures.—As soon as I shall receive any certain information of Antony's motions, I will give you notice. From my camp at Tertona [Tortona, about thirty miles from Genoa,] May the 5th."

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

Ep. Fam. 11. 11. Melm. 14. 8.

. . . . "I gave you an account in my last, of the posture of our affairs: since which I have received intelligence, that Antony is on his march towards Lepidus. Among some papers of Antony, which are fallen into my hands, I found a list of the several persons, whom he intended to employ as mediators in his behalf with Pollio, Lepidus, and Plancus: so that he has not yet, it seems, given up all hopes of gaining the latter. Nevertheless, I did not hesitate to send an immediate express to Plancus, with advice of Antony's march. I expect within a few days to receive ambassadors from the Allobroges, and all the other districts of this province; and I doubt not of dismissing them strongly confirmed in their allegiance to the republic. You will be attentive, on your part, I dare say, to promote all such necessary measures at Rome as shall be agreeable to your sentiments, and to the interest of the commonwealth. I am equally persuaded that you will prevent, if it be possible to prevent, the malevolent schemes of my enemies. But, if you should not succeed in these generous endeavours, you will, at least, have the satisfaction to find, that no indignities they can throw upon me are capable of deterring me from my

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D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

"If you will look back into my former letters, you cannot be at a loss to discover the reasons that prevented

purposes. From my camp on the frontiers of the Statiellenses [a territory in Liguria, the principal town of which was Aquæ Statiellorum, now called Aqui, in the district of Montferrat], May the 5th."

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS, CONSUL ELECT.

"The message you commissioned Galba and Volumnius to deliver to the senate sufficiently intimates the nature of those fears and suspicions, which you imagine we have reason to entertain. But I must confess that the apprehensions you would thus infuse into us seem by no means worthy of that glorious victory you have obtained over the enemies of the commonwealth. Believe me, my dear Brutus, both the senate, and the generals that support its cause, are animated with an undaunted resolution: we were sorry, therefore, that you, whom we esteem the bravest captain that ever the republic employed, should think us capable of any timidity. Is it possible, indeed, after having confidently reposed our hopes on your courage and conduct, when you were invested by Antony in all the fulness of his strength and power, that any of us should harbour the least fear, now that the siege is raised, and the enemy's army entirely overthrown? Nor have we any thing, surely, to apprehend from Lepidus. For who can imagine him so utterly void of all rational conduct, as to have professed himself an advocate for peace, when we were engaged in a most necessary and important war: and yet to take up arms, the moment that peace is restored? You are far too sagacious, I doubt not, to entertain such a thought. [For the honour of Cicero's sagacity, we must suppose that he is not in earnest.] Nevertheless, the fears you have renewed amongst us, at a time, when every temple throughout Rome is resounding with our thanksgiving for your deliverance, has cast a very considerable damp upon our joy. May the fact prove then, what indeed I am inclined to believe, as well as hope, that Antony is completely vanquished. But, should he happen to recover some degree of strength, he will most assuredly find, that neither the senate is destitute of wisdom, nor the people of courage: I will add too, nor the republic of a general, so long as you shall be alive to lead forth her armies. May the 19th." Ep. Fam. 11. 18. Melm. 14. 11.

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS, CONSUL ELECT.

"It is with infinite satisfaction, my dear Brutus, that I find you approve my conduct in the senate, with respect both to the decemvirs [they were probably the ten persons whom the senate, in the first transports of joy for their supposed complete victory over Antony, had appointed to inquire into his conduct during the late consulship] and to the honours decreed to our young man. Yet, after all, what have my labours availed? Believe me, my friend, and you know I am not apt to boast, the senate was the grand engine of my power: but all those springs, which I used so successfully to manage, have utterly lost their force, and I can no longer direct its motions. The truth of it is, the news of your glorious sally with the garrison of Mutina, of Antony's flight, and of his army being entirely cut to pieces, had inspired such confident hopes of a complete victory, that the disappointment has cast a general damp upon the spirit I had raised against our enemies: and all my ardent invectives seem at last to have proved just as insignificant as if I had been combating with my own shadow. But to the purpose of your letter.—Those, who are acquainted with the dispositions of the fourth and martial legions, assure me, they will never be prevailed on to serve under you. As to the supply of money, which you desire, some measures may, and most assuredly shall, be taken, in order to raise it.—I am wholly in your sentiments, with regard to the calling Brutus out of Greece, and retaining Cæsar here for the protection of Italy. I agree with you, likewise, my dear Brutus, that you have enemies: and, though I find it, indeed, no very difficult matter to sustain their attacks, yet still, however, they somewhat embarrass my schemes in your favour.—The legions from Africa are daily expected. In the mean time, the world is greatly astonished to find that the war is broke out again in your province. Nothing, in truth, ever happened so unex- Ep. Fam. 11. 14. Melm. 14. 14.

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me from pursuing Antony, immediately after the battle of Mutina. The truth, my dear Cicero, is, that I was not only unprovided both with cavalry and baggage-horses, but, not having, at that time, had an interview with Cæsar, I could not depend upon his assistance: and I was wholly ignorant likewise, that Hirtius was killed. This will account for not having pursued Antony on the day of the engagement. The day following I received an express from Pansa to attend him at Bononia: but, in my way thither, being informed of his death, I immediately returned back to join my

pectedly: as we had promised ourselves, from the account of the victory, which was brought to us on your birthday, that the peace of the republic was established for many generations. But now all our fears are revived, with as much strength as ever.—You mentioned in your letter, dated the 15th of May, [it is lost] that you was just informed, by an express from Plancus, that Lepidus had refused to receive Antony. Should this prove to be fact, our business will be so much the easier; if not, we shall have a very difficult struggle to maintain; and it depends upon you to ease me of my great apprehensions for the event. As for my own part, I have exhausted all my powers, and am utterly incapable of doing more than I have already performed. It is far otherwise, however, with my friend: and I not only wish, but expect, to see you the greatest and most distinguished of Romans. Farewell."

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS, CONSUL ELECT.

Ep. Fam. 11. 12. Melm. 14. 16.

"I am indebted to you for your short letter by Flaccus Volumnius, as well as for two others more full; one of which was brought by the courier of T. Vibius, as the other was forwarded to me by Lupus: and all of them came to my hands on the same day. I find, by your own account, as well as by that which Græceius has given me, that the war, so far from being extinguished, seems to be breaking out again with greater violence. You are sensible, if Antony should gain any strength, that all your illustrious services to the republic will be utterly frustrated. The first accounts we received here, and which, indeed, were universally credited, represented him as having run away in great consternation; attended only with a few frightened and disarmed soldiers. But if the truth, after all, should be what Græceius assures me, that Antony is in fact so strong, as to render it unsafe to give him battle; he does not seem so much to have fled from Mutina, as to have changed the seat of war. This unexpected news has given all Rome another countenance, and a general air of disappointment appears in every face. There are even some amongst us, who complain of your not having immediately pursued Antony; as they imagine, if no time had been lost, that he must inevitably have been destroyed. But it is usual with people in all governments, and especially in ours, to be particularly disposed to abuse their liberty, by licentious reflections on those to whom they are indebted for the enjoyment of it. However, one should be careful not to give them any just cause for their censures. [The letter copied above, in the body of the history, is the answer to this unreasonable, unseasonable, and ungenerous reflection.]—To say all in one word, whoever destroys Antony will have the glory of terminating the war: *a hint which I had rather leave to your own reflections, than enter myself into a more open explanation.* Farewell." [In a letter to Plancus, Ep. Fam. 10. 13. Melm. 14. 5. we find the same hint.] "Let me only entreat you to finish the work, which others have so happily begun; remembering, that whoever shall destroy Antony will have the whole honour of concluding this war. It is thus that Homer gives the glory, not to Ajax or Achilles, but to Ulysses alone, of having exterminated Troy." [His meaning could hardly be mistaken, "that any stratagem would be fair and honourable, which should for ever remove Antony out of their way." See Melmoth, vol. 3. p. 260.]

little corps. I may justly call them so, indeed, as my Year of
forces are greatly diminished, and in a very bad con- ROME 710.
dition, from the great hardships they suffered during B.C. 44.
the siege. It was by these means that Antony got two 409th consul-
days advance of me: and, as he marched in disorder, ship.
he could retire much faster than it was in my power to pursue. He increased his forces likewise, by pressing the inhabitants, and throwing open the prisons, in every town through which he passed: and in this manner he continued his march, till he arrived in the Fens of Sabata. This is a place with which I must bring you acquainted. It is situated between the Alps and the Appennines, and the roads that lie about it are scarce passable. When I had reached within thirty miles of Antony, I was informed that he had been joined by Ventidius, and had made a speech at the head of their combined troops, to persuade them to follow him over the Alps; assuring them that Lepidus had agreed to support him. Nevertheless, not only his own soldiers, which, indeed, are a very inconsiderable number, but those likewise of Ventidius, wholly and unanimously declared, that they were determined either to conquer or perish in Italy: and, at the same time, desired they might be conducted to Pollentia.[m] Antony found it in vain to oppose them: however, he deferred his march till the ensuing day. As soon as I received this intelligence, I detached five cohorts to Pollentia; and am now following them with the remainder of my troops. This detachment threw themselves into that city an hour before Trebellius arrived with his cavalry: a circumstance which gives me great satisfaction, as it is a point, I think, upon which our whole success depends. When the enemy found their designs were thus frustrated, they conceived hopes of crossing the Alps into Gaul; as they supposed the four legions commanded by

[m] Some remains of this city still subsist, under the name of Polenzo. It is situated at the confluence of the Stura and the Tanaro, in Piedmont.

Year of ROME 710. B.C. 42. — 409th consulship. Plancus would not be able to withstand their united forces; and that an army from Italy could not overtake them soon enough to prevent their passage. However, the Allobroges, together with my detachment, have hitherto been sufficient to prevent their design: which, I trust, they will find still more difficult to effect, when I shall come up with the rest of my forces. But, should they happen, in the mean time, to pass the Isara [Isere], I shall exert my utmost endeavours, that this circumstance may not be attended with any ill consequences to the commonwealth.

"Let it raise the spirits and hopes of the senate, to observe, that Plancus and myself, together with our respective armies, act in perfect concert with each other, and are ready to hazard every danger in support of the common cause. However, whilst you thus confidently rely on our zeal and diligence, you will remit nothing, I hope, of your own; but employ your utmost care to send us a reinforcement, as well as every other necessary supply, that may render us in a condition to defend your liberties against those who have infamously conspired their ruin. One cannot, indeed, but look upon these our enemies with so much the greater indignation, as they have acted with the vilest hypocrisy; and suddenly turned those troops against their country, which they long pretended to have raised for its defence."

Middl. p. 427.]

Ib. p. 439. l. 3. p. 573.

This authentic account from D. Brutus confutes two facts which are delivered by Appian, and generally received by all the modern historians; first, that Octavius, after the victory, refused to have any conference with D. Brutus; and that Brutus, for that reason, forbade him to enter his province, or to pursue Antony: secondly, that Pansa, in his last moments, sent for Octavius, and advised him to a union with Antony against the senate. Both the stories seem to have been forged afterward to save Octavius's honour, and give a better colour to that

sudden change of measures, which, from this hour, he was determined to pursue."

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D. Brutus complains, in all his letters, of his want of money and the sad condition of his army, which was not contemptible for the number, but for the kind of his troops; being, for the most part, new-raised, bare, and needy of all things. He desired,[n] therefore, a present supply of money, and some veteran legions, especially the fourth and martial, which continued still with Octavius. (Ep. Fam. 11. 19.) This was readily decreed to him by the senate, at the motion of Drusus and Paulus, Lepidus's brother; but the legions refused to serve under him. He had also desired Cicero to write to Lepidus not to receive Antony, (Ib. 11. 9.) though he was sure, he says, that Lepidus would never do any thing that was right: and wishes, likewise, that Cicero would confirm Plancus; since, by some of Antony's papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived (Ib. 11. 11.) that Antony had not lost all hopes of him; and thought himself sure of Lepidus and Pollio. Of which he gave Plancus immediate notice, and signified, that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him.

Plancus,[o] as may be seen in his correspondence with

[n] There is an original medal still remaining, that gives no small confirmation to this notion; and was struck probably at Rome, either by Pansa himself, upon his marching out towards Mutina; or by the senate, soon after Pansa's death; in testimony of the strict union that subsisted between him and D. Brutus Albinus. For, on the one side, there is the head of a Silenus, as it is called, or rather of Pan, which is frequent on Pansa's coins, with the inscription also of his name, C. PANSA: and, on the other, ALBINUS BRUTI. F. with two right hands joined, holding a caduceus, as an emblem of the strictest amity and concord. See Fam. Vibia. in Vaillant. or Morel.

[o] PLANCUS TO CICERO.

Continuation of the correspondence between Plancus and Cicero. Ep. Fam. 10. 15. Melm. 14. 9.

"Some occurrences have arisen since I closed my former letter, of which I think it may import the republic that you should be apprized: as both the commonwealth and myself, I hope, have reaped advantage from my assiduity in the affair I am going to mention. I solicited Lepidus, by repeated expresses, to lay aside all animosities between us, and amicably unite with me in concerting measures for the succour of the republic; conjuring him to prefer the interest of his family and his country to that of a contemptible and desperate rebel; and assuring him, that, if he did so, he might entirely command me upon all occasions. Accordingly, by the intervention of Laterensis, I have succeeded in my negotiation, and Lepidus has given me his honour, that if he cannot prevent Antony from entering his province he will most certainly lead his army against him. He requests, likewise, that I shall join him with my forces; and the rather, as Antony is extremely strong in cavalry, whereas that of Lepidus is very inconsiderable: and, out of these few, ten of his best men have lately deserted to my camp. As soon as I received this express, I lost no time to forward and assist the good intentions of Lepidus. I clearly saw, indeed, the advantage that would arise from my joining him: as my horse would be of

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Cicero above, had begun a negotiation with Lepidus, to unite their forces against Antony: it was managed on

service in pursuing and destroying Antony's cavalry, and as the presence of my troops in general would be a restraint upon the disaffected part of those under his command. To this end, having spent a day in throwing a bridge across the Isara [Isere], a very considerable river that bounds the territories of the Allobroges, I passed it, with my whole army, on the 12th of May. But, having received advice that L. Antonius [Antony's brother] was advancing towards us with a body of horse and foot, and that he was actually arrived at Forum Julii [Frejus]; I ordered, on the 14th, a detachment of 4000 horse to meet him under the command of my brother: whom I purpose to follow, by long marches, with four light-armed legions, and the remainder of my cavalry. And, should that fortune which presides over the republic, prove in any degree favourable to my arms, I shall soon put an end at once both to our own fears, and to the hopes of these insolent rebels. But if the infamous Antony, apprized of our approach, should retire towards Italy, it will be the business of Brutus to intercept his march: and Brutus, I am persuaded, will not be wanting either in courage and conduct for that purpose. Nevertheless, I shall, in that case, send my brother with a detachment of horse to harass Antony in his retreat, and to protect Italy from his depredations."

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

Ep. Fam. 10. 17. Melm. 14. 12.

"Antony arrived at Forum Julii [Frejus] with the van of his army on the 15th of May: and Ventidius is only two days' march behind him. Lepidus writes me word, that he proposes to wait for me at Forum Voconii [Le Luc] where he is at present encamped; a place about four-and-twenty miles distant from Forum Julii: if he and fortune do not deceive my expectations, the senate may depend upon my speedily terminating this business to their full satisfaction. I mentioned to you, in a former letter, that the great fatigues which my brother had undergone by his continual marches had extremely impaired his constitution. However, as soon as he was sufficiently recovered to get abroad he considered his health as an acquisition which he had gained as much for the service of the republic, as for himself; and was the first, therefore, to engage in every hazardous expedition. But I have recommended it to him, and indeed insisted, that he should return to Rome, as he would be much more likely to wear himself away by continuing in the camp, than be able to give me any assistance. Besides, I imagined, now that the republic was most unhappily deprived of both the consuls, that the presence of so worthy a magistrate would be absolutely necessary at Rome. But, if any of you should think otherwise, let me be censured for my imprudent advice, but let not my brother be condemned as failing in his duty.——Lepidus, agreeably to my request, has delivered Apella into my hands, as a hostage for the faithful execution of his engagements to co-operate with me in the defence of the commonwealth. L. Gellius has given me proofs of his zeal: as he has acted also in the affair of the three brothers to the satisfaction of Sextus Gavianus. I have lately employed the latter in some negotiations between Lepidus and myself: and I have found him firmly attached to the interest of the republic. It is with great pleasure, I give this testimony in his favour: a tribute which I shall always be ready to pay, wherever it is deserved.—Take care of your health, and allow me the same share of your heart, which you must assuredly possess of mine. I recommend my dignities likewise to your protection; and hope, if I can plead any merit, you will continue your good offices to me with the same singular affection you have hitherto discovered."

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

Ep. Fam. 10. 19. Melm. 14. 15.

"Nothing, my dear Plancus, could be more glorious to yourself, nor more acceptable to the senate, than the letter you lately addressed to that assembly: I will add too, nothing could be more opportune than the particular juncture in which it was delivered. Cornutus received it in the presence of a very full house, just as he had communicated to us a cold and irresolute letter from Lepidus. Yours was read immediately afterward: and it was heard with the loudest acclamations of applause. It was highly pleasing, indeed, to the senate, not only from the importance of its contents, and those zealous services to the republic, of which it gave us an account, but from that strength and elegance of expression with which it was animated. The senate was extremely urgent that it might be immediately taken into consideration: but Cornutus thought proper to decline their request. However, the whole assembly

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Plancus's side by Furnius; on Lepidus's by Laterensis, one of his lieutenants, a true friend to the senate, and expressing great indignation at his refusal, the question was put by five of the tribunes of the people. When Servilius was called upon for his opinion, he moved that the debate might be adjourned. What my sentiments were (and I was supported in them by the unanimous concurrence of the whole house) you will see by the decree that passed upon this occasion." [Both Plancus's letter to the senate, and the decree upon it, are lost.]

"I am sensible that your superior judgment is abundantly sufficient to direct you in all emergencies; yet I cannot forbear advising you not to wait for the sanction of the senate, in so critical a conjuncture as the present, and which undoubtedly must often demand immediate action. Be a senate, my friend, to yourself: and, without any other authority, scruple not to pursue such measures as the interest of the republic shall require. In one word, let your actions anticipate our expectations, and give us the pleasure of hearing that you have executed some glorious exploit, ere we are so much as apprized that you even had it in your intention. I will venture to assure you, that the senate will most certainly approve both of your zeal and your judgment, in whatever you shall thus undertake." [It appears that Cicero, notwithstanding his great influence, could not procure any particular commission from Plancus.]

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

Ep. Fam. 10. 18. Melm. 14. 20.

"You have been apprized, no doubt, by Lævus and Nerva, as well as by the letter they delivered to you on my part, of the design I was meditating when they left me: as, indeed, they have constantly borne a share in all my councils and measures of every kind. It has happened, however, to me, what happens not unfrequently, I suppose, to every man who is tender of his reputation, and desirous of approving his conduct to the friends of his country: I have given up a safer scheme, as being liable, perhaps, to some ill-natured exceptions, in exchange for a more dangerous one that may better evince my zeal. I am to inform you then, that, after the departure of my lieutenants, I received two letters from Lepidus, entreating me to join him. These were seconded by the much stronger solicitations of Laterensis: who earnestly represented to me (what, indeed, I am also apprehensive of myself) that there is great reason to fear a mutiny among the disaffected troops under the conduct of Lepidus. I determined immediately, therefore, to march to his assistance, and take an equal share in the dangers with which he was threatened. I was sensible, at the same time, that to wait on the banks of the Isara till Brutus should pass that river with his army, and to meet the enemy in conjunction with my colleague, whose forces, as well as their general, would act in perfect harmony with me and my troops, would be much the most cautious measure with respect to my own personal security. But I reflected, that, if any misfortune should attend Lepidus, it would be wholly imputed to me; and I should be condemned, either as obstinately suffering my resentment to prevent me from giving succour to my enemy in the cause of the republic; or of timidly avoiding to take part in the danger of a most just and necessary war: as my presence therefore might be a means of protecting Lepidus, and of bringing his army into a better disposition, I resolved to expose myself to all hazards, rather than appear to act with too much circumspection. But never was any man more anxious in an affair for which he was in no sort answerable, than I am in the present: for, though I should have no manner of doubt if the army of Lepidus were not concerned, yet, under that circumstance, I am full of apprehensions for the event. Had it been my fortune to have met Antony before my junction with Lepidus, I am sure he would not have been able to have kept the field against me even a single hour. Such is the confidence I have in my own troops, and so heartily do I despise his broken forces, as well as those of that paltry muleteer, the contemptible Ventidius. But, as the case is now circumstanced, I dread to think what might be the consequence should any ill humours lie concealed in the army of Lepidus: as they may possibly break out in all their malignity, before they can be remedied, or even discovered. It is certain, however, that Lepidus, together with the well-affected part of his army, would be exposed to great danger, if we should not act in conjunction: besides, that our infamous enemies would gain a very considerable advantage, should they draw off any of his forces. If my presence, therefore, should prove a means of preventing these evils, I shall think myself much indebted to my courage and good

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zealous to engage his general to its interests; and Lepidus himself dissembled so well, as to persuade them of

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fortune, for engaging me to make the experiment. With this design I moved with my army from the banks of the Isara on the 21st of May; having first erected a fort at each end of the bridge which I had thrown over that river, and placed a strong party to defend it; that, when Brutus shall arrive, he may have nothing to retard his passage. I have only to add, that I hope to join Lepidus within eight days from the date of this letter."

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

Ep. Fam. 10. 21. Melm. 14. 21.

"I should be ashamed that this letter is so little consistent with my former, if it arose from any instability of my own. But it is much otherwise, and I have steadily pursued every means in my power to engage Lepidus to act in concert with me for the defence of the republic; as imagining it would render you less apprehensive of my success against our wretched enemies. To this end, I not only complied with all the conditions he proposed, but even engaged for more than he demanded: and I had so much confidence in the sincerity of his intentions, that I ventured to assure you, no longer than two days ago, that he would zealously co-operate with me in carrying on the war upon one common plan. I depended indeed upon the promises he had given me under his own hand, together with the assurances I had likewise received from Laterensis, who was at that time in my camp, and who earnestly conjured me to forget all resentments against Lepidus, and to rely upon his good faith. But Lepidus has now put it out of my power to entertain these favourable hopes of him any longer: however, I have taken, and shall continue to take, all necessary precautions, that the republic may not be prejudiced by my too easy credulity. I am to inform you then, that, after I had used the utmost expedition, agreeably to his own earnest request, to transport my army over the Isara, and for that purpose had, in the space of a single day, thrown a bridge over that river; I received a counter-express from him, requiring me to advance no farther; as he should have no occasion, he said, for my assistance. Nevertheless, I will own to you, I was so imprudent as to proceed in my march; believing that the true reason of his thus changing his mind arose from an unwillingness to have a partner with him in his glory. I imagined that, without depriving him of any share of that honour which he seemed so desirous to monopolize, I might post myself at some convenient distance, in order to be ready to support him with my troops, in case he should be pressed by the enemy: an event, which, in the simplicity of my heart, I thought not improbable. In the mean time, I received a letter from the excellent Laterensis, which was conceived in terms full of despair. He complained that he had been greatly deceived, and assured me that neither Lepidus, nor his army, were to be trusted. He expressly cautioned me, at the same time, to be upon my guard against their artifices; adding, that he had faithfully discharged the engagements he had entered into on his part, and hoped I would act with the same fidelity to the republic on mine. I have sent a copy of this letter to Titius, and purpose to transmit the originals of all the rest, relating to this affair, by the hands of Lævus Cispius, who was privy to the whole transaction. I shall insert in this packet the letters of Lepidus, to which I did not give any credit, as well as those to which I did—I must not forget to add, that when Lepidus harangued his soldiers, these mighty honest fellows were exceedingly clamorous for peace. They protested, that, after the loss of both the consuls; after the loss the republic had suffered of so many brave men, and after so many more, all Antony's adherents had been declared enemies of the commonwealth, and their estates confiscated; they were determined not to draw their swords any more either on the one side or the other. They were prompted to behave thus mutinously, not only by the insolent suggestions of their own hearts, but by the encouragement also of their officers, particularly by Canidius Rufrenus, and others, whose names the senate shall be acquainted with at a proper season. Lepidus was so far from punishing this sedition, that he did not take even a single step to restrain it. I thought, therefore, that it would be the highest temerity to expose my own faithful troops, together with my auxiliaries, which are commanded by some of the most considerable chiefs of Gaul, and in effect too my whole province, to their combined armies. I considered, if I should thus lose my life, and involve the republic in my own destruction, I should fall, not only without honour, but without pity. In consequence of these reflections, I have determined to march my forces back again, that our wretched enemies may not have so great

his sincerity; so that Plancus was marching forward in great haste to join with him. But Lepidus was acting Year of ROME 710. B.C. 42.

an advantage as my advancing any farther might possibly give them. I shall endeavour to post my army so advantageously as to cover the province under my command from being insulted, even supposing the troops of Lepidus should actually revolt. In short, it shall be my care to preserve every thing in its present situation till the senate shall send an army hither, and vindicate the liberties of the republic with the same success in this part of the world, as attended their arms before the walls of Mutina. In the mean time, be assured, that no man will act with more fervent zeal than myself in all the various occurrences of the war; and I shall most readily either encounter the enemy in the field, or sustain the hardships of a siege, or even lay down my life itself, as any of these circumstances shall prove necessary for the service of the senate. Let me exhort you then, my dear Cicero, to exert your utmost endeavours to send a speedy reinforcement to me, ere Antony shall have increased the number of his forces, or our own shall be entirely dispirited. For, if dispatch be given to this affair, these infamous banditti will undoubtedly be extirpated, and the republic remain in full possession of her late victory. Take care of your health, and continue your friendship to me. 409th consulship.

"P. S. I know not whether it may be necessary to make any excuse for the absence of my brother, who was prevented from attending me in this expedition by a slow fever, occasioned by the great fatigues he has lately undergone: as no man has shewn more zeal or courage in the cause of the republic, he will undoubtedly return to the duties of his post, the very first moment his health shall permit.—I recommend my honours to your protection: though I must confess, at the same time, that all my desires ought to be satisfied, since I enjoy the privilege of your friendship, and the satisfaction of seeing you invested with the high credit and authority I have ever wished you. I will leave it therefore entirely to yourself, both when and in what manner I shall experience the effect of your good offices: and will only request you to suffer me to succeed Hirtius in your affection, as I certainly do in the respect and esteem he bore you."

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

"I shall never regret to undergo the greatest dangers in the cause of my country, provided, my dear Cicero, that whatever happens to myself, I may not justly be accused of temerity. But I should not scruple to confess, that I had been guilty of an imprudence, if I had ever acted in reliance upon the sincerity of Lepidus. Too easy a disposition to give credit to fair pretences cannot so properly be called a fault as an error; but an error into which the noblest minds are generally the most liable to fall. It was not, however, from a mistake of this nature that I had well nigh been deceived; for the character of Lepidus I perfectly well knew. [He here contradicts all he says in the beginning of the foregoing letter.] It was entirely owing to a certain sensibility of what my detractors might say: a quality, I will freely acknowledge, particularly prejudicial in the affair of war. I was apprehensive, if I remained in my camp, that those, who are inclined to misconstrue my actions, might represent me as the occasion of the war being protracted, by obstinately indulging my resentment against Lepidus: and, therefore, I advanced almost within sight of him and Antony. I encamped, indeed, at no greater distance from them than forty miles, that I might be able, as circumstances should require, either speedily to join the army of Lepidus, or safely to retreat with my own. In marking out my camp, I chose a spot of ground that gave me the advantage of having a large river in my front, which would take up some time in passing, and that lay contiguous likewise to the country of the Vocontii: who, I was sure, would favour my retreat. When Lepidus found himself disappointed of what he so much wished, and that there were no hopes of my approaching nearer; [Had not Lepidus sent him word not to come forward, and was it not against advice that Plancus advanced so near?] he immediately threw off the mask, and, on the 29th of May, joined Antony. The combined armies moved the same day in order to invest my camp: and they had actually advanced within twenty miles before I received advice of their junction. However, I struck my tents with so much expedition, that, by the favour of the gods, I had the happiness to escape them. My retreat was conducted with so much good order, that no part of my baggage, nor even a single man, was either left behind or intercepted by these incensed villains. On the 4th of this month I

Ep. Fam. 10. 23. Melm. 15. 5.

Year of ROME 710. B.C. 42. all the while a treacherous part, being determined to support Antony; and, though he kept him at a distance

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repassed the Isara, with my whole army: after which I broke down the bridge I had thrown across that river. I took this precaution, that my troops might have time to refresh themselves, as well as to give my colleague [D. Brutus] an opportunity of coming up to me: which I imagine he will be able to effect in three days from the date of this letter.

"I must always acknowledge the zeal and fidelity Laterensis has shewn to the republic, in his negotiations between Lepidus and myself; but, it is certain, that his great partiality towards Lepidus prevented him from discovering the dangers into which I have been led. However, as soon as he discovered how grossly he had been imposed upon, he attempted to turn that sword against his own breast, which with much more justice, had been plunged in the heart of Lepidus. But he was prevented from completing his purpose; and it is said (though I by no means mention it as a certainty), that the wound he has given himself is not mortal.—My escape from these traitors has proved an extreme mortification to them: as they marched to attack me with the same unrelenting fury, which instigates them against their country. Some late circumstances particularly contributed to inflame their resentment. I had frequently and warmly urged Lepidus to extinguish this civil war: I had disapproved of the conferences that were held with the enemy: I had refused to see the lieutenants whom Antony deputed to me under the passports of Lepidus; and had intercepted Catius Vestinus, whom the former had sent express to the latter. But it is with pleasure I reflect, that the more earnestly they wished to get me into their hands, the more they suffer in the disappointment.

"Continue, my dear Cicero, to employ the same vigorous efforts you have hitherto exerted, that we, who are in arms for the defence of the republic, may have suitable honours paid to our services. In the mean time, I wish that Cæsar would join us with those brave troops he commands; or, if his affairs will not permit him, that at least, they might be sent under the conduct of some other general: for most certainly his own personal interest is at stake. The whole force of the disaffected party is united against our country: and shall we not put forth our utmost strength in its defence? As for what concerns myself, I will venture to assure you, that, if you at Rome are not wanting on your parts, I will abundantly perform every thing that can be expected on mine.—The obligations I am continually receiving from your hands, endear you to me every day more and more; at the same time that they animate me to act in such a manner as not to forfeit, in any degree, your esteem and affection.—I will only add my wishes, that I were able in person to give you such proofs of my gratitude as might afford you greater reason to rejoice in the good offices you have conferred upon me. Cularo [Grenoble], on the frontiers of the Allobroges, June the 6th." [There is in the collection of Cicero's letters but one more from Plancus, dated the 28th of July, which shall be laid before the reader in its proper place.]

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

Continuation of the correspondence between D. Brutus and Cicero. Ep.Fam. 11.19. Melm. 14.18.

"I wish you would peruse the letter I have addressed to the senate, and make what alterations you shall judge proper. You will find by it, that I am under an absolute necessity of thus applying to them. Whilst I imagined I should be joined by the fourth and martial legions, agreeably to the decree of the senate, which passed for that purpose, on the motion of Paulus [Lepidus's brother] and Drusus, [very probably Cicero's complaisance for Octavius did not permit him to move the house on so delicate a point] I was less solicitous about the rest: but now, that I have only some new-raised legions, and those too extremely ill accoutred, I cannot but be apprehensive upon your accounts as well as upon my own. . . . . Vercellæ [Vercelli], in the dutchy of Milan, May the 21st."

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

Ep.Fam. 11.20. Melm. 14.23.

"Friendship and gratitude make me feel, upon your account, what I never felt upon my own; and I will confess, that I am not without fear in regard to a story which has been propagated concerning you. I thought it by no means a matter to be despised, when I had only heard of it, as I frequently did, from common report: but it has been lately mentioned to me by Segulius. This man tells me (though what he says indeed is generally of a piece with the rest of his character), that, paying a visit at Cæsar's, where you were much the subject of the conversation, Cæsar complained

for some time, and seemed to be constrained at last, by his own soldiers, to receive him, yet that was only to (and it was the only charge it seems he brought against you) of an ambiguous expression which you made use of concerning him. [*Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum tollendum*: that the young man should be praised, ornamented, and advanced to the dignities of the state, or taken off.] I suspect the whole to be a mere fiction of Segulius; or, at least, that it was he himself who reported these words to Cæsar. Segulius endeavoured at the same time, to persuade me, that you are in great danger of falling a victim to the resentment of the veteran soldiers, who speak of you, he pretends, with much indignation. The principal cause, it seems, of their displeasure, is, that both Cæsar and myself are left out of the commission for dividing the lands among the soldiers, and that every thing is disposed of just as you and your friends at Rome think proper.

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"Notwithstanding I was on my march, when I received this account, yet I thought it would not be advisable to pass the Alps till I had informed you how affairs stand. I am well persuaded, nevertheless, that with respect to yourself, these reports and menaces of the veterans aim at nothing farther, than by alarming your fears, and incensing young Cæsar against you, to obtain for themselves a more considerable proportion of the rewards decreed by the senate. But I do not intend, by saying this, to dissuade you from standing upon your guard: as nothing, be assured, is more valuable to me than your life. Let me only caution you, not to suffer your fears to run you into greater dangers than those you would avoid. However, I would advise you to obviate the clamours of these veterans as far as you reasonably may; and to comply with their desires both in regard to the decemvirs, and to the distribution of their rewards. As to those forfeited estates which belonged to the veterans who served under Antony, I should be glad, if you think proper, that Cæsar and myself be nominated to assign them to the troops. But, in reference to the pecuniary donative, which they had been also promised, it will be proper to act with more deliberation, and as the state of the public finances shall require: to which end it may be signified to them, that the senate will take these their claims into consideration. As to those other four legions, to whom the senate has also decreed an allotment of lands, I imagine that the estates in Campania, together with those which were formerly seized by Sylla, will be sufficient for the purpose. I should think too that the best method of division would be, either to parcel out those lands, in equal shares, to the several legions, or to determine the respective proportions by lot. But, when I thus give you my opinion, it is by no means as pretending to superior judgment, but merely from the affection of my heart towards you, and from my sincere desire that the public tranquillity may be preserved: which, I am very sensible, if any accident should happen to you, cannot possibly be maintained.

"I do not purpose to march out of Italy, unless I should find it greatly expedient. Meanwhile, I am employed in disciplining my troops, and furnishing them with arms: and I hope to appear with no contemptible body of forces, upon any emergency that shall again call me into the field. But Cæsar has not, however, sent back the legion to me which served in Pansa's army.

"I request your immediate answer to this letter: and, if you should have any thing of importance to communicate to me, which requires particular secrecy, I desire you would convey it by one of your own domestics. Eporedia [Ivrea], May the 24th."

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

Ep. Fam. 11. 23. Melm. 14. 24.

"All things here go on well [he had probably received some favourable intelligence concerning Lepidus's behaviour], and it shall be my endeavour to render them still better. Lepidus seems to be favourably disposed towards me: and, indeed, we have reason to divest ourselves of all our fears, and to act with undaunted freedom in defence of the commonwealth. But, had our affairs a far less promising aspect, yet it might justly animate and augment that courage, which I know always resides in your breast, to reflect that we have three powerful armies [that of Octavius, of Plancus, and his own] devoted to the service of the republic, and that fortune has already declared in our favour.—The report which I mentioned in my former letter, is evidently calculated to intimidate you. But, believe me, if you exert a proper spirit, the whole united party will be unable to withstand your eloquence. I purpose agreeably to what I told you in my last, to stay in Italy till I shall hear from you. Eporedia [Ivrea], May the 25th."

Year of ROME 710. B. C. 42. save appearances, till he could do it with advantage and security to them both: his view in treating with Plancus

409th consulship.

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

"It affords me some consolation in the midst of my great concern [occasioned by the treachery of Lepidus] that the world is at length convinced my fears were not without just foundation. I have sent by this express a full account of the whole affair to the senate. And now let them deliberate, if they please, whether they shall call home their troops from Africa and Sardinia; whether they shall send for M. Brutus; and whether they shall order the payment of my forces. But of this you may be very well assured, that, unless they act with regard to these several articles in the manner I have pointed out in my letter, we shall all of us be exposed to the greatest danger.——I entreat you to be extremly cautious whom the senate shall employ to conduct the troops that are to reinforce me, as it is a trust which requires great fidelity and expedition. From my camp, June 3d."

Ep. Fam. 11. 26. Melm. 15. 3.

These are the last letters of D. Brutus which have been transmitted to us; as the following, which are answers to them, are the last of Cicero's correspondence with him.

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS.

Ep. Fam. 11. 21. Melm. 15. 4.

"May every god confound that most infamous of all human beings, the execrable Segulius! For do you imagine, my friend, that he has told this idle tale to none, but to Cæsar, or to you? Be assured he has related it to every mortal that would give him the hearing. I am much obliged to you, however, for informing me of this contemptible report: as it is a very strong instance, my dear Brutus, of the share you allow me in your friendship.——As to what he mentioned concerning the complaints of the veterans, that you and Cæsar are left out of the commission for dividing the lands; I sincerely wish I had likewise been excluded from so troublesome an office. But it is by no means to be imputed to me, that you were not both nominated; on the contrary, I moved that all our generals should be included. But the clamours of those, who always endeavour to obstruct your honours, carried it against me; and you were both excepted, in opposition to my warmest efforts; unheeded then by me, let Segulius propagate his impotent calumnies; for all that the man means is nothing more than to repair his broken fortunes: not that he can be charged with having dissipated his patrimony; for patrimony he never had. He has only squandered in luxury what he acquired by infamy.—You may be perfectly at ease, my dear and excellent Brutus, with regard to those fears, which you so generously entertain upon my account, at the same time that you feel none, you tell me, upon your own. Believe me, I shall expose myself to no dangers which prudence can prevent; and as to those against which no precaution can avail, I am little solicitous. High indeed would my presumption be, where I to desire to be privileged beyond the common lot of human nature.—The advice you give me not to suffer my fears to lead me into greater dangers than those they would avoid, supplies me at once with a proof both of your judgment and friendship: but the caution is altogether unnecessary. The truth of it is, distinguished as you are by a fortitude of mind, which renders you incapable of fear upon any occasion; yet there is no man who approaches nearer to you in that quality than myself. Nevertheless, I shall always be upon my guard, though I shall never be afraid. Indeed, if I should have any reason, will it not be wholly owing, my dear Brutus, to yourself? For, were I of a disposition apt to take alarm, yet I should be perfectly composed, in the confidence of that protection I shall receive from your approaching consulate; especially as the world is no less sensible than I am of the singular share I enjoy of your affection.—I agree entirely with your opinion concerning the four legions; as also that both you and Cæsar should have the distribution of those estates you mention. This is an office on which some of my colleagues had cast a very wishful eye; however, I have disappointed their longing, by reserving it wholly for you and Cæsar. In the mean time, if any occurrence should arise that requires particular secrecy, I shall observe your directions and communicate it to you by one of my own domestics. June the 4th."

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS.

Ep. Fam. 11. 24. Melm. 15. 6.

"To tell you the truth, I was once inclined to be somewhat angry at the shortness of your letters; but I am now so well reconciled to your concise manner, that I condemn my own as downright loquacity, and shall make your epistles the models of

was probably to amuse and draw him so near to them, that, when he and Antony were actually joined, they Year of ROME 710. B C. 42.

mine. How short, yet how expressive, are you when you tell me, 'that all things go well with you, and that you shall endeavour to render them still better; that Lepidus seems favourably disposed; and that we have every thing to expect from our three armies.' Were I ever so full of fears, these significant sentences would banish them all." [Indeed these general expressions were very unsatisfactory, and this polite letter is full of reproach.] "But I exert the spirit you recommend; and indeed, if at the time when you were closely blocked up in Mutina, my hopes nevertheless were fixed entirely upon you; how much higher, think you, must they be raised now?——I should be glad, my dear Brutus, to resign to you my post of observation, if I might do so without incurring the censure of deserting it. As to what you mentioned of continuing in Italy till you should hear from me, I do not disapprove of it, if the motions of the enemy should not call you elsewhere; as there are many points upon the carpet at Rome, which may render it prudent for you not to remove to a farther distance. But, at all events, if your presence here may prove a means of terminating the war, it is undoubtedly the first and principal scheme you should have in view.—The senate has decreed the first money that could be raised for the payment of your troops. . . . . . Servius is extremely your friend: and you may always depend upon me. June the 8th." 409th consulship.

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS.

"Though I always receive your letters with the highest satisfaction, yet I am much better pleased that you employed your colleague Plancus to make an excuse to me, than if you had interrupted your very important occupations by writing yourself. He has executed your commission very fully; and nothing can render your character more truly amiable to me, than the account he gives of your zeal and diligence.—The junction of your forces with those of Plancus, and the harmony with which you act together, as appears by your common letter to the senate, was agreeable both to that assembly and to the people in general. What remains then, my dear Brutus, but to conjure you to persevere in the same unanimity, and to endeavour, I will not say to excel others, but (what is far worthier of your ambition) to rise above yourself. I need add no more; especially as I am writing to one, whose epistolary conciseness I purpose to imitate. I wait with impatience for your next dispatches, as I imagine they will bring us such accounts as are agreeable to our wishes." Ep. Fam. 11. 15. Melm. 15. 10.

This letter is without a date, but appears to have been written about the beginning of June.

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS.

"I was expecting every day to hear from you, when our friend Lupus gave me notice that he was just setting out to you, if I had any thing to write. But though I have nothing worth communicating, more than what you are furnished with by the public journals; and that you are no friend, I am told, to letters of mere empty form; yet I cannot forbear following your example, and sending you two or three short words. Be assured then, that all our hopes rest upon you and your colleague. As to M. Brutus, I am not able to give you any certain account of him: I can only say, that, in pursuance of your advice, I endeavour to persuade him, in all my letters, to come over into Italy, and to take a part in this general war. I much wish he were now here: as his presence would render me less apprehensive of the consequences of these intestine commotions, which prevail in Rome; and which are by no means, indeed, inconsiderable." [The disturbances here alluded to were not only those occasioned by Antony and Lepidus's numerous friends, but also those occasioned by Octavius's measures to obtain the consulate.] "But I forget that I promised to imitate your laconic brevity, and am running into a second page. Farewell then, and may success attend your arms. June the 18th." This letter closes the correspondence between D. Brutus and Cicero. After the month of June, the communication between Cicero and the commanders in Gaul was very difficult, and Cicero became more cautious, after Octavius had manifested his ambitious views. Ep. Fam. 11. 15. Melm. 15. 15.

We have, in the collection of Cicero's familiar letters, several which passed between him and Cornificius, governor of Africa; but as they contain little more than recommendations of particular persons, and are not very instructive in the history of the times, we shall only refer to them for the few facts they contain as occasion offers.

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might force him into the same measures without his being able to help it, or retreat from them. When he was upon the point, therefore, of joining camps with Antony, he sent word to Plancus, who was within forty miles of him, to stay where he was, till he should come up to him: but Plancus, suspecting nothing, thought it better still to march on; till Laterensis, perceiving how matters were going, wrote him word, in all haste, that neither Lepidus, nor his army, were to be trusted; and that he himself was deserted; exhorting Plancus to look to himself, lest he should be drawn into a snare; and to perform his duty to the republic; for that he had discharged his faith, by giving him this warning. Laterensis, after sending this intelligence, laid violent hands upon himself, and, though he was interrupted in the act, yet died soon after of his wounds.

Dio. p. 324.

Lepidus and Antony joined camps on the 29th of May, and the same day marched forwards towards Plancus, who was come within twenty miles of Lepidus's camp: but upon the first information from Laterensis of what was transacting, he retreated in all haste, repassed the Isara, and broke down his bridge upon it, that he might have leisure to draw all his forces together, and join them with those of his colleague, D. Brutus, whom he expected in three days. Lepidus, the day after his union with Antony, wrote the following letter to the senate:

LEPIDUS, EMPEROR AND HIGH-PRIEST, TO THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME.

Ep.Fam. 10. 35. Melm. 14. 28.

"Heaven and earth will bear me witness, conscript fathers, that there is nothing I have at all times more sincerely desired, than the preservation of our common liberties: and I should soon have convinced you of this truth, if fortune had not forced me to renounce those measures I purposed to pursue. My whole army, indeed, expressed their usual tenderness towards their fellow-countrymen, by a mutinous opposition to my de-

signs: and, to own the truth, they absolutely compelled me not to refuse my protection to such a multitude of Roman citizens. I conjure you then, conscript fathers, to judge of this affair, not by the suggestions of private resentment, but by the interest of the commonwealth: nor let it be imputed as a crime to me and my army, that, amidst our civil dissensions, we yielded to the dictates of compassion and humanity. Be assured, that, by acting with an equal regard to the safety and honour of all parties, you will best consult both your own and your country's advantage. From my camp at Pons Argenteus [upon the Argents], May the 30th."

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D. Brutus, on the other hand, joined his army with Plancus, who acted with him, for some time, with great concord, and the affection of the whole province on their side; which being signified in their common letters to Rome, the senate so far depended upon their fidelity, that, after several debates, they took the desperate resolution of voting Lepidus an enemy, on the 30th of June, and demolished the gilt statue, which they had lately erected to him, reserving still a liberty, to him and his adherents, of returning to their duty by the 1st of September. Cicero was the great promoter of this impolitic and cruel decree. He was not, however, easy in his mind: and his anxiety is very apparent in the following letter to C. Cassius, written just after the decree, and which is the last of their correspondence. "Your relation and my friend, the worthy Lepidus, together with all his adherents, were, by a unanimous decree of the senate, which passed on the 30th of June, declared public enemies to their country: but at the same time a full pardon was offered to such as shall return to their allegiance before the 1st of September. The senate acts with great spirit:" [he might have said fury:] "but it is the expectation of being supported by your army, that chiefly animates them in their vigorous measures. I fear,

Ep. Fam. 12. 10. Melm. 15. 16.

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indeed, we shall have occasion for all your assistance, as the war is now become extremely formidable by the villany of Lepidus.

"The accounts that daily arrive, concerning Dolabella, are altogether agreeable to our wishes: but, at present, they are nothing more than mere rumours. However, your letter addressed to the senate, dated from the camp on the 9th of May, has raised a general persuasion in Rome, that he is actually defeated. Accordingly, it is imagined, that you are now upon your march into Italy, with a view, on the one hand, of succouring us with your troops, if any of those accidents, so common in war, should have rendered our arms unsuccessful; or, on the other hand, of assisting us with your counsels and authority, in case we should have proved victorious. You may be assured, in the meanwhile, that no endeavours of mine shall be wanting to procure the forces under your command all possible honours. However, I must wait a proper season for this purpose, when it shall be known how far they have availed, or are likely to avail, the republic. At present we have only heard of their endeavours in the cause of liberty: and glorious, it must be acknowledged, their endeavours have been. But still some positive services are expected: and these expectations, I dare be confident, either already are, or soon will be, perfectly answered. No man, indeed, possesses more patriot or heroic spirit than yourself; and it is for this reason that we wish to see you in Italy, as soon as possible. The truth is, if you and Brutus were here, we should look upon the republic as restored.

"If Lepidus had not received Antony, weak and defenceless as he was, when he fled after the battle of Mutina, we should have obtained a complete victory. This infamous step, therefore, has rendered him far more odious in Rome, than even Antony himself ever was. For Antony raised a war at a time when the republic was in the utmost ferment: whereas Lepidus has kin-

dled the flames in the midst of peace and victory. We have the consuls elect to lead our armies against him: but though we greatly depend upon their courage and conduct, still, however, the uncertain event of war leaves us much to fear. Be assured, therefore, that our principal reliance is upon you and Brutus, whom we hope soon to see in Italy; and Brutus, indeed, we expect every day. Should we have defeated our enemies, as I hope we shall, before your arrival, the authority, nevertheless, of two such illustrious citizens, will be of infinite service in raising up the republic, and fixing it upon some tolerable basis. All our business, indeed, will by no means be over, notwithstanding we should be delivered from the infamous designs of our enemies: as there are many other disorders of a different kind, which it will be still necessary to redress." [He glances at the enormous pretensions of Octavius and his veterans.]

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Lepidus's wife was M. Brutus's sister, by whom he had sons, whose fortunes were necessarily ruined by the decree, which confiscated the father's estate: for which reason, Servilia, their grandmother, and Cassius's wife, their aunt, solicited Cicero very earnestly, either that the decree itself might not pass, or that the children should be excepted out of it; but Cicero did not think he could consent to oblige them: for, since the first was thought necessary, the second followed of course, and he gave Brutus a particular account of the case in the following letter: "Though I was just going to write to you by Messala Corvinus, yet I would not let our friend Vetus come without a letter. The republic, Brutus, is now in the utmost danger, and, after we had conquered, we are forced again to fight, by the perfidy and madness of M. Lepidus, on which occasion, when, for the care, with which I have charged myself, of the republic, I had many things to make me uneasy, yet nothing vexed me more, than that I could not yield to the prayers of your

Middl. p. 452.

Ep. ad Brut. Middl. Ed. 17. p. 116.

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mother and sister; for I imagined that I should easily satisfy you, on which I lay the greatest stress. For Lepidus's case could not, by any means, be distinguished from Antony's; nay, in all people's judgment, was even worse; since, after he had received the highest honours from the senate, and, but a few days before, had sent an excellent letter to them; on a sudden, he not only received the broken remains of our enemies, but now wages a most cruel war against us by land and sea; the event of which is wholly uncertain. When we are desired, therefore, to extend mercy to his children, not a word is said, why, if their father should conquer, (which the gods forbid!) we are not to expect the last punishment from him. I am not ignorant how hard it is that children should suffer for the crimes of their parents: but it was wisely contrived by the laws, that the love of their children should make parents more affectionate to their country. Wherefore, it is Lepidus who is cruel to his children, not he who adjudges Lepidus an enemy: for, if, laying down his arms, he were to be condemned only of violence, in which no defence could be made for him, his children would suffer the same calamity by the consfication of his estate. Yet what your mother and sister are now soliciting against, in favour of the children, the very same, and much worse, Lepidus, Antony, and our other enemies, are at this very moment threatening to us all. Wherefore our greatest hope is in you and your army: it is of the utmost consequence, both to the republic in general, and to your honour and glory in particular, that, as I wrote to you before, you come as soon as possible into Italy: for the republic is in great want, not only of your forces, but of your counsels. I served Vetus with pleasure, as you desired me, for his singular benevolence and duty to you: I found him extremely zealous and affectionate both to you and the republic: I shall see my son, I hope, very soon; for I depend on his coming with you quickly into Italy."

Brutus, who, in general disapproved of Cicero's violent and merciless proceedings, was particularly shocked at the projected decree against Lepidus, and, being informed by his mother and sister of Cicero's fierceness, he sent him the following letter, which is worded with great energy, to make an impression upon him: "Other people's fears oblige me to entertain some apprehensions, myself, on Lepidus's account: if he should withdraw himself from us (which will prove, I hope, a rash and injurious suspicion of him), I beg and beseech you Cicero, conjuring you by our friendship and your affection to me, to forget that my sister's children are Lepidus's sons, and to consider me in the place of their father. If I obtain this of you, you will not scruple, I am sure, to do whatever you can for them. Other people live differently with their relations: but I can never do enough for my sister's children to satisfy either my inclination or my duty. But what is there in which honest men can oblige me (if in reality I have deserved to be obliged in any thing), or in which I can be of service to my mother, sister, and the boys; if their uncle Brutus has not as much weight with you and the senate, to protect, as their father Lepidus, to hurt them? I feel so much uneasiness and indignation, that I neither can nor ought to write more fully to you: for, if, in a case so important and so necessary, there could be any occasion for words to excite and confirm you, there is no hope that you will do what I wish, and what is proper. Do not expect, therefore, any long prayers from me: consider only what I am; and that I ought to obtain it; either from Cicero, a man the most intimately united with me; or, without regard to our private friendship, from a consular senator of such eminence: pray send me word, as soon as you can, what you resolve to do. July the 1st."

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Ep. ad Brut. 13. Middl. Ed. 18. p. 162.

Cicero perceiving from this letter, what he had no notion of before, how great a stress Brutus laid on procuring this favour for his nephews, prevailed with the se-

Ad Brut. 15.

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nate to suspend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more settled.[p]

Lepidus and Antony were no sooner joined, than a correspondence was set on foot between them and Octavius; who, from the death of the consuls, shewed but little regard to the authority of Cicero, or the senate; and wanted only an occasion of breaking with them. He saw that he had no share in their affection; that it was all engrossed by Brutus and Cassius and their adherents: that these commanders had raised formidable forces, and were masters of all the eastern provinces, which they now held legally in virtue of a decree of the senate; that Sextus Pompey was the authorized admiral of the republic; that the senate meant nothing more by the decrees in his favour, than to make use of him as a tool to destroy Antony, and that they would readily concur after that in his own destruction: they had been so impolitic as to slight him, by leaving him out of the number of commissioners named for the distribution of rewards to the soldiers; and even to put some public affronts upon him, pretending to dispose of his soldiers without his consent, and to treat with them without his privacy: his good friend Cicero, in the gaiety of his heart, after the defeat of Antony, and in answer to Brutus's friends, who reproached him with accumulating extraordinary honours upon Octavius, had spoken of the young man in ambiguous terms, which carried a double meaning, either of advancing or taking him off; this at

p "The great solicitude (says Dr. Middleton, p. 124, in a note upon this letter), which Brutus peevishly expresses on the account of his nephews, and his demand to have the laws suspended in their favour, at a time of such confusion, when the liberty of Rome was at stake, seems to be much out of character; for, if Lepidus had returned to his duty, of which Brutus professes some hopes, the case of the children would be set right of course; or, upon the conclusion of the war, which side soever got the better, their fortunes would necessarily have been repaired, either by their father or their uncle." But where was the propriety of making the law in the present conjuncture, to declare enemies of the state such powerful men, and half the forces of the republic, who were suing for peace; to plunge the commonwealth into a most dangerous and inexpiable war, in which all their present dependance was upon the son of the tyrant, and veteran troops, who had already shewn their unfavourable inclinations; and who, according to Dr. Middleton, were actually treating with Lepidus and Antony?

least was reported of him, and the report was credited. Year of ROME 710. B.C. 42. — 409th consulship.
Octavius, however, waited awhile to see what became of Antony; till, finding him received and supported by Lepidus, he began to think it his best scheme to enter into the league with them; and to concur, in what seemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the design of revenging the death of his uncle. Instead, therefore, of prosecuting the war any farther, he was persuaded by his friends to make a demand of the consulship, though he was not above twenty years old. Most of the ancient writers say that Cicero was duped upon this occasion, and drawn in by Octavius to favour his pretensions to the consulship, by the hopes of being made his colleague, and governing him in this office. But whether Cicero encouraged and favoured Octavius underhand or no, it appears that neither he nor any other magistrate would undertake to propose him. The demand of it, therefore, was made by a deputation of his officers; and, when the senate received it more coldly than they expected, Cornelius, a centurion, throwing back his robe, and shewing them his sword, boldly declared, that, if they would not make him consul, that should. But Octavius himself soon put an end to their scruples by marching with his legions in a hostile manner to the city. The prætors placed a guard in different parts of it, and seized upon the Janiculum with the rest of the troops and two legions, which were lately come by the senate's order from Africa. But Octavius met with no opposition, and the legions on the Janiculum went over to him. The reader, who is desirous to form a true notion of the characters of Brutus and Cicero, and of their politics, cannot but be pleased to find here the following interesting letters:

Plut. in Cic.

Suet. in Oct. 26. Ap. l. 3. p. 582. Dio. l. 46. p. 319. App. ibid. 584. Dio. ibid. 320.

M. BRUTUS TO CICERO.

"How great a joy it gave me to hear of the success of our Brutus [Decimus] and the consuls [he does not condescend to name Octavius], it is easier for you

Ad Brut. Ep. 4. Mid. Edit. Ep. 11. p. 71.

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to imagine than me to express. I am pleased and rejoiced on several accounts, but particularly on this; that Brutus's sally was not only salutary to himself, but of the greatest service towards completing the victory. [He expresses no concern for the death of the consuls, whose intentions he had always suspected.] As to what you write, that the case of the three Antonies is one and the same, and that it is my part to determine what I ought to judge of it, I lay down no other rule to myself but this; that it is the right of the senate, and people of Rome, to pass judgment on those citizens who have been taken fighting against us. But I am to blame, you will say, for giving the title of citizens to those who bear a hostile disposition to the republic. Yes, I do it with the greatest justice: for where the senate has not yet decreed, nor the Roman people commanded, any thing, there I neither arrogantly take upon myself to prejudge, nor to impose my will as a law. Nor have I changed my mind with regard to that person; from whom, when I was under no necessity of killing him, I neither took away any thing cruelly, nor remitted any thing idly, but kept him in my power as long as the war continued.[q] I take it to be much the more decent part, and what the republic would more easily allow to us, not to persecute the fortunes of the miserable, than to heap infinite honours on the powerful, which tend to inflame their ambition and arrogance. In respect to which, Cicero, thou best and bravest of men, and of all most justly dear to me, both upon my own and the public account, you seem to trust too much to your hopes; and, as soon as any one happens to have done what is right, immediately to grant and give up every thing to him. As if a mind, corrupted by extravagant concessions, could not be drawn to abuse them to ill purposes. Such is your humanity, you will not take it ill to be ad-

[q] By Antony's defeat and flight out of Italy, Brutus seems to have thought the war at an end, and was meditating therefore either to dismiss his prisoner Antonius, or to send him to Rome, that his case might be determined by the senate. Middl. p. 78.

monished; especially where the public safety is at stake. You will go on, however, to act as you shall judge for the best; and so too will I, whenever you will instruct me. Now is the time, Cicero; now the time for us to act so, that we may not rejoice in vain for Antony's ruin; nor, by our method of extirpating the first evil, give occasion to another still worse to sprout up. Nothing bad can now happen to us, either through our inadvertency or permission, without some fault in us all; but especially in you; whose authority the senate and people of Rome not only suffer, but desire to see as great as can possibly be allowed to any single man in a free state: which it is your business to maintain, by recommending not only honest, but prudent measures. Nor is any other prudence required from you for the time to come, but a moderation in conferring honours. All other virtues are so eminent in you, that you may be compared with any of the ancients. This one part, which flows from a grateful and generous mind, requires a more cautious and temperate generosity: for the senate ought to grant nothing to any man, that may either be an example or a support to the disaffected. I am in pain therefore about the consulship: lest this Cæsar of yours should think himself raised higher already by your decrees, than it would be, from his present height, to be advanced still to a consul. [This was penned on the 15th of May, after the first account of Antony's defeat.] For if Antony took the ensigns of royalty, left to him by another, for an occasion of making himself our king; in what disposition, think you, will he be, who, by the authority, not of the tyrant, whom we have killed, but of the senate itself, imagines himself encouraged to pretend to what power soever he pleases? Wherefore I shall then at last applaud your felicity and prudent foresight, when I begin to know for certain, that Cæsar will be content with the extraordinary honours which he has hitherto received. Will you make me

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Cicero appears no more upon the stage. He retired probably to one of his country houses, where he had time to reflect and meditate upon his unsuccessful management of the public affairs. It had from the beginning been such as did not please Brutus; who thought that he might have proceeded with less violence against Antony, who was not of a cruel nature, and he disapproved of the fierce decree against Lepidus. These measures threw him entirely upon Octavius, whom he servilely courted and raised to that power, which now effectually put an end to the hopes of restoring any form of a commonwealth. In many instances Brutus freely intimated to Cicero his disapprobation of his conduct; but, when things were carried beyond redress, he was very reserved upon that head, and studiously avoided to take any notice of his acts; which clearly implied, that there was something in them that displeased him. Atticus, therefore, as a common friend, was employed to sound him, and to learn the cause of his secret disgust, which produced this answer from Brutus, one of the most precious pieces which antiquity has transmitted to us:

BRUTUS TO ATTICUS.

Ad Brut. Ep. 17. Middl. Ep. 15. p. 95. "You write me word, that Cicero wonders why I never take any notice of his acts. Since you require it

then, and extort it from me, I will tell you what I think of them. That Cicero has done every thing with the best intention, I certainly know; for what can I possibly be more assured of, than of his disposition towards the republic? Yet some things he seems to have done; what shall I say? imprudently? of a man of all others the more prudent! or ambitiously? of one, who, for the sake of the republic, has not scrupled to make the powerful Antony his enemy! I am at a loss what to write, except this one thing; that the ambition and licentiousness of the boy have been encouraged, rather than repressed, by Cicero; and that he carries his indulgence of him so far, as not to abstain even from opprobrious language, and such as reflects doubly upon himself: since he has taken away the life of more than one [Lentulus, Cathegus, Statilius, Gabinius, Ceparius, Catiline's accomplices, were put to death in an illegal manner], and must first confess himself to be an assassin, before he can reproach Casca with what he objects to him; and treat Casca, as Bestia once treated him.[r] Or because we are not boasting every moment of the ides of March, as he is of his nones of December, what better pretext can he have for censuring our most laudable act, than Bestia and Clodius had for inveighing against his consulship? Our Cicero brags that he in his gown has

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[r] "Manutius professes himself unable to conceive how Cicero should ever call Casca a murderer; yet cannot collect any thing less from Brutus's words. But the thing is impossible, and inconsistent with every word that Cicero had been saying, and every act that he had been doing from the time of Cæsar's death: and, in relation particularly to Casca, he had refused to enter into any measures with Octavius, but upon the express condition of his suffering Casca to take quiet possession of the tribunate: it is certain therefore that Brutus had either been misinformed, or was charging Cicero with the consequential meaning of some saying which was never intended by him; in advising Casca, perhaps, to manage Octavius, in the height of his power, with more temper and moderation, lest he should otherwise be provoked to consider him as an assassin, and treat him as such: for an intimation of that kind would have been sufficient to the fierce spirit of Brutus, for taking it as a direct condemnation of Casca's act of stabbing Cæsar, to which Cicero had always given the highest applause." Middl. Life of Cicero, vol. 2. p. 488. Unluckily, there are too many instances of these inconsistencies both in Cicero's words and deeds. Octavius's circumstances were changed; he was no longer in the dependance of Cicero and his senate, and began to declare himself openly against his father's murderers. this was sufficient to engage Cicero to change his style, at least in the presence of Octavius and his adherents.

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sustained the war against Antony. But of what service is that to me, if the succession to Antony's place be claimed as the reward of oppressing Antony? And if the avenger of that evil has been the author of another, which is likely to be more firmly grounded, and to take a deeper root, if we suffer it? As if all that he is doing came from one, not afraid of a master; no, but of having Antony for that master. But, for my part, I cannot think myself obliged to a man, who, as long as he does not serve an angry lord, has no quarrel with servitude itself; nay, decrees triumphs, and pay, and every kind of honour to him. It is a shame for any one to desire such a condition of life as he has now taken upon himself. Is this the part of a consular? This, of Cicero? Since you would not suffer me to be silent, you will read what must necessarily make you uneasy; for I feel within myself what an uneasiness it gives me to write it. Nor am I ignorant what your sentiments are with regard to the republic; which, though desperate, you think possible still to be retrieved. Nor, in truth, Atticus, do I blame you. For your years, your principles, your children, make you averse to action: which I perceived also from the account of our friend Flavius.[s] But, to return to Cicero. What difference is there between him and Salvidienus [one of Octavius's most zealous followers], or what more would Salvidienus himself decree to Octavius?[t] He is afraid still, you will say, of the remains

[s] This is explained by a story related by Cornelius Nepos, that a scheme having been projected for raising a fund of money for the support of Brutus and his forces, by a voluntary contribution of the Roman knights, Flavius proposed the affair to Atticus, as Brutus's particular friend, and one of the richest of that order, desiring that he would undertake the management, and put himself at the head of it. But Atticus answered, that "Brutus was welcome to make what use he pleased of his fortunes, as far as they would go; but that, for his part, he would not have any conference or meeting with any person whatsoever on any such occasion." Middleton's note on this letter, p. 106.

[t] When Octavius marched with his army against Antony, Cicero, as we have seen above, moved the senate to decree him the legal command of that army as pro-prætor; and that he should carry on the war in conjunction with the two consuls; and should have a seat in the senate, with the rank of a prætor. After the first battle of Mutina, they decreed to him, likewise, at Cicero's motion, a thanksgiving of fifty days, with the title of Imperator, in common with the consuls; and, after the second battle, and the death of the consuls, they decreed to him the lesser triumph, or an

of the civil war. But can any one be so afraid of a routed enemy, as to think neither the power of one, who is at the head of a conquering army, nor the rashness of a boy, at all to be feared? Or does he do all this, because he thinks that every thing ought freely to be given up to him, on the account of his great power? Oh the strange folly of fear! to be so cautious of shunning what we are afraid of, that, instead of avoiding it, as we might perhaps have done, we forwardly invite and draw it upon ourselves. We have too great a dread of death, and of exile, and of poverty. These Cicero looks upon as the chief ills of life; and as long as he can find people who will grant him what he desires; who will respect and applaud him; he has no objection to slavery, provided it be an honourable one; if any thing can be honourable, in a state of the most wretched and abject contumely. Let Octavius then call him father; refer all things to him, praise, thank him: yet it will be seen at last that his words are contrary to his acts. For what is so opposite to the common sense of mankind, as to hold any one in the place of a father, who cannot be ranked in the number even of freemen? And yet, all that this excellent man is aiming at, all that he is doing, tends only to this, that Octavius may be kind to him. I can no longer set any value on those arts, of which I know Cicero to be so great a master: for of what use to him are all the fine things that he has written with such eloquence, for the liberty of his country, or on dignity, death, exile, poverty? How much better does Philippus seem to understand these subjects, who was more reserved in his concessions to a son-in-law, than Cicero to a stranger? Let him forbear then in his boastings to insult even our miseries. For what is it to us, that Antony is vanquished, if his fall has made room only for another to possess his

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ovation; indeed, it was not possible to do more for him: a triumph over the late consul and the Roman legions! after it had been deemed a crime in Cæsar to have triumphed over the revolted Spaniards headed by the sons of Pompey!

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place? Though your letters even still speak dubiously of him. Let Cicero then live on, since he can submit to it, suppliant and obnoxious; if he has no regard, either to his years, or his honours, or the acts of his past life. As for me, I will wage war with the thing itself: that is, with tyranny, with extraordinary commands, with dominion, and every power that seeks to advance itself above the laws: nor shall any condition of servitude, how advantageous soever, divert me from it; though Antony, as you write, be an honest man, which was never my opinion of him. But, as to a master, our ancestors would never endure one, though it were even a parent. If I did not love you as much as Cicero persuades himself that he is beloved by Octavius, I would not have written this to you. It grieves me to reflect, how much you are now disgusted; you who love all your friends so warmly, and, above all, Cicero. But, assure yourself, that I have abated nothing of my particular affection, though a great deal of my judgment of him. For it cannot possibly be otherwise, but that every man's opinion of things must be agreeable to the light in which they appear to him."

There is no probability that Atticus shewed the foregoing letter to Cicero; but as Brutus, in his letters to Cicero himself, frequently intimated his dissatisfaction and dislike of Cicero's management, Cicero took occasion, in the following letter, to lay open the whole progress of it, from the time of Cæsar's death, in order to shew the reasonableness and necessity of each step: and the ingenious author of Cicero's life, thinks, that it is a complete apology, and shews that Cicero's conduct was in all respects uniform, great, and glorious; never deviating from the grand point which he had in view, the liberty of his country; whatever Brutus, or any one else, may have said.

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CICERO TO BRUTUS.

"You have Massala with you. How is it possible, therefore, for me to explain, by letter, though ever so accurately drawn, the present state of our public transactions more precisely than he; who both knows them all more perfectly, and can describe and relate them to you more elegantly than any man? For do not imagine, Brutus (though there is no occasion for me to write what you know already yourself, but that I cannot pass over in silence such an excellence of all good qualities), do not imagine, I say, that, for probity, constancy, care, and zeal for the republic, there is any one equal to him; so that eloquence, in which he wonderfully excels, scarce finds a place amongst his other praises; since, even in that, his wisdom shines the most eminent, by his having formed himself with so much judgment and art, to the truest manner of speaking. Yet his industry all the while is so remarkable, and he spends so much of his time in study, that he seems to owe but little of his parts, which are still the greatest. But I am carried too far by my love for him: for it is not the purpose of this epistle to praise Massala; especially to Brutus, to whom his virtue is not less known than to myself; and these very studies, which I am praising, still more known: whom, when I could not take leave of without regret, I comforted myself with reflecting, that, by going away to you, as it were to my second self, he both discharged his duty and pursued the surest path to glory. But so much for that.

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Ad Brut. 15. Middl. Ed. 21. p. 145.

"I come now, after a long interval, to consider a certain letter of yours,[u] wherein, while you allow me to have done well in many things, you find fault with me for one that, in conferring honours, I have been too free

[u] The letter here referred to seems to be the 11th, and is cited above in the text: it is dated May 15th, whereas this was written about the end of July, after an interval of above two months.

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and even prodigal. You charge me with this: other people, probably, with being too severe in punishing; or you yourself, perhaps, with both. If so, I desire that my judgment on each may be fully known to you. Not that I mean to justify myself only by Solon's maxim, the wisest of the seven, and the only legislator of them all; who used to say, that 'the public weal was comprised in two things; rewards and punishments;' in which, however, as in every thing else, there is a certain medium and temperament to be observed. But it is not my design, at this time, to discuss so great a subject; yet I think it not improper to lay open the motives of my opinions, and votes in the senate, from the beginning of this war.

"After the death of Cæsar, and those your memorable ides of March, you cannot forget, Brutus, what I declared to have been omitted by you;[x] and what a tempest I foresaw hanging over the republic. You had freed us from a great plague; wiped off a great stain from the Roman people; acquired to yourselves divine glory: yet all the equipage of kingly power was still left to Lepidus and Antony: the one inconstant, the other vicious; both of them afraid of peace, and enemies to the public quiet. While these were wishing to raise fresh disturbances in the state, we had no troops about us which we could oppose to them: for the whole city was eager and unanimous in asserting its liberty. I was then thought too violent; whilst you, perhaps, more wisely, withdrew yourselves from that city which you had delivered; and refused the help of all Italy, that offered to arm itself in your cause.[y] Wherefore, when I saw the city in the hands of rebels; and oppressed by the

x The omission here signified, and frequently complained of by Cicero, in his letters to Brutus and the other conspirators, was that of not killing Antony. The mild Cicero would have been glad to have seen Lepidus killed also, and the whole crew of the wicked Cæsareans.

y If the city had been so eager and unanimous in asserting its liberty, and all Italy was ready to arm itself, it is indeed quite inconceivable how the conspirators should have been so weak as to fly first to the Capitol, then out of Rome, and lastly out of Italy.

arms of Antony; and that neither you nor Cassius could be safe in it; I thought it time for me to quit it too. For a city overpowered by traitors, without the means of relieving itself, is a wretched spectacle.[a] Yet my mind, always the same, and ever fixed on the love of my country, could not bear the thought of leaving it in its distress. In the midst, therefore, of my voyage to Greece, and in the very season of the Etesian winds, when an uncommon south wind, as if displeased with my resolution, had driven me back to Italy, I found you at Velia, and was greatly concerned at it. For you were retreating, Brutus; were retreating, I say; since your stoics will not allow their wise man to fly. As soon as I came to Rome, I exposed myself to the wickedness and rage of Antony: whom, when I had exasperated against me, I began to enter into measures, in the very spirit of the Brutuses (for such are peculiar to your blood), for the delivery of the republic. I shall omit the long recital of what followed, since it relates to myself; and observe only, that this young Cæsar, by whom, if we are willing to confess the truth, we subsist at this day, flowed from the source of my counsels. I decreed him no honours, Brutus, but what were due; none but what were necessary. For when we first began to recover any liberty, while the divine virtue of D. Brutus had not yet shewn itself so far that we could know its real force; and our whole defence was in the boy, who had repelled Antony from our necks; what honour was not really due to him? Though I gave him nothing still but the praise of words; and that even moderate. I decreed him, indeed, a legal command, [as pro-prætor, with the rank of prætor in the senate;] which, though it seemed honourable to one of his age, was yet necessary to one who had an army: for what is an army without such a command? Philippus decreed him a statue;

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[a] After all, these rebels and traitors were the acknowledged magistrates, and formed the legal administration; and Cicero took a commission of lieutenant from one of the principal rebels, his dear Dolabella.

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Servius the privilege of suing for offices before the legal time; which time was shortened afterward by Servilius. Nothing was then thought too much. But men are apt, I know not how, to be more liberal in fear, than grateful in success. When D. Brutus was delivered from the siege; a day of all others the most joyous to the city, and which happened also to be his birthday; I decreed that his name should be ascribed for ever to that day in the public calendars. In which I followed the example of our ancestors, who paid the same honours to a woman, Larentia;[a] at whose altar you priests perform sacred rites in the Velabrum. By giving this to D. Brutus, my design was, to fix in the calendars a perpetual memorial of a most acceptable victory. But I perceived, on that day, that there was more malevolence than gratitude in many of the senate. During these same days, I poured out honours (since you will have it so) on the deceased Hirtius and Pansa, and Aquila also: and who can find fault with it, but those, who, when fear is once over, forget their past danger? But, besides the grateful remembrance of past services, there was a view in it that reached to posterity: for I was desirous that there should remain an eternal monument of the public hatred to our most cruel enemies. There is one thing, I doubt, which does not please you; for it does not please your people here, who, though excellent men, have but little experience in public affairs; that I decreed an ovation to Cæsar: but, for my part, though I may, perhaps, be mistaken: nor am I yet one of those who are the most pleased always with what is their own; [this is the character Cicero gives of Brutus in many of his letters to Atticus:] I cannot but

[a] The old writers give various accounts of the history of this Larentia, and of the origin of the rites which were annually performed to her. The common tradition is, that she was Romulus's nurse, and left some considerable lands at her death to the people of Rome; and that Romulus, out of piety to her memory, appointed a yearly festival and sacrifice to be celebrated at her sepulchre. Aul. Gell. 6. 7. Macrob. Sat. 1. 10. The Velabrum was a street or square in old Rome, where the Forum, Boarium, and the Temple of Janus stood. Marlian. Rom. topogr. l. 4. c. 4. Middl. note on this letter, p. 161.

think that I have advised nothing more prudent during this war. Why it is so is not proper to be explained; lest I be thought to have been more provident in it than grateful. But even this is too much. Let us pass, therefore, to other things. I decreed honours to D. Brutus; decreed them to Plancus. They must be men of great souls who are attracted by glory: but the senate also is certainly wise, in trying every art that is honest, by which any one can be engaged to the service of the republic. But I am blamed in the case of Lepidus, to whom, after I had raised a statue in the rostra, I presently threw it down again. My view was to reclaim him by that honour from desperate measures: but the madness of an inconstant man got the better of my prudence: nor was there yet so much harm in erecting, as good in demolishing that statue.

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"But I have said enough concerning honours, and must say a word or two about punishments: for I have often observed, from your letters, that you are fond of acquiring a reputation of clemency, by your treatment of those whom you have conquered in war. I can imagine nothing to be done by you but what is wisely done: but to omit the punishment of wickedness, which we call pardoning, though it may be tolerable in other cases, I take to be pernicious in this war. For, of all the civil wars that have been in my memory, there was not one, in which, what side soever got the better, there would not have remained some form of a commonwealth: yet in this, what sort of a republic we are like to have, if we conquer, I would not easily affirm; but, if we are conquered, we are sure to have none. My votes, therefore, were severe against Antony; severe against Lepidus; not from any spirit of revenge; but to deter wicked citizens, at the present, from making war against their country, and to leave an example to posterity, that none hereafter might be disposed to imitate such rashness. Yet this very vote was not more

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mine, than it was every body's: in which, there seems, I own, to be something cruel, that the punishment should reach to children, who have done nothing to deserve it: but the constitution is both ancient, and of all cities: Themistocles's children were reduced to want: and, since the same punishment falls upon citizens, condemned of public crimes, how was it possible for us to be more gentle towards enemies? But what reason can that man have to complain of me, who, if he had conquered, must needs confess, that he would have treated me even with greater severity?

"You have now the grounds of my opinions, as far as they relate to the case of rewards and punishments; for, as to other points, you have heard, I suppose, what my sentiments and votes have been. But the mention of these is not so necessary: what I am going to mention, Brutus, is greatly so: that you come with your army to Italy, as soon as possible. There is the utmost expectation of you. Whenever you set foot in Italy, all the world will run to you. For whether it be our lot to conquer (as we had already done, if Lepidus had not been desirous to overturn all, and perish himself with his friends), there will be a great want of your authority, in order to settle some state of a city amongst us: or, if there be any danger or struggle still behind, our greatest hope is in your authority, as well as in the strength of your army. But hasten to us, for God's sake: for you know how much depends on opportunity; how much on dispatch. What diligence I shall use in the care of your sister's children you will be informed, I hope, by the letters of your mother and sister; in whose cause I have more regard to your will, which is ever most dear to me, than, as some think, to my own constancy. But it is my desire both to be, and to appear, constant in nothing so much as in loving you."

When Cicero saw the public affairs taking a turn quite contrary to his hopes, and that Octavius, especially

by his demand of the consulship, as well as by every other step, seemed to be entering into measures to oppress the republic, and to revenge his uncle's death; he took all imaginable pains to dissuade him from it, and never ceased from exhorting him, by letters, to a reconciliation with Brutus, and the observance of that amnesty, which the senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. Atticus, imagining that Brutus would be pleased with it, sent him a copy of what Cicero had written upon that subject. But, instead of pleasing, it provoked Brutus only the more; and he signified his mind upon it both to Cicero and Atticus, in such a style, says Dr. Middleton, as confirms what Cicero had long before observed, and more than once declared to him, "that his letters were generally churlish, unmannerly, and arrogant; and that he regarded neither what, nor to whom he was writing." That to Cicero has been transmitted to us, and is as follows:

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Ad Att. 6. 1. 3.

BRUTUS TO CICERO.

"I have read a part of your letter, which you sent to Octavius, transmitted to me by Atticus. Your zeal and concern for my safety gave me no new pleasure: for it is not only common, but our daily news, to hear something which you have said or done with your usual fidelity, in the support of my honour and dignity. Yet that same part of your letter affected me with the most sensible grief which my mind could possibly receive. For you compliment him so highly for his services to the republic, and in a strain so suppliant and abject, that—what shall I say?—I am ashamed of the wretched state to which we are reduced:—yet it must be said,—you recommend my safety to him; to which what death is not preferable? and plainly shew, that our servitude is not yet abolished, but our master only changed. Recollect your words, and deny them, if you dare, to be the prayers of a slave to his king. 'There is one thing

Ad Brut. 16. Middl. Ed. 22. p. 164.

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(you say) which is required and expected from him, that he will allow those citizens to live in safety, of whom all honest men, and the people of Rome, think well.' But what, if he will not allow it? Shall we be the less safe for that? It is better not to be safe, than to be made safe by him. For my part, I can never think all the gods so averse to the safety of the Roman people, that Octavius must be entreated for the life of any one citizen; I will not say for the deliverers of the world. It is a pleasure to talk thus magnificently; and it becomes me surely to those who know not either what to fear for any one, or what to ask of any one. Can you, Cicero, allow Octavius to have this power, and be still a friend to him? Or, if you have any value for me, would you wish to see me at Rome, when I must first be recommended to the boy, that he would permit me to be there? What reason have you to thank him, if you think it necessary to beg of him, that he would grant and suffer us to live in safety? Or is it to be reckoned a kindness, that he chooses to see himself, rather than Antony, in the condition to have such petitions addressed to him? One may supplicate, indeed, the successor, but never the avenger of another's tyranny; that those who have deserved well of the republic may be safe. It was this weakness and despair, not more blamable, indeed, in you than in all, which first pushed on Cæsar to the ambition of reigning; and after his death determined Antony to attempt to seize his place; and has raised this boy so high, that you judge it necessary to address your prayers to him, for the preservation of men of our rank; and that we can be saved only by the mercy of one, scarce yet a man; and by no other means. But, if we had remembered ourselves to be Romans, these most infamous men would not be more daring to grasp at dominion, than we to repel it: nor would Antony be more encouraged by Cæsar's reign, than deterred by his fate. How can you, a consular, and the avenger of so many

treasons (by suppressing which, you have but postponed our ruin, I fear, for a little time), reflect on what you have done, and yet approve these things; or bear them so tamely, as to seem at least to approve them? For what particular hatred had you to Antony? No other, but because he assumed all this to himself; that our lives should be begged of him; our safety be precarious, from whom he had received his liberty; and the republic depend upon his will and pleasure. You thought it necessary to take up arms to prevent him from tyrannizing over us: but was it your intent, that, by preventing him, we might sue to another, who would suffer himself to be advanced into his place; or that the republic might be free and mistress of itself? As if our quarrel was not, perhaps, to slavery, but to the conditions of it. But we might have had, not only an easy master in Antony, if we would have been content with that fortune, but whatever share with him we pleased of favours and honours. For what could he deny to those whose patience, he saw, was the best support of his government? But nothing was of such value to us, that we would sell our faith and liberty for it. Would not the very boy, whom the name of Cæsar seems to incite against the destroyers of Cæsar, think it worth any price, if there was room to traffic with him, to be enabled, by our help, to maintain all that power which he now enjoys? Since we have a mind to live, and to be rich, and to be consulars? But then Cæsar must have perished in vain. For what reason had we to rejoice at his death, if after it we were still to continue slaves? Let other people be as indolent as they please; but, as for me, may the gods and goddesses deprive me sooner of every thing, than the resolution of not allowing to the heir of him, whom I killed, what I did not allow to the man himself; nor would suffer even in my father, were he living, to have more power than the laws and the senate. How can you imagine that the rest of you can

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ever be free under him, without whose leave there is no place for us in that city? Or how is it possible for you, after all, to obtain what you ask? You beg, 'that he would allow us to be safe.' Shall we then receive safety, think you, when we have received life from him? But how can we receive it, if we first part with our honour and our liberty? Do you fancy, that to live at Rome is to be safe? It is the thing, and not the place, which must secure that to me: for I was never safe while Cæsar lived, till I had resolved with myself upon that attempt: nor can I in any place live in exile, as long as I hate slavery and insults above all other evils. Is not this to fall back again into the same state of darkness; when he who has taken upon him the name of the tyrant (though in the cities of Greece, when the tyrants are destroyed, their children also perish with them) must be entreated, that the avengers of tyranny may be safe? Can I ever wish to see that city, or think it a city, which has not the power even to accept liberty, when offered, and even forced upon it; but has more dread of the name of their late king, in the person of a boy, than confidence in itself; though it has seen that very king taken off in the utmost height of power, by the virtue of a few? Do not recommend me, therefore, any more to your Cæsar, nor yourself, indeed, if you will hearken to me. You set a very high value on the few years which remain to you at that age, if for the sake of them you can supplicate that boy. But take care, after all, lest what you have done, and are doing, so laudably against Antony, instead of being applauded, as the effect of a great mind, be not charged to the account of your fear. For if you are pleased with Octavius so, as to petition him for our safety, you will be thought not to have disliked a master, but to have wanted a more friendly one. As to your praising him, for the things that he has hitherto done, I entirely approve it; for they deserve to be praised, provided that he undertook

them to repel other men's power, not to advance his own. But when you adjudge him not only to have this power, but that you yourself ought to submit to it so far as to entreat him, that he would not destroy us; you pay him too great a recompense: for you ascribe that very thing to him, which the republic seemed to enjoy through him: nor does it ever enter into your thoughts, that, if Octavius be worthy of any honours, because he wages war with Antony; that those who extirpated the very evil of which these are but the relics, can never be sufficiently requited by the Roman people: though they were to heap upon them every thing that they could bestow. But see how much stronger people's fears are than their memories, because Antony still lives and is in arms. As to Cæsar, all that could and ought to be done is past, and cannot be recalled. Is Octavius then a person of so great importance that the people of Rome are to expect from him what he will determine upon us? Or are we of so little that any single man is to be entreated for our safety? As for me, may I never return to you, if I ever either supplicate any man, or do not restrain those, who are disposed to do it, from supplicating for themselves; or I will remove to a distance from all such, who can be slaves, and fancy myself at Rome, wherever I can live free; and shall pity you, whose fond desire of life neither age nor honours, nor the example of other men's virtue, can moderate. For my part, I shall ever think myself happy as long as I can please myself with the persuasion, that my piety has been fully requited. For what can be happier than for a man, conscious of virtuous acts, and content with liberty, to despise all human affairs? Yet I will never yield to those who are fond of yielding, or be conquered by those who are willing to be conquered themselves; but will first try and attempt every thing, nor ever desist from dragging our city out of slavery. If such fortune attends me, as I ought to have, we shall all rejoice: if

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not, I shall rejoice myself. For how can this life be spent better, than in thoughts and acts which tend to make my countrymen free? I beg and beseech you, Cicero, not to desert the cause through weariness or diffidence. In repelling present evils, have your eye always on the future, lest they insinuate themselves before you are aware. Consider, that the fortitude and the courage with which you delivered the republic, when consul, and now again, when consular, are nothing without constancy and equability. The case of tried virtue, I own, is harder than of untried: we require services from it as debts; and, if any thing disappoints us, we blame with resentment, as if we had been deceived by it. Wherefore, for Cicero to withstand Antony, though it be a part highly commendable, yet, because such a consul seemed, of course, to promise us such a consular, nobody wonders at it. But if the same Cicero, in the case of others, should waver at last in that resolution, which he exerted with such firmness and greatness of mind against Antony, he would deprive himself, not only of the hopes of future glory, but forfeit even that which is past: for nothing is great in itself but what flows from the result of our judgment; nor does it become any man, more than you, to love the republic, and be the patron of liberty; on the account either of your natural talents, or your former acts, or the wishes and expectations of all men. Octavius, therefore, must not be entreated to suffer us to live in safety. Do you rather rouse yourself so far as to think that city, in which you have acted the noblest part, free and flourishing, as long as there are leaders still to the people, to resist the designs of traitors."

M. Crevier, speaking of this letter of Brutus, says, "that we see in it with admiration the great superiority that virtue alone gives one man over another of the most distinguished talents, the greatest dignities, and the most advanced age." Dr. Middleton's judgment is

Middl. p. 487.

very different: "If we compare (says he) these two letters, we shall perceive, in Cicero's, an extensive view and true judgment of things, tempered with the greatest politeness and affection for his friend, and an unwillingness to disgust, where he thought it necessary even to blame. In Brutus's, a churlish and morose arrogance, claiming infinite honours to himself, yet allowing none to any body else; insolently chiding and dictating to one, as much superior to him in wisdom as he was in years: the whole turning upon that romantic maxim of the Stoics, enforced without any regard to times and circumstances: 'that a wise man has a sufficiency of all things within himself.' There are, indeed, many noble sentiments in it, worthy of old Rome, which Cicero, in a proper season, would have recommended as warmly as he; yet they were not principles to act upon in a conjuncture so critical; and the rigid application of them is the less excusable in Brutus, because he himself did not always practise what he professed; but was too apt to forget both the Stoic and the Roman." But it must be considered, that Brutus and Cassius were at this time at the head of two formidable armies, and masters of all the eastern world, while the chiefs in the west were making war upon one another: in these circumstances, Brutus did not doubt but he would be able to vindicate his ides of March; and his letter is certainly written with a spirit agreeable to the character of a tyrant-killer, authorized and armed to defend the liberty of his country. No words can express sufficiently the meanness and folly of good Cicero's prayer in such a conjuncture; and there is no one in Brutus's case but would have conceived the greatest indignation upon the occasion, without being a Stoic or a Roman. As to Cicero's letter, in which we are told, "there is an extensive view and true judgment of things," there is not one argument in it to justify Cicero's violent and outrageous behaviour towards Antony, and afterward

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CHAP. XV.

Octavius is chosen consul, with Pedius, his coheir to Cæsar. Pollio and Plancus join Antony and Lepidus. D. Brutus is killed in his flight. The conspirators are impeached in form, and condemned at Rome. The law against Dolabella is repealed: his end. Octavius joins Antony and Lepidus, and settles with them the plan of a triple league. They enter Rome; are chosen reformers of the state, under the name of triumviri, for five years. They publish an edict of proscription. The death of Cicero.

Octavius was chosen consul in the legal form by an assembly of the people, with Q Pedius,[b] his kinsman, and coheir in part of his uncle's estate, in the month of Sextilis; which, on account of this fortunate beginning of his honours, was called afterward from his own surname Augustus.[c]

App l. 3. p. 586. Dio, l. 26. p. 321. Appian and Dio tell us, that his first care was to get his adoption by Julius Cæsar confirmed in the most solemn manner by a law of the people; and that he took henceforth the name of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus; but he had certainly taken this name from the beginning, in virtue of his uncle's will, and afterward of a decree of the senate. He secured, on entering on his magistracy, the public money which he found in Rome, and divided it among his soldiers.

[b] They were substituted in the place of the deceased consuls, Hirtius and Pansa; and, in their room, were afterward substituted P. Ventidius and C. Coriunas.

[c] He entered upon his consulship, not on the 22d of September, the day before his birthday, as Velleius Paterculus places it; but on the 19th of August, as Dio, l. 56. p. 590. puts it: from which date many reckoned the beginning of his reign. He died fifty-six years after, on the same day, a circumstance to which the people gave great attention; *quod idem dies accepti imperii princeps et vitæ supremus fuit.* Tacit. Annal. lib. 1. cap. 9. As he seized upon the consulate against the will of the senate, so we shall soon see him lay it down without their consent; and from this moment neither senate nor people ever recovered so much as the appearance of liberty. He was at this time, according to Livy, lib. 119. nineteen years old, that is, he was in his twentieth year, as Suetonius in Oct. 26. Eutropius, lib. 7. Plutarch in Bruto, unanimously affirm; and the last cites Augustus's Memoirs.

About this time Pollio, who was averse to the violent proceedings of Cicero's senate, came to the assistance of Antony and Lepidus with two of his best legions. This accession made the army of the rebels much superior to that of Plancus and D. Brutus; who, since their junction, had kept upon the defensive, not thinking themselves strong enough to force their way into Italy. The consent of these generals, and the unexpected turn of Antony's affairs, staggered the fidelity of Plancus, whom we shall find hereafter to have had a weak and servile mind, and the low talents of a courtier, rather than those of a Roman general; and he not only deserted his colleague D. Brutus, but endeavoured to betray him to his enemies,[d] which was done with the consent and approbation of Octavius, with whom Plancus kept a correspondence by letters, and by the mediation of his lieutenant Furnius, who was dispatched to him about the end of July.[e] D. Brutus, thus abandoned,

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[d] "Plancus deinde dubia, id est, sua fide, diu, quarum esset partium, secum luctatus, ac sibi difficile consentiens, et nunc adjutor Bruti, designati consulis, collegæ sui, senatuique, se litteris venditans, mox ejusdem proditor; Asinius autem Pollio, firmus proposito, et Julianis partibus fidus, Pompeianis adversus; uterque exercitus tradidere Antonio. D. Brutus desertus primo a Planco, post etiam insidiis ejusdem petitus."—Vell. Pat. 2. 63, 64. Krause, p. 315.

[e] The following letter is the last of Plancus's correspondence with Cicero, and bears the lowest date of any in the collection of Cicero's familiar letters.

PLANCUS, CONSUL ELECT, TO CICERO.

"I cannot forbear to express, upon every occasion, the sentiments I entertain of your repeated favours: though, at the same time, it is with some reserve that I indulge myself in this satisfaction. The great intimacy indeed, which you allow me to enjoy with you, renders all formal acknowledgments of this kind unnecessary; nor would I make so cheap a return to the many important obligations I owe you, as that of mere empty professions. I had much rather reserve the proofs of my gratitude to some future opportunity of testifying it in person: and, if I live, I will convince you by the assiduity of my good offices, and by every instance of respect and esteem, that you have not a friend, nor even a relation, who is so warmly attached to you as myself. In the mean time, I am at a loss to determine, whether the daily pleasure, or the lasting honour I shall derive from your affectionate regard, will be the greatest.—I find the interest of my troops has been a part of your care. It was not with any intention of advancing my own power, that I was desirous they should be distinguished by the senate: as I am conscious of having no views, but what regard the welfare of the republic. My reasons were, in the first place, because I thought they deserved to be rewarded; and, in the next place, because I was desirous they might upon all occasions be still more attached to the commonwealth. I hoped likewise by this means so strongly to fortify them against all solicitations, that I might be answerable for their continuing to act with the same unshaken fidelity, which they have hitherto preserved.——I have kept entirely upon the defensive; and, though I am well apprized with how much just impatience the public wishes for a decisive action, yet I persuade myself that the senate will approve my conduct. If any misfortune

Ep. Fam. 10. 24. Melm. 15. 18.

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and left to shift for himself, with a needy and mutinous army; eager to desert, and ready to give him up to his enemies; had no other way to save himself than by flying to his namesake in Macedonia: but the distance

indeed should attend our armies in this part of the world, the republic would not very soon be in a condition to oppose any sudden incursion of these rapacious traitors. As to the state of our forces, I imagine you already know that those under my command consist of three veteran legions, together with one new-raised regiment: which last, however, is composed of far the best disciplined troops I ever saw of this sort. Brutus [Decimus], on the other side, is at the head of ten legions; one of which is veteran; another has been upon the establishment about two years; and all the rest are lately raised. Thus, you see, though our army is very numerous, it is not extremely strong. The republic, indeed, has but too often had occasion to be convinced, how little is to be expected from raw and unexperienced forces. However, if we had been joined, either by the African legions, which are composed wholly of veteran troops, or by Cæsar's, we should without hesitation have hazarded a general engagement. As the troops of the latter were somewhat nearer than the former, I frequently pressed Cæsar by letters to advance; and he accordingly promised to join us with all expedition. But other views, I perceive, have diverted him from these intentions. Nevertheless, I have dispatched my lieutenant Furnius with another letter to him, if happily it may any thing avail. You are sensible, my dear Cicero, that I take an equal part with you in the affection you bear to Octavius. He has a right to my friendship; not only from that intimacy which I enjoyed with his uncle, but in regard also to his own disposition; which, as far as I could ever discover, is regulated by principles of great moderation and humanity. It would ill indeed become that distinguished amity, which subsisted between Julius Cæsar and myself, not to look upon Octavius with all the tenderness which is due to the son of my friend; after he has been adopted as such by Cæsar's will, and that adoption approved by the senate. What I am going to say, therefore, is more the dictates of concern than resentment: but it must be acknowledged, that if Antony still lives, if he has been joined by Lepidus, if their armies are by no means contemptible: in a word, all their hopes and all their attempts are singly owing to Cæsar. Not to look farther back than to his promise of joining me; had he fulfilled the assurances he gave me for that purpose, the war would by this time either have been totally at an end, or driven into Spain; where the enemy could not have carried it on without great disadvantage, as that province is utterly averse to them. I am at a loss to conceive, therefore, with what view, or by whose advice, Cæsar was diverted from a measure so greatly to his interest and his honour, in order to turn his pursuits towards a consulship of a few months' duration; much to the terror at the same time of the republic, and with pretentions too exceedingly ridiculous. The remonstrances of his friends might be extremely serviceable upon this occasion, both to himself and to the commonwealth. But none of them, I am persuaded, would have so much influence over him as yours; as there is no man who is so much obliged to you, except myself: for I shall ever acknowledge that the favours I have received from you are great and innumerable. I have given instructions to Furnius to solicit Cæsar upon this subject: and, if I should have that authority with him which I am sure I ought, he will hereafter thank me for my advice. In the mean time, we have a very difficult part to sustain here: as, on the one hand, we do not think ourselves altogether strong enough to hazard an engagement; and, on the other, must take care not to expose the republic to greater dangers by declining one. However, if Cæsar should comply with the dictates of his interest and his honour; or if the African legions should speedily join us; you may depend upon having nothing to fear from this quarter.—Let me entreat you to continue your friendship to me, and to be assured that I am entirely yours. From my camp, July the 28th."

Plancus was, at this time, the occasional founder of the town of Lyons, by settling, at the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone, the inhabitants of Vienne, who were driven out of their possessions by the Allobroges, during these dissensions of the Roman generals. Though Vienne returned soon again under the Roman power, yet this new colony still subsisted, and, by the advantages of its situation, became more flourishing than its mother-city.

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was so great, and the country so guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till, having dismissed all his attendants, and having wandered for some time alone in disguise and distress, he committed himself to the protection of an old acquaintance and host, whom he had formerly obliged; where, either through treachery or accident, he was surprised by Antony's soldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their general.[f]

Vel. Pat. 2. 64. App. l. 3. p. 588.

Octavius, on his side, vested with the sovereign authority, kept no measures with the party of the conspirators. The decree against Dolabella, whose death was not yet known in Rome, was revoked; and a law was published, by the consul Pedius, to bring to trial and justice all those who had been concerned, either in advising or effecting Cæsar's death: in consequence of which all the conspirators were presently impeached in form by different accusers: L. Cornificius was the accuser of Brutus, and the famous M. Agrippa of Cassius: and as none of them appeared to their citations, they were all condemned of course, and by a second law, interdicted from fire and water. Sextus Pompey, also, though he had borne no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcilable enemy to the Cæsarean cause. And now Octavius distributed to the citizens the legacies which his uncle had left them by his will.

App. 3. 586. Liv. l. 120. Vel. Pat. 2. 69. Suet. in Ner. 3. Plut. in Brut. Dio, 46. 322.

[f] Several of the old writers have reproached his memory with a shameful cowardice in the manner of his suffering death; "Quid? D. Brutus exiguum et infelix momentum vitæ quanto dedecore emit! Qui à Furio, quem ad eum occidendum Antonius miserat, comprehensus, non solum cervicem gladio subtraxit; verùm etiam constantiùs eam præbere admonitus, ipsis his verbis juravit; *ita vivam, dabo.* O fati cunctationem ærumnosam!" Val. Max. l. 9. c. 13. Helfrecht, p. 560.—Senec. Ep. 82.—Dio, l. 46. Dr. Middleton rejects this account, and thinks such cowardice unworthy of the man who killed Cæsar and commanded armies, and altogether inconsistent with the character of his former life: as if he could be looked upon in any other light than as a monster of ingratitude, perfidy, and cruelty; qualities with which cowardice suits admirably well. "Decimus Brutus desertus primò a Planco, post etiam insidiis ejusdem petitus, paulatim relinquente eum exercitu, fugiens, in hospitis cujusdam nobilis viri, nomine Cameli, domo, ab iis, quos miserat Antonius, jugulatus est; *justissimasque optime de se merito viro Cæsari pœnas dedit: cujus cum primus omnium amicorum fuisset, interfector fuit, et fortunæ, ex qua fructum tulerat, invidiam in auctorem relegabat; censebatque æquum, quæ acceperat a Cæsarem, retinere; Cæsarem, qui illa dederat, perire.*" Vell. Pat. 2. 64. Krause, p. 316.

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Soon after these proceedings, the news was brought to Rome of the death of D. Brutus. Minutius Basilus, another of Cæsar's assassins, was murdered, about this time, by his slaves, enraged at his barbarous treatment of them.

App. 3. 588. Oros. 6. 18. Middl. p. 443. App. 1. 4. 625. Dio, 47. 344. Ep. Fam. 12. 13. 15.

The news also of Dolabella's defeat and death was not known in Rome till after Pedius's law.[g] Dolabella, after his success against Trebonius, having pillaged the province of Asia of its money, and of all things useful for war, marched forward to execute his grand design upon Syria; for which he had been making all this preparation. But Cassius was beforehand with him, and, having got possession of that country, and of all the armies in it, was much superior to him in force. Dolabella, however, made his way with some success through Cilicia, and came before Antioch in Syria, but was denied admittance into it; and, after some vain attempts to take it, being repulsed with loss, marched to Laodicea, which had before invited, and now opened its gates to him. Here Cassius came up with him, and presently invested the place, where, after he had destroyed Dolabella's fleet in two or three naval engagements, he shut him up closely by sea as well as by land, till Dolabella, seeing no way to escape, and the town unable to hold out any longer, put an end to his own life, by the assistance of one of his slaves, to prevent his falling alive into Cassius's hands, and suffering the same treatment he had shewn to Trebonius: but Cassius generously ordered his body to be buried, with that of his lieutenant Octavius, who killed himself also with him.

The people of Laodicea, if we believe Dio, were only fined in a sum of money; but Appian says, that Cassius

[g] Dr. Middleton is certainly mistaken, when he says, "Not long after the battle of Modena, the news of Dolabella's defeat and death, from Asia, brought a fresh occasion of joy to Cicero and his friends at Rome." It appears, by a letter to C. Cassius, written after the 30th of June, and copied above in the text, as also by another of Cassius, the quæstor, to Cicero, dated from Cyprus, June the 13th, [Ep. Fam. 12. 13.] that Dolabella was not yet destroyed: and in none of Cicero's letters is his death mentioned.

committed great extortions and cruelties, and reduced the town to the utmost misery. The same author relates, that the town of Tarsus, which had also favoured Dolabella, was fined 1500 talents, [290,625*l.*] and that, in order to raise this sum, the magistrates were obliged to sell not only the ornaments of their city, but also some of their citizens for slaves.

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Octavius had no sooner settled the affairs of the city, and subdued the senate to his mind, than he marched back towards Gaul, to meet Antony and Lepidus; who had already passed the Alps, and brought their armies into Italy, in order to have a personal interview with him; which had been privately concerted for settling the terms of a triple league, and dividing the power and provinces of the empire among themselves. The place appointed for the interview was a small island about two miles from Bononia, formed by the river Rhenus, which runs near to that city: here they met, not without jealousy and suspicion of danger from each other; being all three attended by their choicest troops, each with five legions, disposed in separate camps within sight of the island. Lepidus entered it the first, as an equal friend to the other two, to see that the place was clear and free from treachery; and, when he had given the signal agreed upon, Antony and Octavius advanced from the opposite banks of the river, and passed into the island by bridges, which they left guarded on each side by 300 of their own men. It is reported that their first care, instead of embracing, was to search one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their clothes; and, when that ceremony was over, Octavius took his seat betwixt the other two, in the most honourable place, on account of his being consul. They spent three days in close conference to adjust the plan of their accommodation; the substance of which was, "That the three should be invested jointly with the supreme

Middl. p. 488. Liv. 120. Flor. 4. 6. Plut. Cic. et Brut. App. 4. 589. Dio, 46. 325.

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power, for the term of five years, with the title of 'triumvirs for settling the state of the republic;' that they should act in all cases by common consent; nominate the magistrates and governors both at home and abroad; and determine all affairs relating to the public, by their sole will and pleasure: that Octavius should have, for his peculiar province, Africa, with Sicily, Sardinia, and the other islands of the Mediterranean; Lepidus, Spain, with the Narbonese Gaul; Antony, the other two Gauls, on both sides of the Alps: and that Octavius should resign the consulship to Ventidius for the remainder of the year; that Antony and Octavius should prosecute the war against Brutus and Cassius, each of them at the head of twenty legions; and Lepidus, with three legions, be left to guard the city: and, at the end of the war, that eighteen cities or colonies, the best and richest of Italy, together with their lands and districts, should be taken from their owners, and assigned to the perpetual possession of the soldiers, as a reward of their faithful services." These conditions were published to their several armies, and received by them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their chiefs; which, at the desire of the soldiers, was ratified likewise by a marriage, agreed to be consummated between Octavius and Clodia, the daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia, by her first husband P. Clodius.

The last thing that they adjusted was the list of a proscription, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the historians tell us, occasioned much difficulty and warm contests among them, till each of them, in his turn, consented to sacrifice some of his best friends to the revenge and resentment of his colleagues. The whole list is said to have consisted of 300 senators and 2000 knights. They reserved the publication of it till their arrival at Rome, excepting only a few of the most obnoxious, the heads of the republican party, about

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seventeen in all; the chief of whom was Cicero. These they marked out for immediate destruction, and sent their emissaries away directly, to surprise and murder them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: four of the number were presently taken and killed in the company of their friends; and the rest hunted out by the soldiers in private houses and temples; which presently filled the city with a universal terror and consternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy. So that the consul Pedius was forced to run about the streets all the night, to quiet the minds and appease the fears of the people, and, as soon as it was light, published the names of the seventeen, who were principally sought for, with an assurance of safety and indemnity to all others; but he himself was so shocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that he died the day following.

The triumvirs soon arrived, and made their entry on three several days: Octavius the first, then Lepidus, and last of all Antony; each attended with a prætorian cohort and one legion. P. Titius, one of the tribunes of the people, immediately proposed a law, for the constituting of three sovereign magistrates, reformers of the republic, for five years, M. Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius, who took possession of their office on the 27th of November. Then they gave out their edict of proscription, and retaliated, upon the nobles and aristocratic faction, the cruelties of Sylla: this edict Appian pretends to give us, but it is a most sorry piece, and drawn up very probably by himself. Cicero was at his Tusculan villa with his brother and nephew, when he first received the news of the proscription, and of their being included in it. Notwithstanding the prophetic spirit, with which he is commonly supposed to have been endowed, he did not, probably, foresee this dire event.[h] Undoubtedly he de-

[h] After Antony's defeat, imagine all danger to be over on that side, he had sent M. Brutus in pursuit of Dolabella, and it was decreed by the senate, that the war against this rebel should be carried on jointly by Brutus and Cassius. But, before Dolabella was destroyed, he was very importunate in his letters to engage them to

Year of ROME 710. B.C.42. pended, for his own and his family's safety, on the power of Octavius, who had given him the strongest assurances

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CICERO TO M. BRUTUS.

AdBrut. Ep. 10. Middl. Ed. 19., p. 127. "We have yet had no letters from you, nor so much as any report, to inform us, that, in pursuance of the vote of the senate, you were bringing your army into Italy: which that you would do, and with all speed, the republic earnestly desired of you. For our intestine evil gains ground upon us every day; nor do we find more trouble from our enemies abroad, than from those at home: who were troublesome, indeed, from the beginning of the war, but more easily kept under. [The partisans of Antony and Lepidus.] For the senate was then in higher spirits, roused not only by my votes, but exhortations. Pansa at the head of it was sufficiently brisk and vigorous against all the rest of that class; but, above all, against his father-in-law [Calenus], who, during his consulship, wanted neither courage from the beginning, nor fidelity to the last. The war was so managed at Mutina, that you could find no fault with Cæsar, though some with Hirtius. The fortune of this war, if compared with a prosperous state, is uncertain; if with an adverse one, good. The republic was victorious. Antony's forces routed; he himself driven out of Italy by Decimus. But so many blunders ensued, that the victory slipped, as it were, out of our hands: for our generals did not think fit to pursue the frightened, disarmed, disabled rebels: [His pupil Octavius would not, and Decimus could not:] and an opportunity was given to Lepidus, to make us feel the effects of his levity; though felt by us, indeed, often before, but now to our greater mischief. The armies of Brutus and Plancus are good, but raw: [Plancus had four leigons, three of which were veteran; Decimus, of ten, and but one veteran:] the Gallic auxiliaries faithful and numerous. But, as to Cæsar, who has been governed hitherto by my advice, and is indeed of an excellent disposition, and wonderful constancy, some people, by most wicked letters, messages, and fallacious accounts of things, have pushed him to an assured hope of the consulship. Which, as soon as I perceived, I never ceased admonishing him in his absence, nor reproaching his friends here present, who seemed to encourage his ambition: nor did I scruple to lay open the source of those traitorous counsels in the senate; nor do I ever remember the senate or the magistrates to have behaved better on any occasion. For it never happened before, in voting an extraordinary honour to a powerful, or rather most powerful man (since power is now measured by force and arms), that no tribune, nor any other magistrate, nor so much as a private senator, would move for it.* Yet in the midst of all this firmness and virtue, the city is still

* Dr. Middleton, p. 456, thinks that this letter evidently proves, that Cicero never favoured Octavius's pretensions to the consulship, but was, of all men, the most averse to his design, and the most active in dissuading him from pursuing it. Mr. Melmoth, (vol. 3. p. 382.) on the other side, is of opinion, that it does not descredit the evidence of Plutarch, Appian, and Dio. "There seems (says he) to be the strongest reason to question either the authenticity, or the veracity, of this letter: because it is most certain, from one of Cicero's Philippics, that he actually did favour the earliest possible promotion of Octavius to the consulate. 'Quid est enim, P. C. (says he) cur eum (Octavium) non *quamprimum amplissimos honores* capere cupiamus? Legibus enim annalibus cum grandiorem ætatem ad consulatum constituebant, adolescentiæ temeritatem verebantur. C. Cæsar ineunte ætate docuit, ab excellenti, eximiaque virtute, progressum ætatis expectari non oportere: in hoc spes libertatis posita est; ab hoc accepta jam salus, huic summi honores et exquiruntur et parati sunt.' Philipp. v. 17, 18. Could Cicero after this, without being guilty of the wildest and weakest inconsistency, admonish Octavius by letter against his designs upon the consulship; reproach those to their face who encouraged him in that ambitious view; and lay open the source of these traitorous counsels in the senate: when he had himself, in the speech and in the passage above cited, said every thing that his wit and his eloquence could suggest, in favour of Octavius's premature advancement to the consular office? . . . . . . In farther confirmation of that historical evidence, for which I am contending, it may be observed, that Plutarch cites the authority of Octavius himself for what he affirms concerning the private agreement between Octavius and

of his protection. And the old historians tell us, that Octavius did not give up Cicero to the revenge of his

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alarmed: for we are insulted, Brutus, both by the licentiousness of the soldiers, and the insolence of the generals. Every one demands to have as much power in the state as he has force to extort it: no reason, no moderation, no law, no custom, no duty, is at all regarded; no judgment or opinion of the citizens; no reverence for posterity. [Had not this been the state of Rome, even as far back as from the time of the Gracchi?] I had forseen all this long before hand, and was flying out of Italy, at the time when the fame of your edicts called me back again. But you, Brutus, gave me fresh courage at Velia: for, though it grieved me to think that I was going to that city, from which you, who had given liberty to it, was forced to fly (which had happened also formerly to me, in a case of similar danger, but of more unhappy issue), I yet went on and came to Rome; and, without the support of any guard, shook the power of Antony; and, by my advice and authority, secured to us the troops of Cæsar, which the occasion offered, against his traitorous arms. In whom, if he continues in the same disposition and deference to my advice, we are likely to have a sufficient guard. [It must be owned that the behaviour of this docile pupil, since the raising of the siege of Mutina, does much honour to the tutor.] But if the counsels of the disaffected should have more influence with him than mine; or if the imbecility of his age should not be able to sustain the weight of the affairs which he has now upon his hands; all our hopes are in you. For which reason fly to us, I beseech you: and perfect your work of freeing the republic, which you have freed rather, as yet, by your virtue and greatness of mind, than in fact and reality. All the world will run to you. Exhort Cassius by letter to do the same. There is no hope of liberty any where but in the strength of your camps. We have both the generals, and the armies in the west, wholly firm to us: I have some confidence also, that these troops of the young man are still firm: but there are so many at work to pervert them, that I am sometimes afraid lest they make an impression on him. [What! was he not already perverted, when in contempt of the laws of the senate, he demanded the consulship by a deputation of his officers, and marched his army towards Rome?] You see the whole state of the republic, as it stood at the time when I was sending away this letter. I wish that things may henceforward take a better turn; but if it should fall out otherwise (which omen the gods avert!) I shall lament the fate of the republic, which ought to be immortal: but what a poor share of life is left at these years for me?"

Vell. Pat. 2. 66. Plut. in Ant. Suet. in Aug. 27.

In a letter that soon followed the foregoing, he writes: "I beg of you, my Brutus, with the greatest earnestness, that you would not dismiss my son: but bring him hither along with you. This you must do instantly, if you have any regard for the republic, for which you were born. For the war is renewed upon us by the great treachery of Lepidus: and as for Cæsar's army, which was the best, it is not only of no service to us, but obliges us even to call for yours. Whenever you shall set foot in Italy, there will not be a single citizen, whom we can truly call by that name, who will not presently be in your camp. We have D. Brutus, indeed, happily united with Plancus: but you are not ignorant, how uncertain the minds of men infected with party, as well as the events of battles, are. [Of the generals of the west, who were all firm in the last letter, Pollio seems in this to be given up, and Plancus is now suspected.] Nay, should we conquer, as I hope we shall, there will be a great want of your advice and authority, to settle our affairs. Help us, therefore, for God's sake, and that as soon as possible: and assure yourself that you did not do a greater service to your country on *the ides of March*, when you delivered your fellow-citizens from slavery, than you will do by coming to us quickly. July the 12th."

Middl. Ed. 20. p. 139.

But after all these repeated entreaties and remonstrances of Cicero, neither Brutus nor Cassius seems to have entertained the least thought of coming with their armies. Cassius, indeed, by being more remote, and having Dolabella to oppose, could not come so readily, and was not so much expected as Brutus, who, before the battle of Mutina, had drawn all his legions to the sea-coast, and kept them at Apollonia and Dyrrachium, waiting the event of that action, and ready to embark for Italy, if any accident had made his assistance necessary; for which Cicero highly

Middl. p. 466.

Cicero, in regard to the consulate. And it is probable he took this piece of secret history from those memoirs, which Octavius wrote of his own life, as it is certain that both Plutarch and Appian made great use of them in compiling their histories."

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colleagues, without the greatest reluctance, and after a struggle of two days to preserve him. It was the design

commends him. But, upon the news of Antony's defeat, taking all the danger to be over (as well as Cicero and his senate), he (with their approbation) marched directly away to the remotest parts of Greece and Macedonia, to oppose the attempts of Dolabella* (who sent about that time five cohorts as far as the Thracian Chersonesus upon the Hellespont), and from that time seemed deaf to the call of the senate, and to all Cicero's letters. His conduct, however, seems to have been extremely prudent. He was sensible that his arrival with an armed force would startle the veterans and all the Cæsarean party, and drive them into one camp: and he might well suspect the fidelity of his troops, and that they were not sufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be trusted in the field against the veterans in Italy; whose example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might very probably induce them to desert, and betray their commanders. We find that, even while the consuls lived, Brutus was cautious of letting them know at Rome, how prosperously Cassius's affairs went on in Syria, for fear of giving umbrage to their enemies; and the following letter shews us that Cicero's scheme, of bringing Brutus into Italy, was not approved of by his relations and friends in Rome. I lay it before the reader also upon other accounts:

CICERO TO M. BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. Ep. 18. Middl. Ed. Ep. 23. p. 181.

"After I had often exhorted you by letters to come, as soon as possible, to the relief of the republic, and bring your army into Italy; and never imagined that your own people had any scruples about it; I was desired by that most prudent and diligent woman, your mother, all whose thoughts and cares are employed on you, that I would come to her on the 24th of July; which I did, as I ought, without delay. When I came, I found Casca, Labeo, and Scaptius, with her. She presently entered into the affair, and asked my opinion, whether we should send for you to come to Italy; and whether I thought it best for you to come, or continue abroad. I declared what I took to be most for your honour and reputation, that, without loss of time, you should bring present help to the tottering and declining state. For what mischief may we not expect from that war, where the conquering armies refused to pursue a flying enemy? Where a general unhurt, unprovoked, possessed of the highest honours, and the greatest fortunes; with a wife and children, and near relation to you; has declared war against the commonwealth? I may

* "On the 27th of April, when we were debating on the means of prosecuting the war against those who were adjudged to be enemies, Servilius moved, that Ventidius also should be included in that number; and that Cassius should pursue Dolabella: to whom, when I had assented, I made this farther motion: that you also, if you thought it of use and benefit to the republic, should carry on the war against Dolabella; but, if you could not do it with convenience to the public affairs, or did not think it for the public service, that you should keep your army in the same quarters where you now are. The senate could not decree any thing more honourable to you, than that it should be left to you to determine what was the most conducive to the service of the republic. My opinion of the matter is this: that if Dolabella has any troops, any camp, any place, where he can make a stand, it concerns your character and dignity to pursue him. As to our Cassius's forces, we know nothing at all about them: for we have neither received any letters from him, nor any intelligence that we could depend upon as certain. You are very sensible of what importance it is, that Dolabella should be destroyed: not only that he may suffer the punishment due to his treason, but that the chiefs of the rebels may not have a place to resort to, in their flight from Mutina. That this was my opinion even before, you may recollect from my former letters; though at that time our only refuge was in your camp, and our hopes of safety in your army. Wherefore now, when we are delivered, as I hope from all danger, we ought to be more intent on the ruin of Dolabella." Ad Brut. 5. "I highly applaud your resolution, of not removing your army from Apollonia and Dyrrachium, before you had heard of Antony's flight, Brutus's irruption, and the victory of the Roman people. As to what you write, therefore, that you have since resolved to lead your army into the Chersonese, nor to suffer the empire of Rome to be insulted by a most wicked enemy; you do what is agreeable to your dignity and the public service." Ad Brut. 2.

of the triumvirate to keep their resolution a secret, if possible, to the moment of execution; in order to surprise those whom they had destined to destruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to escape. Some of Cicero's friends, perhaps by the contrivance of Octavius, found means, however, to give him early notice of it; upon which he immediately set for-

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add, where, in so great a concord of the senate and the people, there resides still so much disorder within the walls? But the greatest grief which I feel, while I am now writing, is to reflect, that when the republic had taken my word for a youth, or rather a boy, I shall hardly have it in my power to make good what I promised for him. For it is a thing of much greater delicacy and moment to engage one's self for another's sentiments and principles, especially in affairs of importance, than for money; for money may be paid, and the loss itself is tolerable: but how can you pay what you are engaged for to the republic, unless he, for whom you stand engaged, will suffer it to be paid? Yet I am still in hopes to hold him, though many are plucking him away from me. [What can Cicero mean here, unless it is that he hopes to engage Octavius's mercy for Brutus and Cassius?] For his disposition seems good, though his age is flexible; and many are always at hand to corrupt him; who, by throwing in his way the splendour of false honour, think themselves sure of dazzling his good sense and understanding. Wherefore, to all my other labours, this new one is added, of setting all engines at work to hold fast the young man, lest I incur the imputation of rashness. Though what rashness is it after all? For, in reality, I bound him, for whom I was engaged, more strongly than myself. Nor has the republic as yet any cause to repent that I was his sponsor; since he has been hitherto the more firm and constant in acting for us, as well from his own temper, as for the sake of my promise. The greatest difficulty in the republic, if I mistake not, is the want of money for honest men grow every day more and more averse to the name of tribute;* and what was gathered from the hundredth penny [a tax of one per cent. paid by the month], where the rich are shamefully rated, is all spent in rewarding the two legions. [Though they refused to obey a decree of the senate ordering them to serve under D. Brutus.] There is an infinite expense upon us to support the armies which now defend us; and also yours; for our Cassius seems likely to come sufficiently provided. But I long to talk over this, and many things, with you in person; and that quickly. As to your sister's children, I did not wait, Brutus, for your writing to me; the times themselves, since the war will be drawn into length, reserve the whole affair to you. [Such was Cicero's foresight, notwithstanding the many proofs of Octavius's disaffection to what was called the cause of the republic.] But from the first, when I could not foresee the continuance of the war, I pleaded the cause of the children in the senate, in a manner which you have been informed of, I guess, by your mother's letters: nor can there be any case where I will not both say and do, even at the hazard of my life, whatever I think agreeable either to your inclination, or to your interest. The 26th of July."

* This tribute seems to have been a sort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's substance; and had been wholly disused in Rome, ever since the conquest of Macedonia by P. Æmilius; which produced a revenue sufficient to ease the republic ever after from that burden, till the present necessity obliged them to renew it. Plin. H. Nat. 33. 3. "From the aversion (says Dr. Middleton) which even the honest are here said to have shewn to the renewal of it, one cannot but reflect on the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected the republic in this age, and hastened its ruin." But what disgusted these honest men was, probably, to see their money employed in recompensing veteran soldiers, traitors to the cause of the republic, and rebels to the senate; which nothing but Cicero's excessive complaisance for Octavius, or the dread of him, could make him approve.

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ward with his brother and nephew towards Astura, the nearest villa which he had upon the sea, with intent to transport themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But Quintus, being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn back with his son to Rome, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and necessaries for their support abroad. The diligence of Antony's emissaries eluded all their caution. The son was found out first; who is said to have been more solicitous for the preservation of his father, than to provide for his own safety. Upon his refusal to discover where his father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the soldiers; till the father, to rescue his son from torture, came out of his hiding-place, and voluntarily surrendered himself, making no other request to his executioners, than that they would dispatch him the first of the two. The son urged the same petition, to spare him the misery of being the spectator of his father's murder; so that the assassins, to satisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them by agreement at the same time. Cicero, in the meanwhile, found a vessel ready for him at Astura, in which he presently embarked: but, the winds being cross and turbulent, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had sailed about twelve leagues along the coast, he landed at Circæum, and spent a night near that place in great anxiety and irresolution. The question was, what course he should steer; and whether he should fly to Brutus, or to Cassius, or to S. Pompeius; but, after all his deliberations, none of them pleased him so much as the expedient of dying.[1] According to Plutarch, he had some thoughts of returning to the city and killing himself in Cæsar's house, in order to leave the guilt and curse of his blood upon Cæsar's perfidy and ingratitude: but the importunity of his servants prevailed with him

Plut. Cic. 601. Dio, p. 333.

Middl. p. 495.

[1] Cremutius Cordus ait, Ciceroni cùm cogitasset, utrumne Brutum, an Cassium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia displicuisse præter mortem. Senec. Suasor. 6.

to sail forward to Cajeta; where he went again on shore, to repose himself in his Formian villa, about a mile from the coast, weary of life and the sea; and declaring that he would die in that country, which he had so often saved.[k] Here he slept soundly for several hours; though, as most writers tell us, "a great number of crows were fluttering all the while and making a strange noise about his windows, as if to rouse and warn him of his approaching fate; and that one of them made its way into the chamber, and pulled away his very bed-clothes; till his slaves, admonished by this prodigy, and ashamed to see brute creatures more solicitous for his safety than themselves, forced him into a litter, or portable chair, and carried him away towards the ship, through the private ways and walks of his woods; having just heard, that soldiers were already come into the country in quest of him, and were then not far from the villa." As soon as they were gone, the soldiers arrived at the house; and, perceiving him to be fled, pursued immediately towards the sea, and overtook him in the wood. Their leader was one Popilius Lænus, a tribune, or colonel of the army, whom Cicero had formerly defended and preserved in a capital cause. As soon as the soldiers appeared, the servants prepared themselves to fight, being resolved to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own. But Cicero commanded them to set him down, and make no resistance: then, looking upon his executioners with a presence of mind and firmness which almost daunted them, and, thrusting his neck as forwardly as he could out of the litter, he bade them do their work, and take what they wanted: upon which they presently cut off his head and both his hands, and returned with them in all haste and great joy towards Rome, as the most agreeable present which they could

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Plut. in Cic.

Liv. Fragm.

[k] Tædium tandem eum et fugæ et vitæ cepit: regressusque ad superiorem villam, quæ paulo plus mille passibus a mari abest; moriar, inquit, in patria sæpe servata. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Suasor. 1.

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possibly carry to Antony. Popilius charged himself with the conveyance, without reflecting on the infamy of carrying that head which had saved his own. He found Antony in the forum, surrounded with guards and crowds of people; but upon shewing, from a distance, the spoils which he had brought, he was rewarded upon the spot with the honour of a crown, and about 8000*l.* sterling. Antony ordered the head to be fixed upon the rostra between the two hands; a sad spectacle to the city: it drew tears from every eye to see those mangled members, which used to exert themselves so gloriously from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties, of the Roman people, so lamentably exposed to the scorn of sycophants and traitors. "The deaths of the rest (says an historian of that age) caused only a private and particular sorrow; but Cicero's a universal one." Yet it must be owned, that he had so much the less reason to complain of his fate, as it is certain that he suffered nothing more than he would have inflicted, had fortune put Antony in his power: and that he had brought this ruin upon himself and his friends by his rash and cruel counsels. Brutus, who immediately revenged his death upon C. Antonius, the triumvir's brother, is reported, upon receiving of the news, to have said that he was more ashamed of the cause of it than afflicted at the loss. He was killed on the 7th of December, about ten days from the settlement of the triumvirate, after he had lived sixty-three years, eleven months, and five days.[1]

[1] Middl. p. 499. "The odium of Cicero's death fell chiefly on Antony, yet it left a stain of perfidy and ingratitude also on Augustus; which explains the reason of that silence, which is observed about him, by the writers of that age; and why his name is not so much as mentioned either by Horace or Virgil. . . . . . Livy, though he seems to extenuate the crime of Cicero's murder, yet after a high encomium of his VIRTUE,* declares, that to praise him as he deserved, required the

* The fragment of Livy is as follows: "Vixit tres et sexaginta annos, ut, si vis abfuisset, ne immatura quidem mors videri possit. Ingenium et operibus, et præmiis operum felix: ipse fortunæ diu prosperæ et in longo tenore felicitatis, magnis interim ictus vulneribus, exsilio, ruinâ partium pro quibus steterat, filiæ morte, exitu tam tristi atque acerbo, omnium adversorum nihil, ut viro dignum erat, tulit,

Antony, satiated with Cicero's blood, declared the proscription at an end, in regard to himself. He granted to his mother, Julia, the life of her brother, L. Cæsar; to his friend, Calenus, that of the learned Varro; and wrote with his own hand to Atticus, who had concealed himself with his friend Q. Gallius Canus, that both he and his friend were safe, and, by his orders, both blotted out of the list of the proscribed.[m]

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eloquence of Cicero himself..... In the succeeding generation, as the particular envy to Cicero subsided, by the death of those whom private interests and personal quarrels had engaged to hate him while living, and defame him when dead, so his name and memory began to shine out in its proper lustre: and, in the reign even of Tiberius, when an eminent statesman and historian, Cremutius Cordus, was condemned to die for praising Brutus, yet Paterculus could not forbear breaking out into the following warm expostulation with Antony, on the subject of Cicero's death: "Thou hast done nothing, Antony; hast done nothing, I say, by setting a price on that divine and illustrious head, and, by a detestable reward, procuring the death of so great a consul and preserver of the republic. Thou hast snatched from Cicero a troublesome being; a declining age; a life more miserable, under thy dominion, than death itself; but so far from diminishing the glory of his deeds and sayings, thou hast increased it. He lives and will live in the memory of all ages; and as long as this system of nature, whether by chance or providence, or what way soever formed (which he alone of all the Romans comprehended in his mind, and illustrated with his eloquence), shall remain entire, it will draw the praise of Cicero along with it; and all posterity will admire his writings against thee, and curse thy act against him. [Undoubtedly, this historian greatly paid his court to the reigning family, in charging Antony with the whole odium of the proscription.] From this period, all the Roman writers, whether poets or historians, seem to vie with each other in celebrating the praises of Cicero, as the parent of Roman wit and eloquence;* who had done more honour to his country, by his writings, than all their conquerors by their arms, and extended the bounds of their learning beyond those of their empire. So that their very emperors, near three centuries after his death, began to reverence him in the class of their inferior deities: a rank which he would have preserved to this day, if he had happened to live in papal Rome; where he could not have failed, as Erasmus says, from the innocence of his life, of obtaining the honour and title of a saint." This assertion his ingenious and zealous panegyrist proves, at length, from Cicero's writings, which contain certainly the noblest principles of morality, and an eloquent exposition of all the duties of man. But his moral character must be shewn from his practice, from his actions, and the motives of his actions, not from theory and lessons of morality: and these actions, with their springs, having been laid before the reader in the foregoing pages, we shall leave him to pronounce concerning it.

[m] If these facts are true, and Antony was not of a cruel disposition, as we are told by Plutarch, how can we then give credit to the most inhuman facts related of him by this same Plutarch and other authors? We are told, that in all this scene of misery, he gave himself up to all the excesses of debauchery imaginable; that his house was filled with buffoons and players; and that he squandered away, amongst the vilest of mankind, the price of the blood of the most illustrious citizens. Nonius, it is said, was put to death, because he would not part with a fine opal; the fa-

præter mortem; quæ vere æstimanti minus indigna videri potuit, quod à victore inimico nil crudelius passurus erat, quam quod ejusdem fortunæ compos ipse fecisset. Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensârit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, et in cujus laudes persequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit." Ap. Senec. Suasor. 7. Elsevir, vol. 3. p. 37. Here, I should think, there is no high encomium of his virtue.

* Our panegyrist adds, "and as the most illustrious of their patriots."

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Lepidus, on his side, suffered his brother, L. Paulus, to escape, who went to Brutus's camp, and, after the battle of Philippi, might have returned to Rome, but chose to pass the remainder of his days at Miletum; and Messala, though in Brutus's camp, was declared free from all prosecution by proclamation, in which it was said, "As the relations of Messala have certified to us, that he was not in Rome at the time that Cæsar was killed, we erase his name out of the list of the proscribed." As to Octavius, Seutonius tells us, that, though he opposed the proscription at first, yet he shewed himself more cruel and bloody in urging it afterward, than either of the other two; and relates, upon the authority of one Junius Saturninus, that, after the proscription was over, when Lepidus made an apology to the senate for their proceedings, and gave hopes of a more gentle administration for the future, young Cæsar, on his side, declared, that he should set no bounds to the proscription but his pleasure, and still reserved to himself the liberty of punishing such as were guilty. But these accounts, though adopted by all modern authors, are not supported by any authentic or probable facts.[n]

mous Verres, because he would not give up two Corinthian vases: one Fidustius was wantonly killed, because he had been proscribed by Sylla: Atilius, a boy, very rich, had the *toga virilis* put on him, and was immediately proscribed: Fulvia was suffered to plunder and destroy whom she pleased: a head of a senator, called, by Valerius Maximus, Cæsetius Rufus, being brought to Antony, when at table, he examined it with attention, then told the bearers, "I know him not: this is an affair of my wife's." This man had refused to let his house to Fulvia, and, lest Rome should mistake the cause of his death, his head, it is said, was fixed upon the house, and not in the forum. These facts are altogether incredible, as well as her behaviour towards Cicero's head, which some historians tell us, was sent to her by Antony, before he fixed it upon the rostra; and that this fair lady placed it upon her knees, loaded it with reproaches, spit upon it, opened the mouth and pulled out the tongue, which she pierced a thousand times with her bodkin.

[n] He is accused of having proscribed C. Toranius, formerly his tutor and his father's colleague in the ædileship. We hear, however, of no other instance of his cruelty at this time. But before the triumvirate, Suetonius, indeed, Aug. 27, lays an atrocious act to his charge: he says, that Q. Gallius, prætor of the city, when he came to wait upon him, had unfortunately under his robe a double tablet (*duplices tabulas*), a sort of pocket-book, which Octavius judged to be a poniard; upon which suspicion, not venturing to make search, lest it should be found to be something else, he ordered him to be carried off by his guards and put to the torture, as if he had been a slave: and, because the prætor would not own that he had a design to kill him, Octavius pulled out his eyes with his own hands, and ordered him to be executed. However, Suetonius has informed us that Octavius did not own the fact, and in his memoirs told a quite different story: that Gallius desired a private con-

The greatest number of the proscribed found means to escape, and they fled either into Macedonia to Brutus, or into Africa to Cornificius, or to young Pompey, who, having been appointed commander-general of the seas by the senate, had, under this title, assembled a considerable force, and made himself master of the greatest part of Sicily; and who, at this time, stationed small vessels all along the coast, to carry the proscribed from the cruelty of the triumvirs.

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The triumvirs, having taken vengeance of their enemies in Rome and Italy, began now to think of levying the money necessary to carry on the war against Brutus and Cassius: and they are accused of having put in practice every method of extortion, and of having seized upon the treasures deposited in the hands of the vestal virgins; yet, the sums amassed not being sufficient, they devised a new tax never known before. This singular expedient was a tax upon women. They drew up a list of 1400 ladies of Rome, mothers, daughters, or relations, of their enemies: these alliances were far enough fetched, for riches alone were sufficient to make them guilty in this case. These were ordered to make a declaration of their estates, in order to be taxed as should be thought proper. Appian tells us, that the ladies assembled on this occasion went in a body to the female relations of the triumvirs; and that they were well received by Octavia, sister to young Octavius; and by Julia, Antony's mother; but were not admitted by the haughty Fulvia, his wife. And that, upon this, they went to the forum, and, both people and soldiers making way for them, they advanced to the tribunal of the triumvirs, where Hortensia, the daughter of the famous

ference with him, with a view of murdering him; for which reason he put him in prison, but afterward banished him the city; and that he perished either in a storm at sea, or by the hands of robbers. Such is the evidence of Octavius's singular cruelty. Plutarch moralizes at length upon the unnatural bargain made by the triumvirs, when Antony consented to give up his uncle, and Lepidus his brother, to the vengeance of young Cæsar, in exchange for Cicero. If that was the case, why did not this cruel monster, Octavius, insist upon the execution of this part of the treaty, after his friend had fallen the victim of it?

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orator, made a speech, in the name of all the rest to this effect: "My lords, these unhappy ladies, whom you see here imploring your justice and bounty, would never have presumed to appear in this place, had they not first made use of all possible means, which either their native modesty might allow, or their best understanding could inform them of. Though our appearing here may seem contrary to the rules of decency prescribed to our sex, which we have hitherto most strictly observed, yet the loss of our fathers, our children, of our brothers and our husbands, is sufficient to excuse us: nay, and to vindicate us too, when their unhappy deaths are made a pretence for our farther misfortunes. You pretend you have been affronted, but what have the women done that they must be impoverished? If they are as blamable as the men, why do not you proscribe them too? Certainly none of our sex have ever declared you your country's enemies: we have neither plundered your goods, nor suborned your soldiers; we have raised no troops against you, nor opposed those honours and offices to which you pretend. We presume not to govern the republic, nor is it our ambition which has drawn the present miseries and misfortunes upon our heads; empire, dignities, and honours, were never designed for our sex. We, alas! have done nothing to affront you, nothing to offend you, nor any thing to move you to this severe treatment of us. But you tell us that you have a war to support. And when have mankind been free from war? And yet have women ever been taxed on that account? The universal consent of nations has confirmed an exception in their favour, which nature herself has granted us. Formerly, indeed, the Roman women, in the extreme exigency of the republic, when in danger of becoming a prey to the Carthaginians, contributed towards the expenses of the state, but they did it voluntarily: that which they gave was not levied upon their estates, dowries, and houses; they only appropri-

ated to it the ornaments of their persons: nor were they subject to any estimation, or informations of accusers. What is then the danger which you apprehend at present? Do the Gauls or Parthians invade Italy? In that case you will find us no less generous than our mothers; but think not that we will contribute our estates to maintain civil wars, and enable you to destroy one another. Such a demand was never made either by Cæsar or Pompey, in their wars; nor by Marius and Cinna during their cruelties; no, not by Sylla himself, who first set up tyranny in Rome: yet after all, you adorn yourselves with the glorious title of reformers of the state.[o] This discourse appeared so bold and dangerous to the triumvirs, that they immediately sent their lictors to cause the ladies to retire; but, perceiving that the multitude began to cry out against such violence, they promised to reconsider the affair, and afterward drew up another list of 400 women, instead of 1400; but to make good the sum they wanted, they taxed all the citizens and foreigners, without distinction, who were worth 100,000 drachms, or upwards of 3200*l.* sterling.

Year of ROME 710. B.C. 42. 409th consulship.

During all this confusion, Lepidus and Plancus obtained a decree for a triumph on account of some inconsiderable success in Gaul; and while the city was in the greatest consternation, they calmly issued out proclamations for public rejoicings. Plancus triumphed the 29th of December, and Lepidus on the 31st. The soldiers sung in the procession this line, "De Germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant consules:" signifying very properly, that their triumph was rather over their *germani*, or brothers, than over the Gauls.

Octavius resigned, as had been agreed, the consular fasces, before the end of the year, in favour of Ventidius, who had C. Corinnas for his colleague,[t] in the room of

o "Hortensia, Q. Hortensii filia, cùm ordo matronarum gravi tributo à triumviris esset oneratus, neo quisquam virorum patrocinium eis accommodare auderet; causam feminarum apud triumviros constanter et feliciter egit. Repræsentata enim patris facundia, impetravit, ut major pars imperatæ pecuniæ his remitteretur." Val. Max. l. 8. 3. 3. Helfrecht, p. 463.

Year of ROME 710. B.C. 42. Pedius. They enjoyed them only a part of the month of December, and they were transferred for the following year to Lepidus and Plancus.

409th consulship. In order to gratify the ambition of more of their friends, the triumvirs not only named one of the ædiles to the vacant prætorship of Ventidius, but made all the other prætors resign five days before the expiration of their office, that others might be named in their places, and enjoy the title and rank of ancient prætors. In fine, they appointed magistrates for several years; by which means they confirmed their power, by putting, for a long time, all the magistracies in the hands of those who were attached to them, and interested in the support of their government. On the 1st of January, the triumvirs solemnly swore to observe the acts of Cæsar, and made all the magistrates take the same oath.

BOOK XI.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE EMPIRE ON OCTAVIUS.

CHAP. I.

Brutus and Cassius reduce the Lycians and Rhodians, and march their armies into Macedonia. Antony and Octavius carry over their legions into the same province. The first battle of Philippi, and the death of Cassius. The second battle of Philippi, and the death of Brutus. The triumvirs make a new division of the empire.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II. } Consuls.
L. MUNACIUS PLANCUS, }

Year of ROME 711. B.C. 41.

BRUTUS and Cassius were now masters of all the eastern provinces, where they had made great exactions, and raised an army of nineteen legions and 20,000 horse: and the latter was preparing for an expedition into Egypt against Cleopatra, when he was called by Brutus, upon the news that Antony and Octavius had joined their forces. Cassius, therefore, leaving Syria to his brother's son with one single legion, marched into Lesser Asia, and met Brutus at Smyrna, where they consulted about the conduct of the war. Brutus moved to have the armies pass into Greece and Macedonia immediately, and there wait for Octavius and Antony; but to Cassius it appeared the wiser measure to reduce the Rhodians and Lycians; who had refused to pay any contributions, and were powerful at sea. It seemed to him of the most dangerous consequence to leave such considerable enemies behind them; and this expedition, accordingly, was entered upon without delay, and in a short time completed. The Rhodians were severely plundered by Cassius, and scarce any thing, besides their lives, was left them; but the unfortunate Lycians, who had to do

401th consulship.

Year of ROME 711. B.C. 42. — 410th consulship.

with the mild and humane philosopher, Brutus, fared much worse. Xanthus, their capital town, was burnt to the ground, and all the inhabitants destroyed. Those who surrendered at discretion he deprived of all their public and private money. After these military operations,[a] the two commanders met again at Sardis, and were there proclaimed emperors by their two armies,[b] and soon passed over into Thrace and Macedonia; whither the triumvirs had sent two lieutenants, Decidius Saxa and Norbanus, with eight legions, while they themselves made a fruitless attempt to drive Sextus out of Sicily: for they foresaw he would be a thorn in their side, and, in concert with the fleets commanded by Murcus

[a] Plutarch tells us, that the destruction of the inhabitants of Xanthus happened against the will and earnest endeavours of Brutus, and was entirely owing to an unaccountable fury and frenzy with which they were seized, which made them set fire to their own houses, and destroy one another: but the contrary is owned in the following letter of Brutus to the Rhodians: "Xanthios, cum à nobis defecissent, extremo supplicio affecimus. Nam usque ad parvulos omnibus cæsis, eorum, urbem igne et ferro diruimus. Patarensibus, quia fidi nobis exstiterant, tributa relaxavimus ac liberos et sui juris esse concessimus. Atque pro restauratione eorum quæ demolita erant, quinquaginta talenta dono dedimus. Liceat et vobis consulere ac videre, utrum vos pro hostibus quemadmodum Xanthii, an pro amicis ceu Patareni, haberi velitis." And this letter Plutarch himself has cited, but in fewer words: "Xanthii beneficium meum despicientes, desperationis suæ habuerunt patriam sepulcrum. Patarenses qui se in fidem meam contulerunt, nusquam desiderant in administrandis rebus suis libertatem. Itaque licet vobis quoque vel Patarensium judicium vel fortunam legere Xanthiorum." Velleius Paterculus tells us, that Cassius behaved with greater moderation than Brutus: "Dum ea in Italia geruntur, acri atque prosperrimo belli Cassius Rhodum, rem immanis operis, ceperat; Brutus Lycios devicerat. . . . . . .cum per omnia repugnans naturæ suæ Cassius, etiam Bruti clementiam vinceret." Vel. Pat. 2. 69. 6. Krause, p. 339.

[b] Here it was that Brutus is reported to have seen a ghost in his tent. He ever employed, says Plutarch, the greatest part of the night in dispatching affairs and reading; and one night, being thus employed, when there was a general silence in the camp, and especially about his tent, of a sudden he heard an unusal noise at the door, which opened at the same time. Brutus, casting his eye towards the place, perceived the frightful picture of a hideous spectre, of a proportion much more than natural, which presented itself before him: he had, notwithstanding, the courage to speak to it, demanding, "Art thou a god, or art thou a man, and for what reason comest thou hither?" I am (replied the spirit) thy evil genius, and thou shalt see me again near Philippi." Brutus answered, "Well, I will see thee:" and immediately it disappeared. He presently called up his slaves, who all told him, "that they had neither seen nor heard any thing." He continued walking all the rest of the night, and early in the morning went to give an account of what had happened to Cassius, who, being an Epicurean, told him, "that all this proceeded from the weakness of his senses, and the strength of his imagination at that time. However (continued he), let us not believe that there are any such spirits, that have either voice, human shape, or power, over us; though I could wish there were, that we might not only rely upon the greatness of our forces, but likewise upon the assistance of those immortal beings, who could not but be favourable to a cause so just and sacred as ours is." Plutarch tells us, that the same spirit appeared again before the battle of Philippi.

and Domitius, interrupt their communication with Italy and the other transmarine provinces. Year of ROME. 711. B.C. 41.

Decidius and Norbanus marched their troops through Epirus and Macedonia beyond Philippi, and encamped at the entry of a narrow pass formed by two mountains, being the only commodious way from the Chersonesus of Thrace into Macedonia: they had then behind them Philippi, and upon the right, towards the sea, Neapolis, a sea-port town, situated over-against the island of Thasos: and here they intended to wait the arrival of their generals. Brutus and Cassius would have found it difficult to force the passage, if Rhascupolis, a Thracian chieftain in their camp, had not led them over the mountains by a particular way, which had been judged impracticable by the enemy. Bibulus, son-in-law to Brutus, commanded the detachment, and took with him provisions and water for three days; and, after incredible fatigues, when the soldiers began to murmur, and to suspect Rhascupolis of treachery, at last, on the fourth day, they had a view of the plain and the river, and, upon this sight, they raised a shout of joy, which gave notice of their approach to the two lieutenants, who otherwise would have been surrounded unawares. Saxa and Norbanus immediately retired to Amphipolis, which they fortified with great dispatch. Brutus and Cassius marched on beyond Philippi, and encamped upon a rising ground not far from the town: behind them was the sea, which furnished them with all kinds of provisions: the island of Thasos, which was at twelve miles' distance, served them for a general magazine, and, at the distance of nine miles, was the town of Neapolis, which afforded them a secure port for their fleet. Antony soon came up with them: for, upon the first news of the retreat of his lieutenants, fearing lest he should lose Amphipolis, he had made forced marches, and arrived sooner than he was expected. He had the satisfaction to find not only his lieutenants masters of Am-

410th consulship.

Year of ROME 711. B.C. 41. 410th consulship.

phipolis, but the town well fortified. He there deposited all his baggage, leaving a legion to defend it: while, with the rest of his troops, he advanced, and, following the example which Cæsar had shewn him in all his wars, of approaching as near as possible to an enemy, he encamped at only a mile's distance. Here he was joined a few days after by Octavius. Their combined armies consisted of nineteen legions, composed chiefly of Cæsar's old soldiers, and not only complete as to their number, but augmented by a great many supernumeraries. Thus their infantry amounted to 100,000 men, but their cavalry, consisting only of 13,000, was less numerous than that of the enemy. They were much straitened for provisions, having only Macedonia and Thessaly open to them; Sextus Pompey cutting off from them all communication with Africa, and Murcus and Domitius with Italy. This made Antony extremely desirous of coming to a battle; but Cassius, being sensible of his motive, refused to engage him, and restrained the impatience of his sanguine colleague. At last, Antony, with great labour and industry, made a way through a large fen, and raised some forts opposite the enemy's camp. Cassius, on his side, formed lines and threw up works against him: and, in this situation, says Appian, the forwardness of the two armies, who were near to each other, drew on a general action, though much against Cassius's will, who declared, "that he was forced, in the same manner that Pompey had been, to expose the liberty of the Roman people to the hazard of a battle." A different story is related by Plutarch. He tells us that Cassius, overcome by the importunity of his colleague and the rest of his officers, unwillingly consented to give battle. According to the same historian, Cassius, before the general engagement, asked Brutus's opinion concerning what they ought to do, if they should happen to be unsuccessful, and Brutus answered, "That he had formerly in his writings, condemned the death

of Cato, and maintained that such a manner of avoiding disgrace was an insult upon the gods, and unworthy of a man of courage; but that he had now changed his opinion, and was resolved to lay down that life, which he had already sacrificed to his country on the ides of March, and to change it for a happier one, if fortune proved his enemy." "We may then venture to engage the enemy," replied Cassius, embracing him; "for either we will be conquerors ourselves, or have no cause to fear those who are so."

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The forces of the triumvirs were commanded by Antony alone; Octavius not being recovered of the illness with which he had been seized before he left Italy: and, both armies being drawn up, Brutus's men attacked those of Octavius with little order, but with so much fury, that, at the first onset, they overthrew all that opposed them, and, pressing forward with great slaughter, they entered the very camp of Octavius, who had just before retired to that of his colleague. Antony was, on his side, very hotly engaged with Cassius. but, in a short time, found means to open a passage through the lines, and, charging Cassius's troops upon the flank, totally routed them; then pursuing the victory, he soon became master of his camp. Cassius, having laboured in vain to rally his soldiers, retired to a hill not far off, expecting the event of the battle on his partner's side. Whence, descrying a body of cavalry making towards him, he sent Titinius to discover whether they were friends or enemies. Titinius was received with great joy into the ranks, and instead of riding back directly, marched on with the body of horse towards his general, who, not doubting but that Brutus had been routed, and that his friend Titinius was taken prisoner, cried out "Alas! to preserve the remainder of a miserable life, I have ruined my best friend!" and instantly, retiring into his tent, killed himself. Titinius arrived soon after with the cavalry, all rejoicing: but their joy was suddenly

Vell. Pat. 2. 70 Plut in Brut

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dashed; and Titinius, accusing himself of being the cause of so terrible a misfortune by his imprudence, in great despair, slew himself upon the body of his friend.

Brutus was very sensible of his loss by the death of his companion, whom he called the last of the Romans, and caused his body to be privately removed to the island of Thasos, lest the sight of it should make a bad impression on the minds of his soldiers; and though, according to the report of Messala, his party had lost but 8000 men, while the enemy had lost 16,000, yet he kept for twenty days within his intrenchments, refusing to accept the battle which Antony offered him. We are told he hoped to starve his enemies, who were now in extreme want of provisions, and whose fleet had been lately totally defeated; a circumstance Brutus was ignorant of several days after it was known in Antony's camp; which intimates that few or none deserted from the triumvirs to him. And Plutarch, who is so lavish in his praises, relates, that he was obliged to put to death all the slaves he had made prisoners in the late battle, and dismiss the rest, lest they should debauch his army: and that he found it necessary also to promise his soldiers a donative of 2000 drachmas a man, together with the plunder of Thessalonica and Lacedemon, two of the wealthiest cities in those parts, in order to raise their courage. At last, several of his officers having left his camp to join his enemies, the fear of a general desertion, determined him to put all to the decision of a second battle. We are told, that the eagerness of the soldiers was such on both sides, that they betook themselves immediately to their swords, fighting with great fury, till after much bloodshed, Brutus's party was borne down by main force, and entirely defeated. Brutus himself fled to a neighbouring hill,[c] and there remained all night. When, in

Plut. in Brut.

[c] Plutarch tells us, that he ran a great risk of being taken; that, being pursued closely by a troop of Thracians, Lucilius, a friend of his, delivered himself up to them, telling them, that he was Brutus: upon which he was immediately conducted to Antony. When, in his presence, he owned, that, to save his general, he had de-

the morning, he saw all was lost, he cried out in the words of an ancient poet, "O unhappy virtue, I follow thee as a solid good, but thou art only a mere notion, a vain empty name, or, at best, a slave of fortune." Yet shortly after he told some of his friends, "that he looked upon himself as much happier than any of his conquerors, since he should enjoy that reputation which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injustice could never deserve." Then, going aside with a particular friend called Strato, he with great earnestness begged of him to do him the last office of a friend; and, seeing him very unwilling to perform so hard a duty, he called for a slave: "Ah then (cried Strato), it shall never be said, that the great Brutus stood in need of a slave for want of a friend;" so turning away his head, he presented the point of his sword to Brutus, who threw himself upon it, and immediately expired.

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Thus fell these two famous champions for liberty, called the last of the Romans: deserted at once by fortune with the same precipitation, with which she had given them the command of half the empire. Cassius, who professed the Epicurean philosophy, left behind him no reputation for virtue; and it was every one's opinion that he hated the tyrant more than tyranny, and had interested and private views in the assassination of Cæsar. Brutus was, by his birth, his alliances, his connexions, his riches, the head of the young nobility: and he was reverenced in his life and after his death, for the gravity of his manners, his extensive learning, his eloquence, his capacity; but, if we attend to facts, we shall find his glory greatly sullied by many instances of avarice, of

ceived the soldiers; and was ready to atone, by his sufferings, for the offence. The Thracians were filled with indignation. "Be not troubled (said Antony) at the mistake; you have taken a much better prize. You wanted to take an enemy, and you have brought me a friend. I take all the gods to witness, that I should have been very much perplexed how to behave to Brutus. But men, such as Lucilius, I love much better to have for my friends than my enemies." Plutarch, according to his custom, in order to lengthen out this last scene of Brutus's life, and make it more interesting, has collected a great many particularities too minute to find a place in this general history.

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pride, and of cruelty, which are even reported by his panegyrists, Cicero and Plutarch. A very ingenious and celebrated writer thinks, that these two generals killed themselves with a haste not to be vindicated; and that it is impossible to read this period of their lives without pitying the republic which was so abandoned. When one considers, however, how very indifferent the provinces were in all these quarrels; how heartily they detested the generals whom they had been forced to supply with money; and that the soldiers were all engaged to them against their will, or allured by immense liberalities and greater promises; it is plain that their defeat was irreparable, and that they had no other place to fly to but Sicily, which was still held by young Pompey, whither the triumvirs would have followed them with all their forces.

Montesquieu, Grandeur des Romains.

All such as had any share in Cæsar's death slew themselves with their own hands, but the rest rallying, to the number of 14,000, under the conduct of Messala and Bibulus, sent deputies to the triumvirs for an honourable composition, which the two generals readily granted. M. Cicero, with some other persons of distinction, escaped to the island of Thasos, where they went on board a squadron commanded by Cassius of Parma, which sailed to the Ionian sea, and joined the fleets of Statius, Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus. The first of these commanders declared his resolution to conduct his fleet to Sextus Pompey, which he soon executed: but Domitius chose to act an independent part.

The triumvirs employed themselves for some days after the victory in punishing their enemies. Antony sacrificed Hortensius to the manes of his brother Caius, and put to death also some others: Cato's son, Varro, and Lucullus, are mentioned by Paterculus. Livius Drusus, the father of that Livia who was afterward married to Octavius, killed himself in his tent; and Quintilius Varus, adorned with all the marks of those

Vell. Pat. 71.

honours he had borne, caused himself to be slain by one of his freedmen. Suetonius tells us that Octavius, who had but a small share in the victory, behaved with great cruelty and insolence to the vanquished, that he sent the head of Brutus to be thrown at the pedestal of Cæsar's statue in Rome, and treated the most illustrious Romans with barbarity and abusive language. To one, who humbly begged the favour of a burial, he answered, "that what he requested would soon be at the disposal of the birds of prey." A father and a son, who sued for their lives, were ordered by him to cast lots which of them should live, or to determine it betwixt them by the sword; but the father, refusing to accept of such a favour, delivered himself up to the executioner, and the son stabbed himself. His cruelty, it is said, was so excessive that, when the prisoners were produced before him, loaded with chains, all of them, and particularly M. Favonius, reproached him with it, while they saluted Antony with respect by the title of Imperator.[d]

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Suet. in Aug. 13.

The two generals, having satiated their revenge, made a new division of the provinces of the empire, by which the feeble Lepidus was spoiled of all, excepting the province of Africa, properly so called. Octavius got Spain and Numidia: Antony all Transalpine Gaul, with that part of Africa which Cornificius possessed. Cisalpine Gaul was incorporated into Italy, which they all pretended to defend by their arms, and to which, as their common country, they had a right to return with their legions. At the same time Antony undertook to go into

[d] Nothing shews more plainly how little we can depend upon the truth of these particularities related by the old historians, than the account they have given us of the death of Portia. They say that this lady, upon the news of her husband's unhappy fate, resolved not to survive him; and that, by the care of her relations and friends, all instruments of death being removed out of her way, she destroyed herself by swallowing burning coals. Now it is almost certain she died of a lingering disease before the battle of Philippi. For Plutarch himself mentions a letter of Brutus extant in his days, of the authenticity of which, indeed, he entertained some doubt, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting her in her last sickness. Certain, however, it is, as Dr. Middleton observes, that, in a letter to Atticus, he speaks of Portia's indisposition, and that there is a letter of condolence to him from Cicero, which can hardly be applied to any other occasion but that of her death. See Ep. 9. ad Brut.

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the eastern provinces to raise money for the soldiers' rewards; and Octavius took upon him to lead the old troops into Italy, and put them in possession of the lands that were promised them. Antony's commission assured him immense wealth, and was the more brilliant of the two; but that of Octavius gave him all power in Italy, and secured to him the affection of the veterans, who were to receive from him the long-wished-for recompense of their services.

CHAP. II.

Antony's progress through Greece and Asia. Cleopatra's magnificence. She obtains of Antony all her requests, and is followed by him into Egypt. Octavius's behaviour in Italy: he is crossed in his operations by Fulvia and L. Antonius, who raise a civil commotion: he forces L. Antonius to surrender himself at discretion in Perusia, and his enemies to leave Italy.

ANTONY first visited Greece, where he frequented the conferences of the philosophers; was initiated into the mysteries at Athens; made great presents to that and other cities; courted the Grecians in every manner, and was repaid with the most refined flattery. Then leaving Censorinus to command in that country, he passed over into Asia, with all his troops, consisting of eight legions. There all the princes of the east, who acknowledged the Roman power, came to make their court to him, and the fairest princesses strove to gain his favour, either by the charms of their beauty, or the magnificence of their presents. This crowd of sovereigns, which daily waited in his antichamber with their praises and submissions, did most agreeably soothe his voluptuous and ambitious temper. He pardoned all those of Brutus's party, who here surrendered to him, except Petronius, who was one of the conspirators; and Quintus, who was charged with having betrayed Dolabella to Cassius in Laodicea. But then he took away the estates of several wealthy citizens to enrich his flatterers and buffoons; and, assembling the deputies of all

Plut. in Anton. Appian. p. 673.

the subjects and allies of the Romans in those parts, in Year of ROME 711.
a formal speech he insisted upon his necessities and their B.C. 41.
duties, and squeezed out of the inhabitants almost all
the money that had been left them by Brutus and Cassius. 410th consulship.
After having raised 200,000 talents, an immense sum, 37,598,400l.
he demanded still new contributions; and all this money was presently spent in the most extravagant luxury, and vainest prodigalities, so that the country was, at the same time, a theatre of mirth and misery. Strabo attests, that a player was charged with gathering the tribute of four cities; and Plutarch relates, that a cook who pleased his taste, was recompensed with the house and goods of a rich citizen of Magnesia. In his progress through the country he frequently gave extraordinary demonstrations of generosity; particularly to the towns which had suffered for their attachment to Dolabella, and the Cæsarean cause. He made himself sovereign judge of the differences between the kings of those countries, as in Cappadocia, between Ariarathes and Sysenes, for whom the beauty of his mother, Glaphyra, was so powerful an advocate, as to carry the crown from his competitor.

But, among all those sovereigns of the east who depended upon Antony, Cleopatra was the most distinguished. She had sent troops to the assistance of Dolabella, as has been related above, under the conduct of Allienus, who had been obliged to give them up to Cassius: and she had also sent a fleet to the assistance of the triumvirs, which a storm disabled; but she might have done more for the cause; and Serapion, her lieutenant in Cyprus, had fought for Cassius: Antony, therefore, when he was at Tarsus, cited her to his tribunal. She made no difficulty to obey his summons; and, conscious of her power over men of Antony's character, she set out with an assurance of making a conquest of him. Never did any princess appear in a manner so singular and magnificent. Arrived at the mouth of the river

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Cydnus, she embarked in a vessel, whose stern was of gold, the sails of purple silk, and whose oars, covered with plates of silver, gently kept time to a concert of music. The queen was laid under a canopy of rich cloth of gold, adorned like Venus rising out of the sea, with lovely children about her, like Cupids, fanning her; and her women were dressed like Nereids, leaning negligently on the sides and shrouds of the vessel. The sweets of the perfumes that were burning reached the banks of the river, which were covered with an infinite number of people. Antony, who was mounted on a throne, to make a show of majesty, found himself deserted by all his attendants: all ran to see such an extraordinary sight. He sent to desire her to land and sup with him: but she desired his company first; a request which he thought himself bound in civility to comply with. He was extremely surprised at the neatness and magnificence of the entertainment, with the ingenious disposition of the lights, and many other peculiar contrivances.[e] The next day, he, in his turn, would treat her, and endeavoured to surpass her in sumptuousness, but he soon perceived he was far short of it; whereupon he turned all into mirth and raillery, which she joined with, and carried on with all the delicacy and dexterity imaginable; till, at last, taking a more serious turn in her discourses, she told him, that she came not thither to clear herself, but to be recompensed for the great services she had done to him and Octavius, in assisting Dolabella; in commanding a fleet in person against Cassius and his commanders, with many other things, which she related

[e] An ancient writer, quoted by Athenæus, 4. 11. has informed us, that she repeated several times these entertainments, and always in a new taste, and with new ornaments; giving to Antony each time all the equipage and furniture of the feast, the vessels of gold adorned with precious stones, and the tapestry and cloths of gold with which the walls and floor were covered. His friends also, it is said, who were entertained at twelve different tables, divided the couches on which they had supped, and the vessels of gold in which they had been served: and, when they retired, she made presents to the most distinguished, of litters with men to carry them, or of horses richly harnessed; and to all, young Ethiopian slaves to carry torches before them. The same author relates, that, at the third entertainment, the floor of the hall was strewed with roses a cubit deep.

with that artifice, that wit and inimitable grace, that Antony could no longer defend his heart; but, from that moment, entertained a passion for her which was the cause of all the future misfortunes of his life. The first use she made of her power was to obtain an order for taking her sister Arsinoë out of the temple of Diana at Ephesus, and putting her to death: another, for seizing Serapion in the temple of Hercules at Tyre, by whose execution she satisfied her vengeance, and justified herself towards Antony for the succours sent to Cassius: a third to seize, in the island of Aradus, an impostor, who pretended to be that Ptolemy, Cleopatra's brother, who had been vanquished by Cæsar, and, according to the common report, had been drowned in the Nile. After having in this manner secured her power, she set out for Egypt.

Year of ROME 711. B. C. 41. 410th consulship.

Antony entertained no longer any thoughts of marching against the Parthians. After a rapid progress through Syria, in which he hastily decided the affairs referred to him; and a fruitless attempt to surprise and plunder the town of Palmyra; he sent his forces into winter-quarters under the command of Decidius Saxa, and flew after Cleopatra into Egypt: where he spent the whole following year in all the ease and softness to which his vicious temper prompted him, and in all the delights and pleasures which that luxurious nation could furnish.

While Antony remained thus idle in Egypt, Octavius was busy about settling the affairs of Italy, and dividing the lands for satisfying the veterans. This he found very difficult, and not a little dangerous, on account of the general odium it brought upon him; for it was absolutely necessary either to give up the several towns allotted for their recompense, or to satisfy his soldiers with a proportionable quantity of money, which the exhausted treasury could not furnish. Almost all the inhabitants of these towns came in great multitudes to Rome; vast numbers of women with children in their arms, whose

Year of ROME 711. B.C. 41. 410th consulship.

tender years and innocence drew every one's compassion, daily filled the temples and public places with their lamentations: and the people of Rome talked very freely and boldly upon this account. These complaints and murmurings Octavius bore with all the discretion imaginable; he first borrowed what money he could; but finding that not sufficient, he at last broke through all difficulties, and began to give his soldiers places and lands for their inheritance, as he first designed. This he was forced to by the insolence of the soldiery, who were very sensible of the obligations and regard due to them from the triumvirs. Appian has recorded two instances of their haughty behaviour, which shew how little authority Octavius possessed over them. One of the common soldiers having had the assurance to seat himself in the theatre with the knights, Octavius ordered him to be taken away, because he perceived that the people were offended at it: this the soldiers resented, and, after the play, gathered about their general, and loudly called for their comrade, suspecting that he had been punished with death or imprisonment. The soldier soon appeared, and then they would have it that he had been just released from prison; which he denying, he was treated by them with contempt and indignation, as a liar and traitor to his companions. At another time, when Octavius had appointed them a meeting in the field of Mars, for a division of lands, they all assembled before it was light, and began to murmur at their general's tardiness in making his appearance: and a centurion, who reproved them for it, was affronted, pursued, and killed by them, and his body placed in Octavius's way. Octavius, informed of their behaviour, went nevertheless to the field, and, seeing the body of the centurion, turned unconcernedly from it: and, as if it had been the crime of some particular man, and an offence against themselves, he exhorted them, for the future to spare one another, and made his intended division. These two

examples, says Appian, among many others, shew how difficult it is to govern the spirit of the soldiers, when the generals are not commissioned to the command of their armies by lawful authority, and troops are levied, not for the service of their country, but for the interest of private men, who are obliged to soothe them, and depend more on the power of their largesses, than on the fidelity of their adherents, or the authority of the laws.

Year of ROME 711 B. C. 41. 410th consulship.

L. ANTONIUS,
P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS II. } Consuls.

Year of ROME 712. B. C. 40. 411th consulship.

L. Antonius,[f] brother to the triumvir, was now consul with P. Servilius Isauricus II. Cicero every where represents Lucius as a vain, weak man; and Dio tells us, that he was entirely governed by Fulvia, Antony's wife, who possessed all authority in Rome. This imperious lady was greatly grieved to see her husband deliver himself up first to Glaphyra, wife to Archelaus, grand pontiff of Comana; and afterward to Cleopatra; and resolved, by any means, to bring him home, which she believed nothing but a war could effect.[g] Many plausible pretexts were made use of by her to produce a breach between Antony and Octavius, and these she easily found in the present unsettled and troublesome times. Octavius, upon the first marks of her ill-will, sent her daughter back to her, assuring her, at the same time, that she was a virgin. In concert with L. Antonius, she laboured to unite the citizens, who had

[f] He triumphed the 1st of January for some trifling exploits in the Alps. Velleius Paterculus says of him: "Vitiorum fratris sui consors, sed virtutum, quæ interdum in illo erant, expers." L. 2. c. 74. Krause, p. 353.

[g] In an epigram of Octavius against Fulvia, preserved by Martial, she is accused of having solicited the young triumvir, in order to avenge herself of the infidelity of Antony; a very improbable charge, which the Abbé de St. Real insists much upon, as well as several other authors. "Octave (says this writer), qui n'aimoit que par politique, et dont on a dit qu'il n'eut jamais d'autres amours, que celles que son interêt ou son ambition lui inspirerent [certainly neither his interest nor ambition were concerned in his strong and lasting attachment for Livia], ne voulut point etouffer dans sa naissance une guerre formidable, qu'il auroit pu terminer en paroissant moins cruel a une jeune et belle personne." Consid. sur Antoine.—I do not know whether Fulvia was a *belle personne*, but certainly the widow of Clodius, who died above twelve years before, and whose daughter was actually married to Octavius, could not be a very *jeune personne*. B. 11. 21.

Year of ROME 712. B. C. 40. 411th consulship. been turned out of their possessions, and the soldiers, against Octavius: they received, therefore, on one hand, the complaints of the oppressed, and promised them Antony's protection: and, on the other, they publicly declared, that the confiscated goods of the proscribed, and the money raised by Antony in the eastern provinces, were sufficient to pay off the rewards due to the soldiers. They inveighed also against the triumviral power, and gave it out that Antony was ready to restore the ancient government; and their conduct seems to have been extremely well calculated to gain the affections of the people. They began by demanding of Octavius to divide the charge of establishing the veterans in the colonies, so that he might regulate whatever concerned his own soldiers, and they what concerned those of Antony. Octavius alleged, in opposition to this, the authority of the convention made with his colleague; whereby it was stipulated, that the direction of this whole affair should be left entirely to him. The young triumvir found himself in very difficult circumstances. He had incurred the odium of all Italy; he had the coasts to defend the fleets of Pompey and Domitius; and it was incumbent on him to procure corn for the people and soldiers, which was now very scarce, as almost all the passages by sea were stopped up by his enemies, and the produce of the land was consumed by the return of so many legions into Italy. Disorders were committed every day in the city, so that all trading was ruined, and most of the shops shut up: Ventidius, Pollio, Calenus, Plancus, and others, commanded several small armies in different parts of the country; Lucius Antony himself had raised a considerable force: and M. Antony was in great favour with the soldiers, who much esteemed him for his bravery, and loved him for his generosity. Octavius resolved, therefore, if possible, to avoid a rupture, and seems to have consented to the demands of Fulvia and L. Antonius. The latter, taking Antony's children

Vell. Pat. 2. 74.

with him, went a progress through the southern part of Italy: but, upon a quick motion of Octavius's cavalry to the coast of the Bruttii, in order to hinder Pompey from landing there, he fled precipitately to Antony's colonies, and put himself and his nephews under their protection; accusing Octavius of infidelity towards his colleague. Octavius, on the contrary, sent to acquaint them, that there was no shadow of change in the friendship betwixt him and Antony, but that Lucius sought a pretence to make them arm against each other, because he was an enemy to the triumvirate, in the maintenance of whose power the soldiery were concerned, if they would not be driven from their colonies; and that, as for his horse, they were still in the country of the Bruttii, executing his orders. In consequence of this misunderstanding, the Antonian officers held a congress at Theanum, where they prescribed the following terms of peace to Octavius and to L. Antony: "That the triumvirs should not disturb the consuls in the government of the commonwealth; that they should give lands only to those who had served at Philippi; that the money arising from the estates already forfeited, and the prices of those yet to be exposed to sale, should be equally divided between the veterans in Antony's colonies, and the other triumviral troops in Italy; that neither party should make any new levies of men; but that two of the Antonian legions should be employed by Octavius, in the expedition against Pompey; that Salvidienus might pass the Alps and go into Spain, to take the command of the legions in that province, without being impeded by Asinius Pollio; and that Lucius, satisfied with these conditions, should dismiss his guards, and follow the functions of his office in a peaceful manner." These articles were agreed upon; but none of them were carried into execution, except that Salvidienus cleared the passage of the Alps, and joined the army in Spain. Lucius, pretending that his life was in danger, retired to

Year of ROME 712. B.C. 40. — 411th consulship.

Year of ROME 712. B.C. 40. 411th consulship.

the fortress of Præneste; Fulvia fled to Lepidus, putting herself and her children under his protection; and both sent messengers to Antony with letters to give him the alarm, and bring him into Italy.

In this extremity of affairs, Octavius, dreading that Pompey might take advantage of the dispute between him and Fulvia, sent a deputation of his officers to Præneste, to endeavour, if possible, to bring about a reconciliation. These invited Lucius to their meeting; but he was hindered from complying with their request by Manius Rufus, Antony's agent, who was influenced by Fulvia. After a short consultation, Manius answered them in the following terms: "That, while Antony was busy in raising money among strangers, Octavius, by his cringing and flexibility, secured to himself all the militia and all the strong places in Italy: that he had taken away from Antony, Nether Gaul, by enfranchising it and incorporating it into Italy: that, instead of eighteen towns designed for the reward of the veterans, he had granted them almost the whole country: that, instead of twenty-eight legions that were to be provided for, he was planting four-and-thirty legions in Italy: that he had taken money out of the temples, which had never been done before, whatever famine had been in the city; and that, on a pretence of a war with Pompey, but indeed to gain over to himself the soldiery, and to employ them against Antony: that he had sold the goods of the proscribed at such low rates, that it was rather giving than selling them: and that, if he really desired peace, he ought first to give an account of what he had done, and should do nothing, for the future, but what should be resolved upon by common deliberation." This was proposing to take every thing out of the hands of Octavius; who, seeing Antony's party bent upon war, made his preparations with the greatest diligence. Two legions that were quartered in the city of Ancona, informed of this beginning of a civil commotion, sent de-

puties to Rome, to entreat Octavius to consent to an accommodation. Octavius answered, "that he had no design against Antony, but that Lucius would make war upon him." This gave occasion to another negotiation with Lucius, who was engaged by these deputies, in conjunction with several of Antony's officers, to consent to meet Octavius at Gabii, a town which lay at an equal distance from Rome and Præneste: but, a party of Octavius's cavalry having insulted a detachment which L. Antonius had sent to reconnoitre the road, Lucius retreated to his fortress, and neither entreaties nor menaces could prevail upon him to come to the place of meeting. Manifestoes were published on both sides, and an open war declared. Manius published letters from Antony, by which he approved of his brothers proceedings, and required of his officers and soldiers to support him.

Year of ROME 716. B.C. 40. — 411th consulship.

Octavius, who, besides his own proper army, had most of the dismissed veterans on his side, and whose troops acted with the greatest celerity and concert, was an overmatch for Lucius. The consul had for him the good wishes of the city and country, because he had shewed a regard for the complaints of those who had been turned out of their estates, and had declared against the continuation of the triumviral authority, and many towns throughout Italy declared for him. Rome itself, though guarded by two legions under the command of Lepidus, joyfully received him, as soon as Octavius left it to go into Umbria: but he had but six legions of new-raised troops under his own command, and a precarious authority over the lieutenants, who commanded Antony's legions, quartered in the distant parts of Italy. Hearing that Salvidienus was upon his march with a numerous army from Gaul, in order to join Octavius, and was followed in the rear by Asinius Pollio and Ventidius, two of his brother's lieutenants, he marched to meet him, with a view of hemming him in between his army and those

Year of ROME 712. B.C. 40. 411th consulship.

of his friends: but he soon found himself surrounded on all sides; for Agrippa marched after him into Insubria, and hindered his retreat: and Salvidienus guarded the passages with such care, that he prevented his joining Pollio and Ventidius. Not daring, in these circumstances, to venture a battle, he retired to Perusia, a strong town in Hetruria, hoping that the commanders in his interest would find means to come up with him. But Ventidius and Pollio did not exert themselves, and Octavius, bringing up all the remainder of his troops, effectually blockaded him. Fulvia was at Præneste with a number of senators and knights; where, according to Dio, she governed with an absolute authority, presiding in council, and haranguing the soldiers with a sword by her side: she there raised a new army, which she put under the command of Plancus, and was very pressing in her solicitations to procure the junction of the several commanders: but, whether they disapproved of this unseasonable war, or saw it was impossible to disengage Lucius Antonius, Ventidius retired to Ravenna, Pollio to Ariminum, Plancus to Spoletum, and the other commanders, after some motions, remained quiet, and waited the event. Lucius defended the town with great bravery, and made several bold and desperate sallies, but with no proportionable success: till, finding his soldiers reduced to the utmost miseries of famine, he at last came out in person, and, giving himself into Octavius's hands, with great earnestness interceded for his poor soldiers, and begged that his punishment might atone for their crimes. Appian, who gives him a fair character, as a lover of the public welfare, and an enemy to the power of the triumvirate, makes him speak to his army and to Octavius in a very spirited strain. The young triumvir received him very honourably, and with much generosity; and all Lucius's soldiers were pardoned at the desire of Octavius's own men; the town was destined to be plundered, but one of the inhabitants

Perugia.

set fire to his house before he stabbed himself, and the flames, being spread by the wind, consumed the whole city. Ventidius, and the other lieutenants of Antony, made towards the sea-coast. Calenus, who commanded several legions in the Alps, dying at this time, his son surrendered them to Octavius: Fulvia fled to Greece with Plancus: Julia, Antony's mother, with several of her son's principal friends, and, among the rest, with Tiberius Nero, husband to Livia, and father of the emperor Tiberius, sailed for Sicily, and received from Pompey ships to conduct them where they thought proper. Thus ended this dangerous war; and Octavius returned to Rome, where he entered in his triumphal robes, and crowned with laurel.[h] L. Antonius was sent by Octavius into Spain with the honourable title of proconsul, but without any real power; and he probably died there soon after, for there is no more mention of him in history.

Year of ROME 712. B.C. 40. — 411th consulship.

[h] Suetonius in Aug. 15, writes, that, "after the taking of Perusia, Octavius put many of the prisoners to death, answering all that offered to beg pardon, or excuse themselves, briefly—death was the word." Some autuors add, says the same historian, "that 300 of the equestrian and senatorian order, culled out of the rest, were slaughtered like victims, at an altar raised to Julius Cæsar on the ides of March: and others have affirmed, that he entered upon this war, on purpose to engage his secret enemies, and such whose fear more than affection for him kept them quiet, to declare themselves now that they had an opportunity of doing it, with Lucius Antony at their head; and that, by the defeat of them, and the confiscation of their estates, he might be enabled to make good his promises to the veteran soldiers."

Appian writes, that he only put to death the senators of Perusia, with a few of his most inveterate enemies; and that he was constrained to this step by his soldiers. Paterculus also has said the same thing: "in Perusinos magis ira militum, quam voluntate sævitum ducis." Lib. 2. p. 74.

CHAP. III.

Antony carries over his troops into Italy, and is joined in his passage by Domitius, with his fleet. Sextus Pompey, courted by Octavius, offers his assistance to Antony. The differences of the two triumvirs are composed by their common friends, and Antony marries Octavia. An agreement is made with Pompey. A new division is made of the empire. Ventidius's exploits against the Parthians.

Year of ROME 713. B.C. 39.

GN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS II. } Consuls.
C. ASINIUS POLLIO, }

419th consulship.

ANTONY was still immersed in pleasure at Alexandria, when he received the account of his brother's defeat, and the ruin of his party in Italy; and that Octavius had made himself master of both Gauls, and had got all the legions into his hands that were quartered in those parts. About the same time he received advice, that the Parthians, commanded by Pacorus, their king's son, and Labienus,[1] had made themselves masters of Syria and Judea, had sacked Jerusalem, and carried away Hircanus, the high-priest, and Herod's brother, prisoners. These disagreeable and disgraceful tidings roused him from his lethargy: he immediately gathered together 200 ships, and a considerable army which he had ready in those parts. His design was to march immediately against the Parthians: but the pressing letters he received from his wife Fulvia, and his friends, obliged him to turn towards Italy. He went from Alexandria to Tyre, from whence passing by the isles of Cyprus and Rhodes, he arrived at Athens, where he met Fulvia. He much blamed her and his brother Lucius for occasioning the late disorders, and here he understood that Octavius had lately married Scribonia, the sister of Libo, Pompey's father-in-law, a lady much more advanced in years than himself; and in which alliance he could have no other view than to gain over Pompey to his party for the sake of his shipping, of which he was almost destitute. Antony advanced therefore towards Italy, leaving Fulvia

[1] This Labienus was the son of Titus Labienus, who had been Cæsar's lieutenant in Gaul.

sick at Sicyon; which neglect and scorn finished what Year of
his infidelity had begun, and she died there soon after ROME 713.
of grief. In these circumstances, it was a satisfaction to B.C. 39.
Antony to see himself courted by Pompey: this com- 412th consul-
mander, instead of closing with Octavius, chose to treat ship.
with Antony, and sent Libo to him under the pretence of conducting to him Julia, his mother. Antony acted with great discretion, and answered, that, if he was obliged to make war against Octavius, he would willingly accept of Pompey's proposal; and if, on the con- Flor. lib.
trary, their differences should be amicably determined, 4. c. 9. Plut. in
he would take care to reconcile him with his colleague. Anton
Domitius Ahenobarbus joined him in his passage over the Ionian sea; and, after having kept an independent fleet since the battle of Philippi, surrendered to him with all his ships and forces. With this reinforcement he appeared before Brundusium, where he was refused admittance, under the pretence that he brought with him Domitius, who was an enemy to Cæsar. Antony, upon this, blocked up the place, and sent to Pompey in Sicily to engage him to invade Sardinia and Italy. Octavius marched directly to Brundusium, where the old soldiers being unwilling to fight against Antony, the army endeavoured by all methods to reconcile the two competitors; and this was at length brought about by the management and interposition of Cocceius Nerva, Pollio, and Mecænas. In consequence of this agreement, all offences and affronts were to be mutually forgiven, and a marriage was proposed between Antony and Octavius's half-sister Octavia, the widow of Marcellus, a lady of great beauty and of extraordinary virtues and accomplishments. Though Cleopatra had so large a share in Antony's heart, yet he could not without baseness refuse a lady of Octavia's rank and admirable qualities; and, to avoid all present inconveniences, he married her. Manius, Antony's agent in Italy, and Salvidienus, Octavius's chief lieutenant, were the victims of

Year of ROME 713. B.C. 39. 412th consulship.

this reconciliation. The first was put to death by Antony's order, as the chief author of the Perusian war. The second was accused before the senate by Octavius of treasonable practices, and sentenced to die; which sentence he executed upon himself. The historians tell us, that Salvidienus offered his services to Antony during the siege of Brundusium; and that Antony, upon his reconciliation, informed Octavius of the treachery of his lieutenant. A new division of the Roman empire was made upon this renewal of peace and amity, by which Codropolis, a town of Illyricum, was made the boundary of their dominions: all from that place westward, being to obey Octavius, and all eastward Antony; Africa was left to Lepidus.

After this division, Antony immediately dispatched Ventidius into Asia against the Parthians. But the troubles at home seemed much greater to both Antony and Octavius, who were now entertained with the sad and lamentable complaints of poor people, ready to starve for want of provisions; which Pompey hindered from coming either from the east or west by means of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, which he had in his power; and from Africa by his navy, which was then very powerful. Octavius, on account of some former affronts, would not be brought to any accommodation with Pompey, notwithstanding the continual cries and prayers of the multitude, whose rage and fury came at last to that height, that he was nigh being stoned by them, and Antony too by coming to his assistance. At last, both triumvirs and Pompey were so far persuaded as to come to an interview upon two bridges built upon stakes driven into the sea, a little off the promontory of Misenum; the two triumvirs accompanied by their troops drawn up upon the shore, and Pompey by a numerous fleet; but, the latter demanding large privileges for the proscribed persons, and to be admitted into the power and place of Lepidus, the treaty was ineffectual. Yet the pressing

Appian.

necessities and frequent mutinies of the people brought them together a second time, where, amongst other articles, it was concluded, that "Pompey should retain all the islands he was then in possession of, and also Peloponnesus: that he should be made augur, and have the privilege of demanding the consulship in his absence, and of discharging that office by any of his friends; that he should leave the sea open, and pay the people what corn was due from Sicily; that those who had taken refuge with him, out of fear, should be restored to their possessions and privileges, and lose only their moveables; that the proscribed persons, except such as were guilty of Cæsar's death, should have all liberty to return, and receive a fourth part of their estates; and that he himself should receive 70,000,000 of sesterces." This treaty was signed by the generals, and was then sent to Rome to be kept by the vestals. Thus a peace was concluded to the great joy and satisfaction of all the people. The three chiefs thought of treating each other on this occasion; and it fell by lot to Pompey to give the first entertainment. He received them accordingly on board his ship: and, while they were at supper, Menas, his admiral, whispered him in the ear: "Allow me to cut the cables, and you are master of the world." Pompey, after a moment's reflection, answered, "You should have done it without consulting me; Pompey cannot perjure himself." The two guests heard nothing of what was said, and the entertainment was concluded with as much gaiety as it had begun. Antony and Octavius treated Pompey in their turns; and these rejoicings seemed to speak the sincerity of their union.[k]

Year of ROME 713. B.C. 39. 41st consulship.

565,104l. Vell. Pat. 2. 77.

[k] The two consuls of this year, Calvinus and Pollio, laid down their office before the end of their nominal magistracy, in favour of L. Cornelius Balbus, a friend of Octavius, and of P. Canidius Crassus, one of Antony's officers, whom we shall soon see at the head of his land-army. Pollio, when divested of the consulship, was sent to make war against the Parthians, a people of Illyria, who had shewn a strong attachment to Brutus. He took the town of Salona, and performed other exploits, which entitled him to a triumph. His colleague Calvinus obtained the same honour for some success against the Cerritani in Spain. During their consulate, Herod

Year of ROME 714. B.C. 38.

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS, } Consuls.
C. CALVISIUS SABINUS, }

413th consulship.

The noise of civil discord now ceased for awhile; and Octavius and Antony were welcomed to Rome with the loudest acclamations. The other chief sailed back to his islands. Before they separated, they named, it is said, the consuls for the four following years; Antony and Libo for the first, Octavius and Pompey for the second, Domitius and Sosius for the third, and Antony and Octavius for the fourth. This nomination, however, did not take place.

The stay which Octavius and Antony made at Rome was not long. Octavius, to keep his soldiers in action, sent a detachment of them into Illyricum, and led the rest into Gaul, where there were some disturbances; and Antony departed for the east, to carry on the war against the Parthians. This war his lieutenant Ventidius had managed with great success, having overthrown Labienus and Barzapharnes in two engagements, in which these two generals perished. Antony, being informed in his way of these particulars, stopped at Athens, where he passed the winter, and gave himself over to his pleasures and diversions in the company of Octavia, with whom he is said to have been in love at this time. He quitted, during his residence there, all the ensigns of authority, and affected to live like a private person. He neglected business altogether, and divided his time between love, philosophy, and entertainments.

Year of ROME 715. B.C. 37.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER, } Consuls.
C. NORBANUS FLACCUS, }

414th consulship.

Antony, in the beginning of this year, thought of re-

was made king of the Jews by a decree of the senate, and old Deiotarus, that good ally of the Aristocratians, died, leaving behind him, among other memorable deeds, that of having murdered all his children, but the one whom he destined for his heir.

suming the general. A jealousy perhaps of the honour acquired by his lieutenant had seized him at this time; and he left Athens to gather those laurels which properly belonged to him. But, before he arrived at the army, Ventidius had put an end to the war by a complete victory which he had gained over Pacorus. This brave prince perished in the battle, and all his men were destroyed, excepting those who found protection in Samosatis, the capital town of Commagena, where Antiochus reigned. Ventidius, who was afraid of offending Antony, did not pursue all the advantages of this victory. In the prosecution, however, of the war, he laid siege to Samosatis, which he would have taken in a short time, if Antony had not sent express orders to him to wait his arrival. As the justice, generosity, and bravery, of the young Parthian prince had endeared all the Syrians to his person, and there were no hopes of bringing back to their duty several towns and princes in those parts, while they thought him alive, Ventidius caused his head to be carried about the province, and thus completely revenged upon the Parthians the cruelty and indignity they were guilty of, in regard to Crassus and his brave and generous sons. When Antony arrived, he took upon him the command of the siege of Samosatis, but his behaviour in the conduct of it procured him no honour. The town was bravely defended, and Antiochus at last purchased of him a peace for 300 talents, though he had offered Ventidius 1000 before his arrival. After this exploit, away he flew to his dear Octavia at Athens. He was decreed a triumph in Rome for the victories of Ventidius; and this brave general was likewise admitted to the same honour. The triumph decreed to Antony was never exhibited; but Ventidius celebrated his, this same year, on the 28th of December, with great pomp; and the circumstance of his having been formerly led in triumph, in his infancy, added to the public joy, and to the glory of this distinction.

Year of ROME 715. B. C. 37. — 414th consulship.

58,125l. sterl.

Year of ROME 715. B. C. 37.

CHAP. IV.

414th consulship.

The renewal of the war between the triumvirs and Sextus Pompey. Octavius's preparations. His bad success in several naval engagements. He at last destroys Sextus's fleet, and obliges him to quit Sicily. He dispossesses Lepidus of his army and the triumviral power, and applies himself to gain the affections of all orders of men.

THE peace which had been concluded between Pompey and the triumvirs was not of long continuance. Antony, who by the articles of it was obliged to quit Peloponnesus, would not do it till Pompey had satisfied him for such monies as were due to him from the inhabitants. Pompey would by no means hearken to this, but immediately began, contrary to his engagements, to augment his forces. He also secretly authorized the pirates to seize the provisions destined for Italy, which renewed the former grievances and miseries, and made the people complain, that the only change in their situation was, that they had four tyrants instead of three. Menas, one of Pompey's freedmen, in whom he had hitherto placed the greatest confidence, had opposed the peace, and now excited him to a rupture; yet, soon after, upon a suspicion of a change in his master's affections, he revolted to Octavius, and delivered up to him Sardinia and Corsica with three legions and sixty galleys. Sextus demanded him back, and, upon receiving a refusal, he sent a squadron to pillage the coast of Campania. Octavius, on his side, took the treaty of Misenum out of the hands of the vestals, alleging, that by this hostility it was broke, and summoned Antony and Lepidus to come to his assistance. But, neither of them making haste to comply, he was obliged to act by himself; and he soon gathered two numerous fleets, one composed mostly of the vessels of Menas, and commanded by Calvisius Sabinus; another built and equipped on the Adriatic coast, under the conduct of L. Cornificius. These two fleets were to attack Sicily on two sides, and cause a diversion of the forces of the enemy, while his

legions passed from Reggio into the island. But Sextus, who was in readiness for a vigorous defence, sent a squadron under the conduct of Menecrates against Calvisius, and destroyed most of his ships near Cuma; and he waited himself, at Messana, the approach of the other fleet. This also was beat back by Pompey, and, when lying at anchor, was almost entirely destroyed. Octavius, who was on board of it, got on shore with much difficulty, and, having saved what men and vessels he could, contented himself, for the present, in distributing his land-forces along the coast, till he could get together another fleet.

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Octavius was married this year to Livia, so famous for having engaged his constant affection during his whole life. She had lately returned to Rome with her husband Tiberius Nero, under the security of the peace of Misenum; and, by her refined and dexterous wit more than her beauty, she made such a deep impression on his heart, that, in order to procure her, he broke through all the rules of decency. Scribonia was divorced from him, the very day she was brought to bed of the famous Julia; and Tiberius Nero was constrained to yield up to him his wife, though she was six months gone with child. The scruple arising from this circumstance was removed by the college of augurs. The question was put to them, "Whether a woman, with child by her husband, could be lawfully married to another man before childbirth?" They said, "that, since there could be no doubt to whom the child belonged, Livia was free to marry, though pregnant, the law forbidding it only when that was uncertain." The lady was delivered three months afterward of Drusus, whom Octavius immediately sent to Tiberius.[1]

[1] Sueton. in Galba, c. 1. (B. Crus. vol. 2. p. 177.) Liviæ olim, post Augusti statim nuptias Vejentanum suum revisenti, præter volans aquila gallinam albam, ramulum lauri rostro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, demisit in gremium: cumque nutrici alitem, pangi ramulum placuisset, tanta pullorum soboles provenit, ut hodie quoque ea villa 'ad Gallinas' vocetur; tale vero lauretum, ut triumphaturi Cæsares inde laureas decerperent; fuitque mos triumphantibus, illas confestim eodem loco pan-

Year of ROME 715. B.C. 37. — 414th consulship.

The five years of the triumvirate were now almost expired; and the triumvirs prolonged their power for five years more, without regarding the suffrages either of the senate or the people.

Year of ROME 716. B.C. 36. — 416th consulship.

M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA, } Consuls.
L. CANIDIUS GALLUS, }

Canidius was a creature of Antony's; and Agrippa was a faithful servant of Octavius; a man of low birth, but who had great talents for war and for a court. He had lately brought back to their duty the rebellious Gauls, and in this expedition had passed the Rhine. Octavius, with the consulship, had procured him a decree for a triumph: but he rejected this distinction as unbecoming, at a time when his general had been unsuccessful. The whole year of their consulship was spent in making preparations against Pompey. Agrippa was charged with the care of building a new fleet, and exercising the rowers and seamen; and he acquitted himself of this double employment with great zeal and capacity, overlooking the carpenters, and presiding over the exercises, in which 20,000 slaves were instructed. He executed also another noble work, the Julian port, formed by the junction of the lakes Lucrinus and Avernus with the sea; in which the greatest fleets might be received, and find sufficient shelter from the winds and tides. The lake Lucrinus, situated between Misenum and Puteoli, was separated from the sea by an old causey a mile in length, and of a sufficient breadth to allow a waggon to pass. Agrippa repaired and raised this causey, which, being weakened in several places, was frequently

gere.—Plinius, 15. 30. Liviæ Drusillæ, quæ postea Augusta matrimonii nomen accepit, cum pacta esset illa Cæsari, gallinam conspicui candoris sedenti aquila ex alto abjecit in gremium illæsam: intrepideque miranti accessit miraculum, quoniam teneret rostro laureum ramum onustum suis baccis. Conservari alitem et sobolem jussere aruspices, ramumque eum seri ac rite custodiri. Quod factum est in villa Cæsarum, fluvio Tiberi, imposita, juxta nonum lapidem Flaminia via, quæ ob id vocatur, 'ad Gallinas.' mireque silva provenit. Ex ea triumphans postea Cæsar, laurum in manu tenuit, coronamque capite gessit: ac deinde imperatores Cæsares cuncti. (Variorum, vol. 2. p 220.) Dio eadem habet libro 4. 8vo. p. 389.

overflowed. He cut two openings in it to allow a passage for ships; and, from the bottom of the lake Lucrinus, he drew a canal to the lake Avernus, which last properly formed the port, and afforded a secure retreat to vessels. It is reported, that in order to correct the bad quality of the air, which was supposed to be infectious and pestilential, Agrippa cut down the forests which grew on the borders of the Avernus, and thus, by giving a free circulation to the air, made it a healthful and pleasant situation. It was here he assembled all the new vessels built in the several ports of Italy, and exercised the rowers and sailors.[m] Year of ROME 716. B. C. 36. 415th consulship. Serv. in Virg. Æn. 3. 442.

L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA, M. COCCEIUS NERVA, } Consuls. Year of ROME 717. B. C. 35.

Antony, in the beginning of this year, appeared before Brundusium, with a fleet of 300 sail; and pretended that he came to assist Octavius in the war against Pompey: but Octavius, having now gathered a very powerful force at sea, could willingly have dispensed with his colleague's civility. Plutarch says, that he came rather as an enemy than a friend; and the new disgusts that arose between them, at this time, seem to favour his opinion. Antony, it has been said, was not willing that Octavius should have all the honour and profit of the conquest of Sicily, and was desirous to exchange a part of his fleet, which was a great expense to him, for 416th consulship. Plut. in Ant.

m "An memorem portus, Lucrinoque addita claustra,
Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor,
Julia quà ponto longè sonat unda refuso,
Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur æstus Avernis?" Virg. Georg. 2. 161.

——— "Sive receptus
Terrà Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet
Regis opus." Hor. Art. Poet. v. 63.

This noble and royal work does not seem to have been of any lasting use. Strabo, who wrote under the emperor Tiberius, takes very little notice of it; and, in the history of later ages, it is seldom mentioned. The face of these places was entirely changed in 1538, by an earthquake, which in one night raised a great part of the bottom of the lake Lucrinus, and the adjacent fields, into a mountain 500 feet high, called now Monte Nuovo, which is covered particularly on one side with the scoriæ of melted metal, and has a hollow in its summit, which is near a mile and a half in circumference.

Year of ROME 717. B.C. 35.

416th consulship.

a land army, which he wanted in order to push the war against the Parthians. But, whatever were the causes of their discontent, certain it is that they began to consider each other as rivals, and shewed openly their dissatisfaction. Antony was refused admittance into the port of Brundusium, and therefore landed at Tarentum, where Octavia, who accompanied him, obtained his leave to go to her brother, and clear up all misunderstandings. Octavius received her with the courtesy suitable to the great affection he had for her, but was yet so backward in answering her requests, that she publicly addressed herself to his two great friends, Agrippa and Mæcenas: "All mankind (said she) have their eyes fixed upon me, and congratulate me for partaking of the grandeur of two powerful generals. I am the wife of the one, and the sister of the other. But, if an ill destiny should lead them to war with each other, I shall be miserable without redress; I shall be reduced to the fatal necessity of losing a husband or a brother." Her entreaties had, at length, so much weight, that Octavius consented to meet Antony between Tarentum and Metapontum. From the place chosen for their interview, it appeared that the young triumvir intended to have a small river between him and his colleague. But Antony, who did not want generosity, when he saw Octavius approach, leaped into a boat, that he might cross over to him. This Octavius perceived, and imitating the example, they met in the middle of the stream, and there disputed who should go over to the other. Octavius prevailed, as he declared that he had an intention to go to Tarentum to see his sister. They soon agreed between themselves, and against Sextus. Antony lent Octavius 120 vessels, and received from him 20,000 legionary soldiers: and, in consideration of ten light ships of war, Octavia obtained for her husband 1000 chosen men, who were to serve him as a guard. They also, that they might confirm their negotiations, pro-

jected a double marriage; the one of Antyllus, the eldest son of Antony, with Julia, daughter to Octavius, who was not three years old; and the other of Antonia, the daughter of Antony and Octavia, who was still younger, with the son of Domitius Ahenobarbus; which last took place, and began the alliance between the family of Domitius and Cæsar. Having thus adjusted their differences, they took leave of each other: Antony returned into the east with his new legions, leaving Octavia in Italy: and Octavius, on his side, strengthened with such a considerable navy, applied himself entirely to the war against Sextus.[n]

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Octavius determined to invade Sicily from three several quarters: Lepidus was to make a descent from Africa; Statilius Taurus from Tarentum, with the ships left by Antony; and he himself, with his new-built fleet, from the Julian port: and the three armies set out, by agreement, on the 1st of July.[o] But, on the third day after they had set sail, a violent tempest arose, and rendered useless, at least for a time, these formidable preparations. Lepidus alone landed his men in Sicily, on the coast of Lilybæum. Taurus was forced back to Tarentum; and Octavius's squadron, having no port near to put in at, suffered greatly. Sextus, who, on this occasion, sacrificed solemnly to Neptune, took for his colour the sea-green, instead of the purple; and Octavius, on his side, declared he would conquer in spite of Neptune. Lepidus was able to keep footing in Sicily, for he had sailed with 1000 vessels of burden and seventy

[n] Appian tells us, that before he began any military operations, he purified his new fleet by the religious ceremony of a lustration, which was performed after the following manner: altars were erected in the sea a little off the shore, and the ships with all their respective crews, in a profound silence, were ranked in order before them; the priests sacrificed, standing in the water; then placed the victims in a pinnace, with which they rowed thrice round the fleet, followed by other boats, in which were all the principal commanders; all offering prayers, that if the fleet was threatened with any misfortune, it might fall upon the victims. The victims were divided into two parts, and one half of them was thrown into the sea, the other half burnt upon the altars, whilst all the multitude made their prayers.

[o] According to Dio, lib. 49. p. 392. in the beginning of spring.—We shall follow Appian in the account of this war, his relation being as authentic and more consistent than any other.

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galleys, which carried over twelve legions, 5000 Numidian horse, and all things necessary for their subsistence.

Pompey hoped that, after so many losses, Octavius would lie quiet; but when he heard that he had refitted his fleet, and was preparing to invade Sicily again, that very summer, he sent the perfidious Menas, who had already abandoned the party of Octavius, and had returned to his old master, to observe the motions of his enemy. Menas, ill satisfied with the reception he had met with from Pompey, who had trusted him with no other command than that of the seven ships which he had brought back with him, and which he commanded in the present expedition, resolved once more to change sides. To this purpose, imagining that whatever happened, it would be for his advantage to do some brave and valiant action, he distributed all the money he had among his companions, and sailing directly towards Octavius's fleet, he fell unexpectedly upon the guard-ships; then, going off, and falling on again, he carried away sometimes two of them, and sometimes three: he picked up also in the very ports several ships laden with corn, and sunk and burnt those he could not carry off, and filled the coast with terror. He grew so bold that he even came to an anchor in a bay upon the coast, where he lay as if he had been fast in the ouze, till his enemies, running down from the mountains as to an assured prey, he gently rowed off, deriding them, to the grief and astonishment of the whole army. After he had thus made known his importance to Cæsar, he thought of giving a favourable impression of himself, by performing an act of generosity; and he dismissed without ransom a senator called Rebilus, who was among the prisoners he had taken. He then raised a report amongst his people, that they should soon have a fugitive of consequence, Vinidius Marcellus, an intimate friend of Octavius, whose affection he had found means to engage.

Deceived by this pretext, his soldiers permitted him to have a conference with Vinidius, in one of the neighbouring islands; and he told Vinidius that, when he left Cæsar's party, he had been forced to it by the injuries he daily received from Calvisius, at that time admiral; but that, since Agrippa had now the command of the navy, he was ready to return to Cæsar's service, provided Vinidius would bring him a safe-conduct from Messala, who, in Agrippa's absence, commanded on the coast. He also promised, by some signal service, to repair his fault. Messala sent the safe-conduct, and Menas came over to Octavius, who permitted the officers of his ships to go where they pleased, and pardoned Menas; but gave him no command, and had a strict watch kept over him.[p]

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When the fleet was in readiness, Octavius came to Vibo, where he gave orders to Messala to pass over into Sicily, with two legions, in order to join Lepidus's army, and to land in the gulf of Taurominium: he sent three likewise to Stylida, which is the very extremity of the strait, to wait a fair opportunity; and commanded Taurus to cruise with his fleet from Tarentum to Scylaceum, which lies opposite to Taurominium. Pompey, on his side, placed good garrisons in all the places of the coast, where any forces could land; and kept his fleet at Messana, ready to sail upon the first order. While these preparations were going forward, Lepidus, having sent for the remainder of his forces, which consisted of four legions, Papias, one of Pompey's lieutenants, met them in the open sea, and sunk and burnt several of the vessels in which they had embarked, forcing the rest to return to Africa. Two of the legions were cut off, and those of them, who thought to save themselves by swimming to the coast of Sicily, were there massacred by the order of Titisienus Gallus, another of Pompey's lieute-

[p] This perfidious wretch, if we can believe Horace, lived afterward in great opulence, and served in the capacity of a military tribune. See Epod. 4.

Year of ROME 717. B.C. 35. nants. Papias, after this success, returned to Pompey; and the two legions, who recovered Africa, found means to cross over to Lepidus.

416th consulship. Cæsar himself passed, with his main fleet, from Vibo to Strongyle, one of the Æolian or Vulcanian islands, and, seeing several camps on the coast of Sicily on that side, he supposed Pompey was there in person; and therefore, leaving Agrippa in that station, he returned to Vibo, and immediately joined Messala, with a design to lay hold of the opportunity of Pompey's absence to surprise Taurominium, and to fall upon Sicily on both sides at once. Agrippa sailed from Strongyle to Hiera, another island, which lay nearest to the coast of Sicily; and determined the next day to make an attack upon Mylæ, and a fleet of forty sail, which lay there under the command of Demochares. Pompey, apprized of his intention, sent from Messana forty more ships to Demochares, under the command of Apollophanes, another of his freedmen, who was followed by Papias, with seventy others. Agrippa, before day, weighed anchor with half his ships, designing only to fight with Papias, with whom, by his intelligence, he expected to meet; but, when he saw Apollophanes's fleet followed by another of seventy sail, he sent presently to give notice to Octavius, that Pompey was at Mylæ, with the greatest part of his naval force: and, placing himself in the middle of his great ships, sent to the rest at Hiera to join him without delay. The ships of the two admirals, Papias and Agrippa, magnificently equipped with towers on poop and prow, began the fight, and gave the signals to the others, who instantly charged with great violence some stem and stem, others standing off to gain their enemy's broadside, and fall on with greater force. Great was the noise made by the ships shocking against each other, and greater the shouts of the men.

Pompey's ships were middle-sized, light and easy to manage, and of course more active than those of the

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enemy, and, by their swiftness, fit to take all advantages in boarding; Octavius's being greater and more heavy, were of consequence less nimble, but by their superior strength, they gave the shock with more violence, and were able to receive it. Octavius had the best soldiers, and Pompey the most skilful mariners. These charged not right forwards upon Cæsar's great ships, but, sheering by them, sometimes broke a whole line of oars, sometimes carried away their rudders, and sometimes suddenly bringing about, they attacked them with their beak-heads. But, when Octavius's ships could reach any of these light-timbered vessels, they pressed upon them so furiously, that he either staved them or bored them through and through; and, if they came at any time to fight board and board, the Cæsarean soldiers, from their great ships, miserably knocked their enemies down with missile arms thrown from aloft; and, casting in their grappling-hooks, easily stopped them; so that, the service being too hard to be borne, the Pompeians had no other way to save themselves but by leaping into the sea, where skiffs, appointed for that purpose, took them up. Meanwhile, Agrippa, whose main design was upon Papias's ship, gave him so cruel a shock in the bow, that he opened all his keel, and those in the forecastle presently fell, and, the water entering, all the lower bank of rowers were drowned; the rest upon planks saved themselves by swimming. Papias himself was received into the next ship, and renewed the fight.

When Pompey, who from the top of a mountain was spectator of the fight, saw that his people never came near any of the enemy's ships without great loss of men, and that the rest of Agrippa's fleet was sailing from Hiera to his assistance; he made a signal for his men to retreat, which they did at first gradually, still fighting with great bravery: but, being closely pressed upon, they all, at last, fairly fled, and took refuge in the mouths

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of several rivers, where Agrippa's pilots advised him not to hazard his heavy vessels on account of the flats. He came, therefore, to an anchor in sight of them in the open sea, as if he designed to attack them in the night; but, his officers admonishing him not to over-harass the soldiers, or be too confident in the present calmness of the sea, he retreated towards the evening; and Pompey's ships got into the harbour. Agrippa lost in this battle but five vessels, and Pompey thirty. The latter, nevertheless, commended his men for having so well defended themselves against ships so superior in height and strength, nor were his rewards less than if they had been victorious. He also gave them hopes, that, by fighting in the straits, they would have better success, as their light ships would better stem the current; and he promised withal to add somewhat to the height of them.

At the same time, this brave commander gave himself no rest; judging rightly that Octavius was gone to Taurus's camp to execute his design upon Taurominium, he set sail for Messana, leaving at Mylæ a part of his ships to make Agrippa believe he was still there. Agrippa, on the other side, having given a little repose to his men, sailed towards Tyndaris, which had promised to surrender. The inhabitants were willing to receive him, but the garrison defended the place so valiantly that they drove him from it; yet some other towns revolting to him, received his garrisons, and towards night he returned to his fleet. Octavius, on his side, being well assured that Pompey was gone from Messana to Mylæ to meet Agrippa, came from Scylaceum to Leucopetra, from whence he proposed to pass by night to Taurominium; but, having information there of Agrippa's victory, he thought there was no longer any reason to conceal his embarkation, and determined to sail in broad daylight, not suspecting that Pompey would remove far from Agrippa. Day then beginning to appear, he took

a view of the sea from the mountains as far as his sight could reach, and, spying none of the enemy's ships, he went on board, loading the ships with all the soldiers he could put into them; leaving the rest with Messala till the ships returned to fetch them. Being come near to Taurominium, he summoned the place to surrender; but, the garrison refusing, he passed on beyond the river Onobala, and the temple of Venus, and landed near Archigetes, where, having offered prayers to the gods, he encamped. He was beginning the circumvallation of his camp, when Pompey was descried coming with a great fleet, to the astonishment of all the army, who thought he had been quite ruined by Agrippa. Along the shore likewise came horsemen, striving in swiftness to outpass the fleet; and in several parts were seen great bodies of foot. Cæsar's people, seeing themselves thus surrounded, were utterly dismayed. Octavius himself was in the greatest anxiety, because it was now impossible for Messala to join him. The horse first fell among Octavius's men still employed in their trenches; and, if the fleet and foot had come on at the same time, Pompey would probably have gained an important victory; but, being ignorant of the terror his enemies were in, and not inclining to come to battle in the evening, he ordered the fleet to retreat to the promontory of Coccyna, and the foot, who durst not lodge near Octavius's camp, to the town of Phænissa. The night following, the Cæsarians fortified their camp. They consisted of three legions, 500 horsemen without horses, about 1000 light-armed foot, and 2000 veteran volunteers, besides the sea-forces. Cæsar, not doubting but Pompey would attack his camp, left the defence of it to Cornificius, whom he ordered to defend himself to the last extremity; and he embarked himself before daylight to return to Italy for fresh succours. Pompey, however, did not think it advisable to attack his camp, but fell upon his fleet with the utmost violence. The fight

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lasted till night. Many of Octavius's ships were taken, and the rest, a small number excepted, were either sunk or burnt. A few of his sailors who could swim escaped to Cornificius's camp, who sent his light-armed foot to receive them. Octavius rowed a great way in the night in a small galley; but, being hotly pursued, he was obliged to get into a small boat, that he might not draw the attention of the Pompeian captains; and, at length, by good fortune, he reached the port of Abala, where he landed with only one attendant; spent with fatigue, and overwhelmed with grief on account of his defeat. He was thence conveyed to Messala's camp, which was not far distant. As soon as he got thither, he dispatched a brigantine to Cornificius, to let him know that he would soon come to his relief; and the same night he went to Stylida, where Carinas was with three legions: and, being ready to put to sea, he gave him orders to pass over directly to Lipara, and there wait for him; and he wrote likewise to Agrippa, that, considering the danger Cornificius was in, he should with all speed send to him Laronius with the best of his forces. At the same time Mæcenas was sent to Rome, to take cognizance of some disturbances there, and put a stop to them: and this he effected by his prudence and severity.

Lipara, the chief of the Æolian islands, which has several good havens.

Cornificius, being much straitened, for want of provisions, drew out his legions to provoke the enemy to fight; but Pompey would not hazard the fortune of a battle against troops who had nothing but their arms to trust to, and whom he hoped to reduce by famine. It was therefore necessary that Cornificius should abandon his camp; and, having placed those, who had escaped from the sea-fight, and who were without arms, in the midst of the legions, he began to march towards Mylæ. In this desperate undertaking his troops were not less obstructed by the mountains and difficult ways they had to pass, than by the enemy's cavalry and light-armed

foot. Appian tells us that, on the fourth day, they came upon a burnt soil, which the Sicilians call the "torrent of fire," and which reaches from Mount Ætna to the sea. Here the army suffered greatly; not only from an uncommon heat, but from a suffocating dust and thirst: and the enemy was also the more troublesome, as these inconveniences did not permit Cornificius to halt a moment in order to repel them. When they drew near to the straits at the end of this burning ground, they found their enemies in possession of them, and were forced to carry them sword in hand; but when they saw before them other straits, which were likewise guarded by fresh troops, they lost heart, and made a stop, being quite spent with thirst, heat, and fatigue; yet, encouraged by their chief, who assured them there was a fountain close by, they renewed the fight, and drove the enemy before them, not without very considerable loss: but other enemies were still masters of the fountain, so that now they gave themselves over to grief and despair. In this extremity, Laronius appeared at some distance with three legions, which Agrippa, according to Octavius's orders, had sent to their relief. The enemy, imagining that Agrippa's whole convoy was at hand, deserted the fountain; and the soldiers of Cornificius ran to it with the utmost precipitation; and, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of their officers, they drank so excessively, that some of them died upon the spot. In this manner did Cornificius make good his retreat. Octavius, who had brought him into such distress, loaded him and his troops with praises and rewards; and Cornificius, it is said, was so proud of his success, that he went to Rome, he never supped abroad, but he returned mounted upon an elephant, in commemoration of this dangerous expedition.

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Dio, l. 49. p. 396.

The taking of Tyndaris, which was effected by Agrippa, laid the island open to Octavius, who immediately transported into it twenty-one legions, 20,000 horse, and

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5000 light-armed troops. Then Lepidus, who hitherto had kept near Lilybæum, advanced into the country; and the two triumviri united their forces before the walls of Messana.

Pompey, seeing himself overpowered at land, and his affairs in a declining posture, and fearing, in consequence of that, the desertion of his officers and soldiers, was desirous to decide the quarrel by a general battle; and challenged Octavius to a sea-fight with 300 ships on a side. Octavius did not think it proper to refuse the challenge;[q] and, the day being agreed upon, the two fleets met in good order between Mylæ and Naulocus. Agrippa commanded the fleet of Octavius; and Demochares and Apollophanes that of Pompey. The battle was fierce, and the victory for a long time doubtful. At last Agrippa prevailed, and chiefly by means of the grappling-iron which he had prepared. It was a strong shaft, five cubits long, bound round with iron, with a ring of the same metal in each end. In the one was the hook of iron; in the other, small ropes were made fast, which were commanded by a windlass in the ship. When an enemy's vessel therefore approached to do mischief, the iron hook was forcibly darted against it from a machine. If it struck, the windlass instantly played, and before the iron-shod shaft, or the ropes could be cut, the vessel attacked was drawn close to the other and boarded. Of the 300 Pompeian ships, but seventeen escaped. This great victory was purchased with the loss of only three ships, according to Dio. Demochares, seeing his ship in the power of the enemy, killed himself; Apollophanes, Pompey's other admiral, who could have made off, delivered himself up.

L. 49. p. 398.

[q] Dio, lib. 49. p. 397, tells us, that Octavius, though he was sensible that Pompey would be soon in very great distress, consented to give battle on the account of the uneasiness Lepidus gave him; who, pretending to an equality of command, and not having been treated by his colleague with the respect he thought due to him, had opened a negotiation with Pompey. If so, he had a very good reason to accept of Pompey's challenge; for at sea Lepidus would have no share in the battle, and nothing was to be feared from his ill-humour.

The land-army, commanded by Titisienus, surrendered, upon this defeat, to Octavius; and this defection made Pompey determine immediately to leave the island. Having therefore put on board his seventeen ships all that he had that was valuable, he sailed for Asia, hoping to find protection from Antony in requital of that which he had given to his mother Julia, and many of his friends. But before he set out he sent for Plennius, one of his lieutenants, who had under his command eight legions. Plennius obeyed his orders; but, not arriving till Pompey was gone, he threw himself into Messana, which was soon besieged in form by the armies of the two triumvirs; the one commanded by Agrippa, the other by Lepidus. Plennius, seeing it was madness to make any resistance, sent deputies to the two generals to treat of a capitulation: Agrippa desired that the affair should be deferred till the next day, when Octavius would be present; but Lepidus received them upon terms, and, to get the army of Plennius into his own possession, gave them an equal share in the plunder of the city, which was that very night sacked by both armies. This weak man, finding himself now at the head of an army of two-and-twenty legions, conceived hopes, and laid a design of seizing upon Sicily:[r] he grounded his right to it upon his first landing in the island, and having taken more cities than his colleague: wherefore he gave command to his garrisons not to receive any troops but his own; and seized upon all the passages. Octavius, on his arrival the next day, sent some of his friends to Lepidus, to make his complaint of these proceedings, and to represent to him, that he was not invited into the island to conquer it for himself, but to give assistance as an ally in a war already begun. Lepi-

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[r] Lepidus inflatus amplius xx legionum numero, in id furoris processerat, ut inutilis alienæ victoriæ comes, quam diu moratus erat, dissidendo in consiliis Cæsari, et semper diversa his, quæ aliis placebant, dicendo, totam victoriam ut suam interpretaretur, audebatque denuntiare Cæsari, excederet Sicilia. Vell. Pat. 2. 80. 2. Krause, p. 375.

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dus answered by a reciprocal complaint, that Octavius and Antony had deprived him unjustly of his part of the empire, and that he was ready to give up both Africa and Sicily, if they would restore him his share. Octavius, incensed at this answer, went himself to reproach him with his ingratitude and folly; and they parted after mutual threats, and from that instant they kept each of them a stricter guard; and Octavius ordered his ships to anchor at a distance from the port, pretending that Lepidus had a design to burn them. Their rupture was now open and declared; and the foundation seemed to be laid for a new civil war; but Octavius, who entertained no high opinion of his rival, thought it only necessary to employ art to ruin him. The soldiers of Lepidus were disgusted with him for having allowed the legions of Pompey a share in the plunder of Messana, and they despised him as a general: and Octavius, well informed of their sentiments, sent underhand his agents to gain them over to his interest. Having, by means of these, sounded their officers, and found them in the temper he wished, he suddenly appeared before the trenches of his colleague's camp with a strong body of cavalry; and, leaving behind the greatest part of these, he entered it with a few attendants, and, proceeding through it, he took all he met to witness his good dispositions, and that he was forced to make war against his will.[a] A great many of Lepidus's soldiers saluted him emperor, and Pompey's troops, who did not think themselves secure till their pardon was ratified by him, testified their inclination to go over to him. Lepidus, informed of the tumult, advanced with some troops to check it, and, charging those who accompanied Octavius, one of them

[a] Velleius Paterculus says, that Octavius carried off with him the standard of a legion, and was followed by the whole army of Lepidus.

Dio says nothing of this negotiation, and tells us, that Octavius having appeared in Lepidus's camp with a design of debauching his soldiers, was disappointed in his hopes, and obliged to withdraw speedily to his troops; and that then he drew out his whole army, and surrounded Lepidus's camp, which motion determined the officers and soldiers to desert their general.

was killed, and Octavius himself received an arrow in his corslet. Instantly he withdrew to his body of horse; and being derided in his flight by the guard of one of the forts of Lepidus's camp, he instantly attacked it and carried it by force. This example intimidated the commanders of the other forts, which flanked the camp of Lepidus, or at least served them for a pretence; and all of them at that time, or during the night, surrendered to Octavius; some of them on a simple summons, and others after having suffered a slight attack. Lepidus threatened and soothed them by turns, but to no purpose. His cavalry were the last to forsake him, but, to make amends for their delay, they sent to Octavius to ask, whether they should bring Lepidus, dead or alive. Lepidus, seeing himself entirely abandoned, put on the habit of a supplicant, and went to throw himself at Cæsar's feet. The young triumvir rose up to receive him, and would not suffer him to fall on his knees before him; but, having reduced him to the state of a private man, he banished him to Circæum, where he remained without any power or dignity.

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Thus fell Lepidus, one of the heads of the triumvirate. Ancient writers have represented him[1] as a vain, weak man, whom a fortuitous concourse of circumstances had raised to supreme power, without any of the qualities which are necessary to support the weight of it: yet the several employments which he bore under Cæsar, that of the governor of the city, of consul, and of master of the horse, shew that he was not judged by him to be without a capacity. His behaviour after Cæsar's death was more spirited than Antony's: he seized upon the high-priesthood, and would instantly have revenged his friend's death, if he had not been restrained by the consul. His union with Antony, after his defeat at Mutina, and the coalition formed by him of the Cæsarean

[1] Vir omnium vanissimus, nec ullâ virtute tam longam fortunæ indulgentiam meritus. Vell. II. 80.

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chiefs, was well concerted, and gave his party the superiority, at the same time that it procured for himself a share in the empire of the world. Indeed, in the station of triumvir, he behaved weakly, and was the jest of his colleagues, whose interest with the soldiers, and qualifications for command, were much superior to his; but in this last scene he appeared the most despicable of men; and, if his life was granted him, it is obvious that the contempt of his weakness was alone his security.

Appian. Octavius reaped the whole advantage of the ruin of Sextus and Lepidus: he seized upon Sicily and Africa as his property; and saw himself master of all the western world; at the head of an army of five-and-forty legions, 25,000 horse, and 37,000 light-armed troops; and of a fleet consisting of 600 sail. But, in this height of power, he was soon made sensible of his dependance upon the soldiery, and warned very opportunely to gain the affection of his subjects by his prudent conduct and moderation. Before he left Sicily, notwithstanding the recompenses he bestowed upon his soldiers, and his promises of much greater, his own proper troops mutinied and demanded their immediate discharge, with the same reward they had received after the battle of Philippi. Octavius repeated his promises of rewarding them honourably and equally with those who were now serving under Antony, and at the same time represented to them, with some threats, the fault they committed against the laws of war, and against the oath they had taken. Seeing his remonstrances had no effect, but that they grew more insolent, he forbore threatening, and told them, that he would discharge them as soon as Antony returned, assuring them he would no more employ them in civil wars, which, by the favour of the gods, were extinct; but that he would lead them against foreign nations, from whom they would all return rich: to which they told him plainly, that they would serve no longer, unless he presently gave them those rewards

and honours which their past labours deserved. He answered, that as to honours, they should be rewarded with them immediately; for, besides the crowns he had already distributed, he had others to bestow among every legion, and to the centurions and tribunes he would give robes of purple, with the rank of senators in the towns where they were born. He was interrupted here by one of the tribunes, who, raising his voice, cried out, that crowns and robes of purple were only fit to amuse children, but that soldiers expected more substantial things, money and lands. Octavius perceiving, that the whole assembly applauded this insolent speech, he in a rage went down from his tribunal, and left the tribune to glory in his prowess, and receive the congratulations of the soldiers. The audacious tribune, however, disappeared that night, and was no more heard of. This accident made them more circumspect, and no particular officer or soldier dared to distinguish himself; but they assembled in troops, and persisted in their demands.

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Octavius, seeing that all his endeavours to pacify them were vain, dismissed those, who had served at Mutina and Philippi, to the number of 20,000; and, lest they should nourish a spirit of sedition in the island, he shipped them off immediately. As soon as they were gone, he assembled his army, and took them for witnesses of the perjury of the others whom he called deserters, because they had forced a discharge from him; and he declared that he never would take them back to his service again. He then praised their fidelity for remaining with him, and, having told them that they might soon hope for repose and settlements, he distributed to each of them 500 drachms, which he raised by a tax upon the Sicilians. About 16*l.*

Matters being thus quieted in Sicily, Octavius sent back to Antony the ships he had borrowed from him, and returned to Rome to receive the honours, which the senate, in consequence of his success, had decreed

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It was now the chief concern of Octavius to gain the esteem and love of the people. He publicly burnt all Pompey's papers, and all those that might be monuments of their divisions, signifying to all the world that he was willing to forget what was past. In the distribution of lands which he had to make to his veterans, he conducted himself with the strictest equity; the funds appropriated to them belonging either to the republic, or being fairly purchased from private persons or corporations. The colony of Capua, being very thinly inhabited, and possessing on that account, in common, a large extent of ground which never belonged to any particular proprietor, he there established a part of his veterans; and, to satisfy the colony, he gave them, in the island of Crete, funds of a greater produce, and which brought them in 1,200,000 sesterces a year; and he also added a great and useful ornament to the town of Capua itself, by making an aqueduct to supply them with water. Rome and all Italy being at this time greatly infested by thieves and robbers, who had formed themselves into companies, and were become very formidable, he gave it in charge to Sabinus to put a stop to this evil, and the whole race of them were destroyed in one year. It was now also that he began those great edifices, for the ornament of Rome, which have illustrated his reign. In

Near 10,000*l*.

fine, he gave them hopes, that he would soon lay down with the consent of his colleague, his triumviral authority, and restore the commonwealth; and the senate to engage him to keep his word, offered to create him perpetual tribune; a magistracy which, while it rendered his person sacred and inviolable, would have deprived him of all command in the army; but this proposal he neither accepted nor rejected.*

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CHAP. V.

Antony's behaviour in the east: his inglorious expedition against the Parthians. Sextus Pompey's behaviour in Asia, and his death.

WHILE Octavius was thus increasing his power, and gaining the affections and esteem of the soldiers and people, Antony was wasting his best troops in an inglorious war, and gathering nothing but contempt and the public hatred by the most extravagant behaviour. He had no sooner left Italy and lost sight of Octavia, than his love for Cleopatra, which had lain quiet in his breast so long, gathered strength again, and, upon his approach to Syria, he immediately sent Fonteius Capito to conduct her to him. She soon arrived, and, as if he meant to make her a reparation for his past coolness, he granted her all her ambitious demands. He added to her kingdom Phœnicia, a part of Judea, and a part of Arabia Felix. All these countries were possessed by several petty princes, under the protection of the Romans; and some of these she engaged Antony to put to death, as being in the interest of the Parthians. He also yielded up to her the rights of the republic over the island of Cyprus and the town of Cyrene on the Libyan coast, both which had formerly belonged to the crown of Egypt. He did not, however, forget his grand project against the Parthians, and employed this whole year in making preparations for war. His lieutenants, in his

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absence, Sosius in Syria,[u] and Canidius Gallus, towards the Caspian sea, had prepared his way, and gained great reputation to his arms.

The crown of Parthia was now possessed by Phraates.[x] His father Orodes, after bewailing the death of his beloved son Pacorus, had made choice of him to succeed him, as the eldest of his thirty sons. This young prince was no sooner declared heir to the crown, than he strangled his father, and put to death all his brothers. Even the eldest of his own sons was sacrificed to his jealousy. Many of the Parthian nobility, alarmed at such monstrous cruelty, fled into the neighbouring states; and Monesus, one of the most illustrious and powerful of them, deserted to the Romans. Antony was at this time in Italy, at too great a distance to take advantage of these disturbances; and Sosius, who commanded in Syria, had learned, from the example of Ventidius, not to court a glory which might surpass that of his general. But Antony, upon his return into Syria, gave Monesus the most honourable reception, and, calling to mind the manner Themistocles had been treated by the Persian monarch,[y] he made over to him three towns, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, for his maintenance, and even promised him the throne of Parthia; hoping to profit greatly in his expedition, by the interest and capacity of that nobleman. Phraates,

[u] The chief exploit of this commander was the taking of Jerusalem, in conjunction with Herod, after a siege of five months. Most of the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of either age or sex, not so much by the Roman soldiers, whom so long and obstinate a defence had greatly incensed, as by the merciless dispositions of the Jews, under Herod's command, who prompted by the rage of party, gave no quarter to their unfortunate countrymen. Antigonus, the author of this war, which had now lasted a year, gave himself up into the hands of Sosius, who sent him in chains to Antioch, where he was soon after, through Herod's intrigues, tried for his life, beaten with rods, and beheaded. Such was the end of the last prince of the Asmonean line, which had possessed the high-priesthood, together with the sovereign power, for upwards of 120 years.

[x] Strabo, lib. 11. p. 560. tells us, that the history of this war was written by one Adelphius, who commanded a body of troops in this expedition: and it may be observed, that several learned men have thought that this Adelphius is Dellius, who was an historian, and accompanied Antony into Armenia, in 720, and was sent twice to negotiate with Artabazes. Dio, lib. 49.

[y] Artaxerxes is reported to have given three towns to Themistocles, one for his bread, one for his wine, and a third for his meat.

however, being sensible how much such a man had it in his power to hurt him, sent him such assurances of his favour, and made him such promises, that he again returned to his sovereign. Antony did not think proper to stop him, as he had in view to amuse the Parthian monarch by the hopes of peace; and, with Monesus, he sent ambassadors to begin a negotiation, demanding nothing more than the restitution of the colours and prisoners taken from Crassus. But he did not wait for an answer, and, taking leave of Cleopatra, he advanced towards Armenia, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of his troops.[z]

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Artabazes, king of Armenia, the son of Tigranes, was then in alliance with the Romans, and in war with another Artabazes, king of the Atropatenian Medes,[a] an

[z] Dio says, that he would willingly have taken a shorter way into Parthia over the Euphrates, but that he found all the passages well guarded. Concerning those passages there are some curious lines in the celebrated performance of the president Montesquieu: "Trajan (says he) accomplished Cæsar's project of invading the Parthians, and was very successful in his wars with that mighty people: any monarch but himself would have sunk under the weight of such an enterprise, where danger was always present, and from whence the necessary source of his supplies was at a vast distance; in a word, where he could not be sure victory itself would save him from destruction. The difficulty consisted in the situation of the two empires, and the military discipline of both nations. If he directed his march through Armenia towards the sources of the Tygris and Euphrates, he was sure to be incommoded with a mountainous and impracticable country, through which no convoy of provisions could pass, so that the army would be quite destroyed before they could penetrate into Media. [Why then is Crassus so much blamed by all the historians for not taking this road, and why is Antony in the present expedition only censured for setting out so late and leaving behind him his engines?] On the other hand, if he should strike out a lower tract towards the south, through Nisibis, he would find himself bewildered in a ghastly desert that separated the two empires; and if he proceeded still lower, and marched through Mesopotamia, he was then to cross a large country that was either uncultivated or laid under water; and as the Tygris and Euphrates flowed from north to south, he could not gain a passage into the country without quitting those rivers, which, if he did, he must inevitably perish. ——As to the manner practised by the two nations in making war, the strength of the Romans consisted in their infantry, which was the most firm and best disciplined body of soldiers in the world. The Parthians, on the contrary, had no infantry, but then their horse were admirable, and always combated at such a distance as placed them out of the reach of the Roman army, and the javelin was seldom launched far enough to wound them. Their own weapons consisted of a bow and many formidable shafts, and they rather besieged an army than gave it battle: they were pursued to no purpose in their flight, for that was the same to them as an engagement.—They carried off all the inhabitants of the country, and only left garrisons in their fortified places, and, when these were taken, the conquerors were obliged to destroy them.—The Parthians, likewise, set fire to all the country that lay round the Roman army, and did not leave them the least blade of herbage. In a word, they managed their wars in a manner very like that which is now practised on the same frontiers." But if the Parthians were invincible for all these reasons, how did Trajan conquer them?

[a] Media was distinguished into Great Media and the Atropatenian. The first,

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ally of Phraates. Antony came, therefore, as it were to succour the king of Armenia, but his real intention was well known. His forces, when reviewed, consisted of 60,000 legionaries, 10,000 Spanish and Gallic horse, and 30,000 auxiliary light-armed troops;[b] to which Artabazes was to add 6000 horse and 7000 foot. As his army, by taking a great circuit, had made a march of 1000 miles, and summer was very much advanced before he got to the borders of Media, he was advised to take up his winter-quarters in Armenia, and not begin the campaign till the next spring; but, being confident that nothing could resist the impression of so great an army, and being desirous to get back to Cleopatra, he passed the Araxes to go and lay siege to Praaspa,[c] the capital of Atropatenia, where the king's wives and children were; and to march the more expeditiously, he left behind him on the borders of Media all his machines of war, under the guard of two legions commanded by Oppius Statianus. The allied kings of Parthia and Media marched towards the besieged, but, understanding that Antony had left his machines behind, they immediately turned off towards the place where Oppius was encamped, and, surprising him, cut his two legions in pieces, and broke or burnt all the machines. Oppius himself was killed, and, of the whole army, Polemon, alone, king of Pontus, escaped, having bribed the Parthians by the hopes of a great ransom. This disaster quite discouraged Antony's allies, and Artabazes, king of Armenia, who had been the principal cause of the war, giving over all the hopes he had conceived of the Romans, marched home with all his troops. The victorious Parthians soon appeared before Praaspa, and, having thrown suc-

whose capital was Ecbatana, was under the dominion of the Parthian monarch. Media Atropatenia was a province of the old kingdom of the Medes, and took its name from Atropatros, who had preserved it from the Macedonian yoke. Atropatros, in acknowledgment of his good service, was elected king: and the succession was continued down in his posterity till the time of Strabo.

[b] Velleius says thirteen legions. Florus, (l. 4. c. 10.) and Justin, (42. 5.) sixteen; and Livy, (Epit. l. 30.) eighteen legions, and 16,000 horse.

[c] It is probably the town called Vera by Strabo.

cours into the town, insolently upbraided and threatened the Romans. Antony apprehending, if he suffered these insults, and left his troops in inaction, that his men would soon be disheartened, resolved to endeavour to bring about a general action; and, with this view, drew out of his lines ten legions, three prætorian cohorts, and all his cavalry, as for a general forage, hoping that the enemy would follow him and give him an opportunity of engaging with them. After one day's march, the Parthians appeared, ranged in the form of a crescent, near the road he was to pass. Antony, to deceive his enemies, and induce them to keep their post, caused his tents to be struck, as if he designed to continue his march, and not to engage. He then ordered his men to file off, directing the cavalry to charge, as soon as the legions were near enough to support them. The cavalry executed his orders punctually, and closed so suddenly with the enemy, that they could make no use of their arrows: but they kept their ground till the Roman infantry, coming on with great shouts, and striking their shields, forced them to retire. Antony hoped that this battle would end the war, or, at least, make a considerable progress towards his intended conquest; but, after having pursued the enemy for six miles with his infantry, and sent his cavalry after them thrice as far, he found that he had not killed above 100 of them, and had taken only fifty prisoners. This success was but a small compensation for the loss he had sustained of his two legions and artillery, and he became very sensible of the disadvantages with which he made a war against an enemy, who could not be forced to an engagement.

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The next day Antony having prepared to return to Praaspa, the Parthians appeared again; at first in a small body; but, their numbers increased gradually; and, at last their whole army being assembled, they harassed his troops during their march by brisk and frequent attacks, and it was with great trouble and danger

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that he regained his camp. During his absence the besieged had made a successful sally, and broke down a part of the mound, which had been raised with great labour. Antony, irritated at this bad success, decimated the cohorts, who had been upon service, and gave them barley instead of wheat. The war now became troublesome to both parties, and each feared more grievous consequences. For Antony, surrounded on all sides, could send no troops abroad in quest of forage, without the loss of many of his people; and Phraates knew well it would be very difficult to engage his men to keep the field in the winter season. Wherefore this monarch made use of the following artifice to get rid of his enemy. By his order, the commanders of the Parthians, instead of acting with their usual vigour against the Romans in their foragers, affected a gentle behaviour, and, while they allowed them to get provisions, took the opportunity to extol their valour, and to blame Antony for not making peace with their monarch, and sparing the lives of so many gallant men, whom famine and cold would soon destroy, though they had no enemy to fight with. This being several times reported to Antony, he caused inquiry to be made, whether the Parthians had been commissioned to hold these discourses with his men; and, being assured that they were, he determined to send some of his friends to the king; and, to save his honour in some measure, he charged them still to demand the restitution of the Roman colours and prisoners. The king, according to Dio, received the ambassadors seated upon a golden chair, and holding in his hand a bow, the string of which he frequently drew. He rejected, as impertinent, the proposition of restoring the prisoners and colours, and broke out in many reproaches against the Romans, which indeed they well deserved; but withal told them that peace and a safe retreat should be granted them, on condition they would speedily depart. Antony was obliged to be content with

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what was granted him; and he determined to leave the country: but grief and shame would not permit him to speak to the soldiers himself, and he commissioned Domitius Ahenobarbus to harangue them in his name. His soldiers were sensible of the reasons of his silence, and were thence engaged to obey him with the greater zeal. As he was preparing to return by the same way that he came, through the naked deserts, a certain Mardian,[d] of whose courage and fidelity the Romans had trial in the fight for the defence of the engines, and who was well acquainted with the Parthian manners, came to him and advised him to take his march by the foot of the mountains which lay on the right hand, and not to expose his army loaden with arms, in vast plains, where they would be perpetually harassed by the attacks of an innumerable cavalry. He discovered to him the secret intentions of Phraates, who had no other design in treating with him but to seize a favourable opportunity of attacking his forces; and concluded with offering himself to be the guide of his march Antony followed his advice, but told him that he must consent to be bound till he conducted the army safe into Armenia.[e] The army marched two days without any alarm, but, on the third, when Antony thought of nothing less than the Parthians, and the soldiers, upon the assurance of the peace, were in the greatest security, the Mardian, espying the bank of a river newly broken, and the way

[d] Florus, l. 4. 10. (Duker, p. 766.) and Paterc. l. 2. 82. write, that he who gave this wholesome advice to Antony was one of the Roman prisoners, who served them in the Parthian camp, and who, out of love for his countrymen, rode up to Antony's trenches in the night, and gave this warning to the officer upon guard in Latin. They do not say whether he stayed with Antony: "Unus ex clade Crassianâ Parthico habitu castris adequitat, et salute latinè datâ, quum fidem ipso fecisset, quid immineret, edocuit: 'jam adfuturum cum omnibus copiis regem: irent retro, peterentque montes: sic quoque hostem fortasse non defore.'" Flor. "Captivi cujusdam, sed Romani, consilio ac fide servatus: qui clade Crassiani exercitûs captus, cum fortunam, non animum mutâsset, accessit nocte ad stationem Romanam, prædixitque, ne destinatum iter peterent, sed diverso silvestrique pervaderent." Vell. Pat. Krause, p. 383.

[e] Dio observes that Antony was really deceived by this guide, and that he turned off from his best road to take a very difficult one, where it was easy for the Parthians to annoy him. But in this opinion he is unsupported by the authority of any other writer. Dio, l. 4. p. 409.

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by which they were to pass overflowed, he judged the Parthians had done it to stop the march of the Romans; and, shewing it to Antony, he advised him to prepare to receive the enemy. The Roman general presently marshalled his army, leaving between the ranks intervals for the archers and slingers to make their discharges. At the same time the Parthians appeared, not doubting but they would easily surround the Romans, and entirely destroy them: but the light-armed foot charged them so briskly that they were forced to retreat; yet they several times returned and renewed the skirmish, till the Gallic horse marched against them in a body, and treated them so roughly that they disappeared for that day. This assault taught the Roman general how to receive them on the like occasions. He made the army march in order of battle in four fronts, lining not only the rear, but likewise the flanks with archers and slingers, and giving orders to the horse to be ready to repulse the enemy, if they drew near, but not to pursue them. This method was effectual; the Parthians followed them four days, and were constantly beat off with loss; which made them resolve to give over the pursuit, making the ground of their departure to be the approaching winter. But, unluckily, the day before they were to march back, Flavius Gallus, one of Antony's bravest officers, requested a great number of the light-armed foot for the defence of the rear-guard, and some part of the cavalry from the wings, promising to achieve something considerable. Having obtained his desire, he set himself, contrary to orders, to chase back a body of the enemy who came forward to skirmish. The commanders of the rear-guard sent in vain to warn him of the danger he ran of being surrounded and cut off from the rest of the army. He was deaf to their admonitions, and, eagerly pushing forward, found himself beset on all sides and galled by showers of arrows. He was then forced to send for aid; and the colonels of the le-

gions in the rear-guard, and Canidius, who commanded there, instead of marching with all their force to rescue him, sent only a few cohorts to support him, and these were followed by a few more; a method which, if it had been continued, would have occasioned the rout of the whole army. Antony himself was obliged to bring on speedily the whole vanguard: and this put an effectual stop to the attack of the enemy. The Romans lost no less than 3000 men in this engagement, and 5000 were brought off wounded: Gallus himself was pierced with four arrows, and died soon after. Antony behaved on this occasion as a worthy general: he visited the wounded, and gave them unfeigned proofs of his affection; and they in return made light of their misfortune, begging him to take care of his own life, and declaring that their wounds were all healed, while they saw him well.

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The Parthians, who had before despaired of ruining the Roman army, were so encouraged by this unexpected success, that, contrary to their custom, they remained on horseback all the night near the Roman camp, in expectation of plundering it the next morning; not doubting but the Romans would abandon their baggage, as an impediment in their flight. But they were greatly disappointed when they saw the camp struck, every thing carried off, and the army marching in the best order: and more so when, coming on fiercely, they found a greater alacrity and ardour in the Roman soldiers to repel them than they had hitherto experienced. They continued, however, their pursuit; and one day, as they galled the Romans, with their arrows, the legionaries facing about, and receiving the light-armed troops into the ranks, set their knees to the ground, and, with the bucklers, formed a tortoise, upon which the Parthian arrows slided off, without doing any execution. The Parthians not doubting but the Romans had taken that posture through weariness, came on to attack them

Plut. Flor. 4. 10. Front. l. 2. Stratag. c. 3.

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with their pikes; but the legionaries, rising all at once, and giving a dreadful shout, flew upon them, mowed down the foremost ranks, and put the rest to flight. The Romans had the same operation to repeat for some days afterward, which of course greatly retarded their march.

The army was now also greatly afflicted with famine; for the soldiers, employed constantly in fighting with the enemy, could not range about for provisions. The scarcity was so great, that a bushel of wheat was sold for fifty drachms, and barley-bread for its weight in silver. The soldiers were therefore forced to live upon fruits; and we are told that they unluckily fell upon an herb which proved fatal to numbers of them. Those who eat of it lost their understanding and memory, and fell to turning and removing all the stones they met with, as if employed in some serious work; and at last died by the vomiting of pure bile. Wine, it was thought, was the only cure for this disorder, but there was none left in the camp: and, on this occasion, Dio says, that many of the Roman soldiers deserted to the enemy, and that many more would have followed the example, if the Parthians had not barbarously, and in sight of the Roman army, pierced with their arrows all those who had trusted to them. Antony, seeing so many of his men falling off, and the Parthians still at his heels, often cried out, "Oh the ten thousand!" admiring those 10,000, who, under the command of Xenophon, marched a much longer way, making their retreat from the plains of Babylon to the sea, and having to do with a much more powerful enemy.

Dio, 49. p. 409.

The Parthians, seeing that it was impossible for them to stop the march of the Romans in the road they so steadily pursued, had again recourse to artifice. They began to take all opportunities of discoursing with their enemies, and, unbending their bows, they drew near to those who went in quest of forage; telling them, that

they were satisfied with the revenge they had taken, and were now upon their return home; and indeed for two days they were followed only by a few Medes, who did not offer to molest them, but appeared to have no other view than to protect some villages in the country. Antony, tired with so long a march in so difficult a road, was much inclined to take an easier one through a plain which now presented itself, where he was told he would meet with every commodity; but a relation of Moneses, by name Mithridates, came to the camp, and desired to speak with one who could talk either the Parthian or Syrian language. Alexander, of the city of Antioch, a man whom the general could put his confidence in, was sent to the Parthian; who told him that Moneses, in acknowledgment of the favours he had received from the Roman general, had sent him to give the army warning to be still upon their guard, and to continue their way along the mountains, where they would only encounter with the inconvenience of the want of water for one day; whereas, if they should cross the plain, the whole Parthian army being posted in ambush between the hills beyond it, Antony might meet probably with the fate of Crassus. The Parthian, after this kind warning, instantly departed. Antony sent for the Midian guide to have his opinion: the Mardian told him, that though there were no enemies in the plains, yet it would be difficult to find their way in a desert, and that he would meet with several difficult passes. Orders were therefore given to the soldiers to furnish themselves with water; and because vessels were wanting, the soldiers filled their head-pieces, and some skins which they sewed together. They then set out, though it was night; and they marched thirty miles without stopping. The Parthians, upon the first intelligence of this motion, had also, contrary to their custom, set out in the night; and the next morning, by break of day, they were up with the rear-guard. The Romans, fatigued and dispirited

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for want of sleep, were greatly disheartened at so unexpected an event; however, they bravely defended themselves, and continued marching till they came to a river, the waters of which the Mardian guide forbade them to drink: but many of them paid no regard to his remonstrances, nor to the entreaties of their general: and the waters, though clear and cool, were yet brackish and venomous, and ulcerated their bowels as soon as they were swallowed, and provoked an intolerable thirst. A few hours' march brought them however to another river, the waters of which they might drink in as great a quantity as they pleased, and in perfect safety. Here Antony designing to give his men some repose, as the soldiers were pitching their tents, Mithridates came again, called for Alexander, and sent him to tell his general to march on with all speed till he had passed the next river, which was the boundary the Parthians had set for their pursuit, and beyond which they would not go. Antony sent the generous Parthian a present of several vessels of gold, and, following his instructions, continued the march that whole day without the least alarm: but the night was very tumultuous in the camp. Some of the soldiers agreed together to kill such as they suspected to have money, and rob them: and they plundered the baggage, and seized even on the military chest and their general's equipage, whose inlaid tables and cups set with jewels they broke in pieces and divided among them. The bustle and confusion was so great, that Antony could not imagine any thing less, than that the enemy had broken into the camp, and was ransacking the baggage. He sent for his freedman Rhamnus to run him through with his sword, as soon as he should command it; and to cut off his head, lest he should fall into the power of the enemy, or be known when he was dead. While he and his friends were in this consternation, an account was brought him, that all the tumult proceeded from the avarice of the soldiers, who had plundered one

another; and the guide at the same time assured him, that the river which was to be the end of their toils was now very near. About break of day, the tumult being over, and every one having fallen into his ranks, the rear-guard felt again the Parthian arrow. The light-armed foot were therefore presently ordered out against the enemy, and the legionaries formed the tortoise. The Parthians, seeing them prepared to receive them, durst not approach, and the army moved on. The vanguard soon came to the banks of the wished-for river: and, at the sight of it, the Parthians unbent their bows, praised the valour and conduct of the Romans; and one of them, we are told, raising his voice, cried to them: "Farewell, Romans, retreat now without fear: it is with good reason that fame has published your glory, and that nations acknowledge you to be their conquerors; seeing that you have escaped the arrows of the Parthians."[f]

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The Romans passed without molestation; and, after resting themselves at leisure on the other bank, set forth on their march, not confiding too much on the words of the Parthians; and, in six days after their last fight, they arrived on the banks of the Araxes, where they expected to meet again with the enemy in crossing a river which was both deep and rapid, but none appeared; and the army having passed over into Armenia, felt the same joy as if they had gained a port after a violent storm. The soldiers devoutly fell down prostrate and worshipped the land, and, rising up, embraced and wept over one another. Here many of them were less able to bear the plenty of every thing, than the hardships they had lately undergone: for, by overcharging their stomachs after faring so ill, numbers of them died of various disorders.

Antony, upon a review of his army, found that he had lost, in this expedition, 20,000 foot and 4000 horse,[g] of

[f] "Ite et bene valete, Romani; meritò vos victores fama gentium loquitur, qui Parthorum tela fugistis." Flor. 4. 10. Duker, p. 768.

[g] Vell. Pat. says, the fourth part of his soldiers, a third of the servants of the army, and all his baggage.

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which more than the one half died of sickness. After raising the siege of Praaspa, he had marched 300 miles in one-and-twenty days, during which time he had fought eighteen times with the Parthians with advantage: but these victories were to no purpose; for, not being able to pursue the enemy after he had routed them, they remained imperfect; which makes the historians reflect on the prejudice he received from the retreat of Artabazes, the Armenian king, whose troops were armed after the manner of the Parthians, and accustomed to fight with them. The Parthians, so many times overcome, could never have rallied if these troops had been with him to pursue the enemy. All Antony's captains, sensible of the injury done them by the Armenian, were desirous that Antony should punish his perfidy; but, in the present condition of his army, he thought it more expedient to dissemble, and defer his vengeance till another time. The properest method would have been to have taken up his winter-quarters in Armenia, having no call any where else; and he would have been at hand to take up his revenge upon the Parthians; but he had nothing so much in his thoughts as the meeting with Cleopatra. He led therefore his army through ice and snow in the winter season into Syria, and lost in so painful a march 8000 more of his men.[h] But the slowness with which they proceeded kept not pace with the eagerness of his desires; and, as soon as he could with any decency, he left them, and went on before to a fortress called Leucoma, upon the sea-coast, between Berytus and Sidon. There waiting for the queen of Egypt, he gave himself up to the excesses of eating and drinking; and would frequently, in the middle of a feast, start

Plut. Ant. Liv. Epit. 130.

[h] It is probably this additional loss which makes Florus say that Antony brought back to Syria but one third of his legions. Dio, 49. 410. says, that Antony not only made no reproaches to the Armenian king, but courted him in order to get money and provisions from him; and that, his troops not being able to continue their march in so cold a season, many of them were permitted to take up their winter-quarters in Armenia. Antony, he adds, obtained this favour of the king by his fair promises: and his real intention was in the spring to lead them back into Parthia.

from table, and run to the sea-side, to see whether he could not discover the vessels which were to convey to him his Cleopatra. At last she arrived, and brought with her clothes and money for his troops. Though Antony had so little reason to be vain of his Parthian expedition, he yet wrote to Rome in the style of a conqueror, disguising his losses, and magnifying his advantages; for which he well deserved the reproaches which the flatterers of Augustus charged him with, for calling his flight a victory, and representing himself as a conqueror for having escaped out of the hands of the enemy.[i] However, though they were well informed at Rome of the truth, the Roman vanity was concerned in supporting their general's accounts, and the senate passed a decree of thanksgiving for so happy and glorious a success. Antony soon removed with Cleopatra to Alexandria. Year of ROME 717. B.C. 35. 416th consulship.

L. CORNIFICIUS, } Consuls.
SEXTUS POMPEIUS,[k] }

Antony was no sooner arrived at Alexandria, than he received a message from Sextus Pompey, who had been obliged to quit Sicily, about the time that Antony was forced to leave Parthia. The first land he made with the seventeen vessels remaining of his powerful fleet, was the promontory of Lacinium, in the southern part of Italy, near Crotona, where he is said to have acted the pirate, and to have taken out of the temple of Juno Lacinia offerings of inestimable value. From thence he sailed successively to the islands of Corcyra, Caphalenia, and Lesbos; and his first design was to pass the winter in this last at Mitylene, and wait for Antony's return. But there, hearing by common report that Year of ROME 718. B.C. 34. 417th consulship. Appian.

[i] Hanc Antonius fugam suam, quia vivus exierat, victoriam vocabat. Vell. Pat. 2. 82. Ibi incredibili mentis vecordia ferocior aliquanto factus est: quasi vicisset, qui evaserat. Flor. 4. 10. Duker, p. 771.

[k] Sextus Pompeius, this year's consul, was descended of a distant branch of the Pompeian family.

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Antony was defeated, he began to entertain hopes of recovering the power he had lost, and of succeeding Antony in the dominion of the east, if he was dead; or of dividing the provinces with him, if he returned in disgrace. The example of Labienus, who, with a name much less respected, had overrun all Asia, greatly heightened these hopes. He therefore took again the military robe and ensigns of command, refitted his little navy, exercised his rowers, and enlisted into his service all the vagabonds that presented themselves; and a great number of his own soldiers, who were destitute of all resource, came flocking to him. The necessity he was under of defending himself against Octavius, and the desire of assisting Antony, were the pretences of his conduct. His deputies attended upon Antony, as soon as he was returned to Alexandria: and, at the same time, he privately dispatched others towards the princes of Thrace and Pontus, and even to the king of Parthia, being resolved to retire to the court of one of these princes, in case Antony's answer was not favourable. Antony, who saw through his designs, had already given orders to M. Titius, who commanded in those parts, to oppose him with all his forces, at land and sea, if he pretended to make any armament; but to conduct him honourably to Alexandria, if he submitted in a peaceful manner. He therefore made no other answer to Sextus's deputies, than that the orders he had given Titius would soon discover what were the real sentiments of him who sent them. While they were earnestly pleading for their master, Pompey's envoys to the Parthian king were taken by Antony's officers, and brought to Alexandria. Sextus's deputies were greatly disturbed at this unfortunate incident, yet they offered to excuse him by observing, that it was not surprising that a young man, reduced to the last extremity, and who had no security of Antony's favour, should seek a safe retreat where he could find it: but that, had he been well as-

sured of Antony's kindness towards him, he would certainly have had recourse to no one else.

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Pompey, in the mean time, had passed over into Asia, where Furnius seeing him behave in a peaceable manner, and having no orders from Antony, gave him no trouble; but when Pompey began to raise troops, and act the independent chief, Furnius immediately invited Domitius Ahenobarbus, who commanded a body of troops in the neighbourhood, and Amyntas, king of the Galatians, to come to his assistance. It was soon found that Pompey had laid a scheme for making Domitius his prisoner, and had corrupted one of his domestics, who was to deliver him up. This domestic of Domitius was discovered, and put to death by the sentence of a council of war, and Sextus, on his side, revenged himself on Theodorus, one of his freedmen, whom alone he had made privy to this plot, and whom he therefore suspected to have revealed it. This design not succeeding, he lost all hopes of deceiving Furnius, but he seized upon the town of Lampsacus, and, by bribes, engaged the citizens to declare for him; so that, seeing himself 200 horse and three legions strong, he went and assaulted Cyzicus by sea and land, but was both ways repulsed by Antony's troops in the town, assisted by the gladiators kept there for the entertainment of the public. He therefore returned to a place called the port of the Achæans, to provide himself in corn; whither Furnius followed him, without offering to fight; and encamping always as near him as he could with a numerous cavalry, he hindered him from foraging the country, or besieging towns. Pompey, however, had the boldness to assault his camp in front with one part of his forces, while the rest taking a compass, were ordered to fall on behind; and, while Furnius brought all his men to the open attack, his camp was forced by those who attacked it on the opposite side, and the whole army put to the rout. All Furnius's men fled through the plains of Scamman-

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dria, and, not being able to run very fast, because the ground was moistened by the rain, there was made a great slaughter of them: those who saved themselves escaped into places of security, being too weak to make a stand, till such time as new recruits were come from Mysia, Propontis, and other places. This victory gained him great reputation, and the country people, ruined with taxes, willingly joined him; and with their assistance he took Nicea, Chalcedon, and some other less important places. But still, wanting horse, he was often distressed in going to gather in corn and forage: wherefore, upon intelligence that a body of Italian horse were coming to Antony, which Octavia, who wintered at Athens, sent him, he dispatched some of his agents to corrupt them: but these suborners were seized by the commander of this body of horse, who distributed the money among his troopers.

In the beginning of spring there arrived at Proconesus the seventy ships returned by Octavius to Antony, and, a little after, Titius brought thither from Syria sixty ships more, with a considerable army. Pompey was sensible that his ships could serve him no longer; he therefore burnt them, and incorporated his rowers and sailors into his land-forces. But it was now madness to make any resistance either by land or sea; and, having disgusted his friends by his obstinacy, he saw himself abandoned by Cassius of Parma, Nasidius, Saturninus, Thermus, Antistius, and all the most considerable of his father's friends. Fannius, for whom he had the greatest value, and Libo, his father-in-law, left him also; and, making their own composition, submitted to Antony. Being thus deserted, he advanced through the midland of Bithynia with a design, it was thought, of getting into Armenia. Furnius, Titius, and Amyntas, who had now joined their forces, having notice that to this intent he had quitted his camp by night, followed him, and made such haste, that they overtook him before night, and

encamped separately round him, without intrenching themselves; because it was late, and their men were tired with their march. Pompey, seeing them in this posture, drew out 3000 men, and charged them in the dark so briskly, that, after killing great numbers of them, he forced most of the rest to betake themselves to flight half-naked: so that, if he had fallen on with all his forces, or had but given them chase, he might have completed his victory; but he reaped no other fruit from so fair an opportunity, but the being enabled for a time to continue his march.

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The enemy, having rallied, followed close at his heels, and very sorely harassed him; so that, being reduced by want of provisions, he desired a conference with Furnius, who had been his father's friend, and who was, by his dignity and merit, the most considerable of the three commanders; and to that purpose went to the bank of a river that ran between them. He told him, that having sent deputies to Antony, and having in the mean time no provisions, and no friends who could furnish him with any, he had been forced to do what he had done: "But, for your part, Furnius (added he), if it be by Antony's orders you make war upon me, he is ill advised, not foreseeing a war over his own head; but if it be of your own motion, I beseech you to expect the return of my deputies, or, if you choose it rather, I shall put myself into your hands (for in you I can confide), provided you promise me, upon your honour, to deliver me in safety to Antony." To which Furnius answered, "that, if he had any intention of submitting to Antony, he ought in person to have gone to him at first, or have stayed for his answer at Mitylene. But Pompey (continued he), you designed war, and have done all that you could to kindle one; for why should you deny things which we certainly know? Yet, if you now repent, consider that there are three of us here who command for Antony, and do not create any

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jealousy among us, but deliver yourself up to Titius, who only has a commission concerning you. You may require of him the same security you do of me; for his orders are, if you obstinately hold out, to kill you; but if you submit, to send you honourably to Antony." Pompey's pride would not allow him to deliver himself up to a man of low extraction, who owed him the greatest obligations for having preserved his life, and, by the treaty of Misenum, restored him to his country, and who yet had accepted the commission of making war upon him. He had also probably good reason to suspect Titius's honour, or even Antony's intentions, who had commissioned such a person to conduct him to Alexandria. He therefore offered himself once more to Furnius, and begged him to receive him; and, when that could not be obtained, he desired that, at least, he might yield himself into Amyntas's hands. But Furnius telling him that Amyntas would not do an action which would prove injurious to Titius, who had Antony's commission for this purpose, the conference ended. Antony's lieutenants did not doubt but that Pompey the next morning would be forced by the want of provisions, to yield himself to Titius: but, as soon as it was night, he caused fires to be kindled, and gave orders to the trumpets to sound at every watch of the night, according to custom; and he himself, without any noise, went out of his camp with the flower of his forces, without making any one privy to his design, which was to return to the sea, and burn Titius's fleet. And this, in all probability, he would have effected, if Scaurus had not deserted to the enemy, and given them an account of his march, and the way he took. Amyntas presently followed him with 1500 horse, and soon overtook the fugitive, who had no cavalry with him. As soon as he appeared, all Pompey's men forsook him; and this unfortunate commander was forced to surrender. As soon as Antony knew that he was taken, he sent an order, it

was said, to have him killed; but, afterward relenting, sent a counter order, which was carried with such expedition, that it arrived first; so that, the order which condemned Sextus coming to hand last, Titius construed it, or chose to construe it, as the last resolution of Antony, and put it in execution. It was also reported, according to Appian, that Plancus, governor of Syria, who had Antony's seal, gave the order; apprehending that Pompey might raise some new disturbance between Octavius and Antony, or even between Antony and the queen of Egypt, who is said to have had a very great regard for the name of Pompey. But all this only proves that Antony was ashamed of the deed, and was glad by these rumours to throw the odium of it upon others. The people of Rome entertained such a detestation of Titius's ingratitude, that, when he returned to the city, and was celebrating games in Pompey's theatre, he was loaded with imprecations, and driven from the Circus. Thus died Sextus Pompeius, in the fortieth year of his age, after a life of perpetual warfare and danger. He owed entirely to the reputation of his father both his honours and misfortunes. He had more courage than prudence, and more ambition than art and good conduct. A chief of robbers, and afterward of pirates; rustic and impolitic in his speech and behaviour, and governed by his slaves and freedmen,[1] he furnished ample subject of reproach to the writers, who wanted to make their court to the triumvirs. What enabled him to hold out so long against Octavius was the desperate fortune of his followers, who were all fugitives, or men devoted to death by proscriptions, who had no resource but in their valour. The greatest blot in his life is the murder of Statius Murcus, who, after the battle of Philippi, joined him with a very considerable fleet, and whom he is said to

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Appian, p. 747.

[1] Hic adolescens erat studiis rudis, sermone barbarus, impetu strenuus, manu promptus, cogitatione celer, fide patri dissimillimus, libertorum suorum libertus, servorumque servus; speciosis invidens, ut pareret humillimis. Vell. Pat. 2. 73. Krause, p. 349.

Year of ROME 718. B.C. 34. have sacrificed to the jealousy of Menas and Menecrates, his freedmen and admirals.[m]

417th consulship. Octavius, on the death of Pompey, celebrated horse-races and other games in Rome, and caused the same honour to be decreed to Antony, which he had received himself after the conquest of Sicily. According to Dio, he placed his chariot before the rostra in the forum, and his statue in the temple of Concord, and he was allowed to feast there with his wife and family. Antony spent the year at Alexandria with Cleopatra, who was continually importuning him to add new territories to her dominions. According to Josephus, she demanded all Arabia and Judea, and would have engaged him to kill Malchus and Herod, the kings of these two countries. And Antony, though he did not consent to all she requested, was yet so profuse of his grants to her, that he shocked the Roman people, who loudly expressed their dissatisfaction with his conduct. This year Octavius, to keep his troops in exercise, sent them, under the command of his lieutenants, into Illyricum, against the Dalmatii, the Japodes, the Pannonii, and other barbarous nations of those parts: and, that he might refute the suspicions entertained concerning his valour, he himself, it is said, appeared sometimes at the head of his army, and behaved very gallantly, having been twice wounded, and often in danger of his life. This war continued till he found it necessary to break with his colleague, and commence hostilities with him.

Joseph. Ant. l. 15. c. 4. L. i. c. 13. et l. 7. c. 32.

Appian. Dio.

[m] Statium autem Murcum, qui adventu suo classisque celeberrimæ vires ejus duplicaverat, insimulatum falsis criminationibus, quia talem virum collegam officii Mena et Menecrates fastidierant, Pompeius in Sicilia interfecerat. Vell. Pat. 77. Krause, p. 365.

CHAP. VI.

Antony makes himself master of Armenia, and puts the king in chains. His alliance with the king of the Medes. His extravagant deportment at Alexandria. He refuses to receive Octavia, and orders her back to Rome. Agrippa's ædileship.

M. ANTONIUS II. } Consuls.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO, }

Year of ROME 719. B. C. 35.

ANTONY was no sooner returned with his forces into Syria, than the two monarchs of the Medes and Parthians, whom he had attacked, fell out about the division of the Roman spoils, and the king of the Medes suspected Phraates of having a design upon his kingdom. He, therefore, by the mediation of Polemon, king of Cilicia, and a part of Pontus, entered into a negotiation with Antony, and made him an offer of all his forces against the Parthians. Polemon, who followed Antony to Alexandria, easily determined him to accept of the proffered alliance, as it would furnish him with a fair opportunity, not only of repairing his disgrace by the destruction of the Parthian empire, but of revenging himself of the perfidious Armenian. Having, therefore, made his preparations, he set out from Alexandria in the beginning of the spring of the present year, and marched his army directly towards Armenia,[n] and, not thinking it unlawful or dishonourable to use perfidy against the perfidious, he sent ambassadors to Artabazes with an offer of his friendship and his alliance by the marriage of his son with a daughter of the Armenian, inviting him to come and join him. The king, conscious of his guilt,

418th consulship.

[n] Cleopatra accompanied him, according to Josephus, lib. 15. c. 5. as far as the Euphrates, whence passing through Apamia and Damascus, she visited Judea, where she was magnificently received by Herod, to whom she farmed out the part of Arabia and of the country of Jericho, which had been lately given her. The same author adds, that she made him an offer of her person through incontinence, or with an insidious view to ruin him. The cautious and circumspect politician, however, did not listen to her solicitations, and entertained some thoughts of making away with her, for the ill services she had done him with Antony; but his friends being all against such an attempt, he got rid of her as soon as he could, loading her with presents, and conducting her with great respect as far as Pelusium. Yet was he so apprehensive of her malice, that he immediately strongly fortified the castle of Messada, and stored it with arms for 12,000 men, as a place of refuge in case of need.

Year of ROME 719. B.C. 33. 418th consulship. and who had entered at that time into a negotiation with Octavius, put no confidence in Antony's false caresses. He excused himself as well as he could, and was determined to avoid, if possible, putting himself in the hands of one whom he had so grievously offended. But Antony, by advancing towards Artaxata, the capital of Armenia, with all his forces, gave a weight to his invitation by the terror of his arms: and Artabazes thought proper Dio, lib. 59, p. 415. to go to the Roman camp. Antony had him instantly arrested, pretending that his view was no other, than to oblige him to lend him his treasures, which were kept in several fortresses, which the commanders would never give up, unless it was to purchase the liberty of their king. Artabazes consented to be carried round to all these castles, and gave his orders to the several commanders conformable to Antony's desire: but none of them obeyed; and the grandees, seeing their monarch in the power of the Romans, proclaimed his eldest son, Artaxias, king in his stead. Upon this Antony, quitting the mask, put, without any ceremony, the monarch in chains; but they were of silver, to shew his great respect Dio, ibid Jos. lib. B. c. 13. Ant. lib. 15. c. 5. Tacit. An. 11. 3. for the dignity of king. Thus a war was declared, but it was not of long duration. Artaxias, being entirely defeated in the first battle, fled into Parthia, leaving the kingdom and all his family in the power of Antony. Such was the origin of the troubles which shook, for a long time, Armenia, successively invaded by two powerful empires, betwixt which it was situated, without remaining fixed under the power of either. Antony thought he had reaped glory enough for one year by the conquest of Armenia, where, having left troops sufficient to preserve it, and confirmed his alliance with the Median monarch, he returned to Alexandria. There he entered in a triumphal car with his captives and spoils, and made a homage of them to Cleopatra. Artabazes and all his family, bound in chains of gold, were brought before the queen, seated on a throne of gold, under an al-

cove of silver, surrounded by all her court and a multitude of people. Antony's intention was, that his prisoners should prostrate themselves before her, and implore her mercy as their sovereign: but Artabazes, though in this deplorable condition, remembered that he was the son of the great king Tigranes, and refused either to kneel to her, or give her the title of queen; which behaviour cost him his liberty, and afterward his life. He was sent to prison, and, after the battle of Actium, orders were given to put him to death. Nothing in all Antony's conduct gave greater offence at Rome than his triumph at Alexandria. It seemed intolerable, that a Roman general should impart such a peculiar honour to a foreign nation, and that Rome should be deprived of the glory of insulting over vanquished kings, which for so many years she had enjoyed.

Year of ROME 719. B.C. 33. — 418th consulship.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS II. }
L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS, } Consuls.

Antony, still taken up with the chimerical project of conquering Parthia, left Alexandria in the beginning of this year, and went as far as Armenia, but he did not pass the Araxes. There he was met by the Median monarch, and they made a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive: the Median was to furnish him with forces against Octavius, in case of a rupture between him and Antony; and Antony was to furnish his ally with forces against the Parthians. The Roman general transferred to the Median a part of Armenia; and received of him the ensigns taken two years before, when Statianus was killed and the engines destroyed; together with Jotape, his daughter, then very young, who was to be married to Alexander, his eldest son by Cleopatra, whom he had already declared king of Armenia: yet we are told that he disposed of the Lesser Armenia to Polemon, who had negotiated the alliance between him and the Median monarch.

Year of ROME 720. B.C. 32. — 419th consulship. Dio, lib 49. 417, 418.

Year of ROME 720. B. C. 32. 419th consulship.

Octavia had resided in Rome ever since Antony's first expedition into Parthia, and had not found an opportunity of joining him. Alexandria, or its neighbourhood, was not a proper place; but seeing him about to set out a second time against the Parthians, she obtained leave of her brother to go and visit him. Octavius consented, as most authors agree, with a view of making Antony more odious by the ill usage he well knew his sister would meet with from him. As soon as she arrived at Athens, she received letters from Antony, ordering her not to proceed any farther; alleging for his excuse, the war he was preparing to carry into Parthia. Upon receiving this message, she sent, by Niger, a friend of Antony's, a letter to acquaint him, that she had brought with her 2000 choice men well armed, with clothes for his troops and presents for the chief officers of his army: and she desired to know how she must dispose of them. Cleopatra, upon the first account of Octavia's leaving Rome, had made use of every artifice to prevent her meeting with Antony. She lost her stomach, fell sick, and was continually in tears: and her creatures were very eloquent in exaggerating to Antony her anguish, and the imminent danger she was in. They represented to him that his marriage with Octavia was a political alliance on account of her brother, and that she enjoyed by it the name and honour of his spouse; whereas Cleopatra, the queen of so great a kingdom, did not disdain to pass for his mistress, provided she could have the happiness of enjoying his presence; but, deprived of that, her death was inevitable; so ardent was her love to him. Antony could not consent to kill Cleopatra, and the answer to Octavia was to send him what she had brought, and return to Rome. He was then in Syria, and he hurried away to the interview with the king of Media, and, after making the agreement with him just mentioned, he returned to Alexandria.

Here he abandoned himself to all the extravagances

Year of ROME 720. B.C. 32. 419th consulship.

imaginable: while Octavia at Rome continued to behave with the greatest dignity; bestowing the greatest marks of affection on his children by Fulvia, and testifying the greatest regard for all his friends. He assembled the people of Alexandria in the Gymnasium, where there was raised an alcove of silver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himself and the other for Cleopatra. There Antony, dressed like Bacchus,[o] and Cleopatra, like Isis, were seated; and, in the presence of all the people, he declared her his lawful wife, and queen of Egypt, Libya, Cyprus, and Cœlo-Syria, associating with her Cæsario, whom he styled the true and lawful son of Julius Cæsar. To the children he had by her he gave the title of kings of kings; and, for their dominions, to Alexander, the eldest, he allotted Armenia, Media, and Parthia, which he pretended he would conquer in a little time: to Ptolemy, the younger, Phœnicia, Upper Syria, and Cilicia: and immediately the two boys were produced clothed in the royal robes of their respective kingdoms; Alexander, in a Medish dress, with a tiara on his head; and Ptolemy, with the robes which were worn by the successors of Alexander, the slippers, military coat, and cap covered with a diadem. In this pompous dress they paid their respects to Antony and Cleopatra; after which they took their seats at their feet, being each attended with a guard, the one of Armenians, and the other of Macedonians. This ridiculous scene was followed by the most extravagant luxury. Antony suffered himself to be carried away with new pleasures and delights by Cleopatra, and the delicacy and profuseness of their entertainments still daily increased, till, at last, the queen promised him, upon a wager, to give him one to the

[o] Crescente deinde et amoris in Cleopatram incendio, et vitiorum, quæ semper facultatibus licentiaque et assentationibus aluntur, magnitudine, bellum patriæ inferre constituit: cum ante, novum se Liberum patrem appellari jussisset, cum redimitus hederis, crocotâque velatus aureâ, et thyrsum tenens, cothurnisque subnixus, curru, velut Liber Pater, vectus esset Alexandriæ. Vell. Pat. 2. 82. Krause, p. 387.

Year of ROME 720. B.C. 32. 419th consulship.

value of 10,000,000 of sesterces.* On this occasion a golden cup was served up, we are told, with a very strong dissolving liquor, in which Cleopatra put one of her pendants, which was a pearl of inestimable value, and immediately drank it off. Plancus, who was to judge of the wager, immediately secured the other pendant, which she was then taking off, giving it as his judgment, that she had already won the wager. The remaining pearl, after the death of Cleopatra, came into the hands of Cæsar, who caused it to be cut asunder, and made into two pendants for the image of Venus, which he thought gloriously adorned with the one half of this prodigal queen's supper.

*80,729l.

While Antony was thus degrading and bringing himself into general contempt, Octavius's administration gained him the respect and esteem of all orders of men. His arms were employed against the enemies of the state, and, out of their spoils, he adorned Rome. It was at this time he built a magnificent portico, to which he gave the name of his sister Octavia, and where he placed afterward a numerous library. No year in the Roman annals was more famous for all the arts of peace. Agrippa, though he had been honoured with the consulship, did not think it a disgrace to accept the ædileship, an office which of late was fallen into great discredit, as it required great expenses, and was no longer a step to the greater magistracies, by the favour of the people, which it procured. He repaired the ancient aqueducts almost fallen to ruin, and made a new one, which he called the Julian, fifteen miles long. For the more commodious distribution of these waters, he made 700 water-places, 105 fountains, and 130 reservoirs. All these works were richly ornamented with 300 statues of marble or brass, and 400 marble columns. He adorned also the Circus with statues of dolphins, and what they called eggs, being large masses formed in the shape of an egg, and placed upon the pillars next the

end of the Circus, round which the chariots were to turn. Such was Agrippa's passion for embellishing Rome, that he was desirous to draw all the statues and pictures out of private houses and gardens to dedicate them to public use. He pronounced a speech upon the subject, which was still extant in the time of Pliny,[p] and which, that author says, was worthy of the first citizen of the republic.

Year of ROME 720. B.C. 32. 19th Consulship.

The common sewers, that stupendous work of the two Tarquins, had been greatly neglected. These, of consequence, were filled up with rubbish and choked up in several places. Agrippa made such a large collection of water, that it formed, as it were, seven torrents, which, being let in by the opening of the sewers, and running with rapidity, carried away all the dirt and filth; and after this operation, he embarked himself upon the sewers which had been thus cleansed, and, by a subterraneous navigation, went from their entry to their opening in the Tiber. These great expenses did not hinder him from entertaining the people in the most magnificent manner. Shows of all kinds, plays, combats of gladiators, courses in the Circus, and the Trojan game, were exhibited for fifty-nine days; during which time provisions were often distributed to the people, and a kind of lottery-tickets were thrown into the theatre, and those who brought them to him received their contents, which consisted of money, stuffs, and other moveables. A hundred and seventy baths were also kept open for the citizens, and several at his expense, during the whole year.

Thus Agrippa was no less serviceable to his master by gaining over to him the affections of the Romans, and making them taste the long-interrupted sweets of peace, than by his military exploits.

p Exstat ejus oratio magnifica, et maximo civium digna, de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis; quod fieri satius fuisset, quam in villarum exsilia pelli. Plin. 35. 9. Hardouin. vol. 2. p. 683.

CHAP. VII.

The rupture between Antony and Octavius: their preparations for war. The decisive battle of Actium. Antony's land-forces submit with reluctance, and all the kings and provinces pay obeisance to the conqueror. Antony's last efforts. His death; that of Cleopatra: and the settlement of the empire on Octavius.

Year of ROME 721. B. C. 31.

CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, } Consuls.
C. SOSIUS, }

420th consulship.

THESE two consuls were Antony's friends, and Dio assures us, that he did not scruple to send to them from Alexandria, an account of his late distribution of kingdoms and provinces in favour of Cleopatra and her children, to have it confirmed by the senate: but it is hard to believe that he could expose himself in this manner, and, if he did it, he could not mean it otherwise than as a public insult upon Octavius and a declaration of war. The same historian says, that, though the consuls were wise enough not to produce his letters, yet they had the boldness to harangue the senate against Octavius in his absence; and that Sosius, the fiercest of the two, would have proceeded to a decree against his interest, if he had not been stopped by the tribune Balbus. Octavius, informed of this attack upon him, returned to the city, and appeared in the first assembly of the senate, attended by a great number of his friends, armed with poniards under their robes. He took his seat between the two consuls, and began by an open declaration of his conduct, and an artful apology for what was objected to it. Then he bitterly inveighed against Antony and Sosius, pretending that he could convict them of several attempts against the republic, as well as against himself. He was heard with attention, but without the least mark of approbation; and yet this senate was almost entirely formed by himself: he had endeavoured by every method to recommend himself to it, and it was entirely in his power. Observing that his speech had not the success he expected, he appointed another meeting, in which he pro-

mised to read such pieces as would put Antony's designs in their full and proper light. Year of ROME 721. B.C. 31.

The consuls did not think proper to wait for that day: they privately left Rome to join Antony, attended by several of the senators; and, Octavius having declared that all Antony's relations and friends were at liberty to follow the example, all those in his interest left Italy. Pollio, who had hitherto acted as a friend to Antony, and was esteemed of his party, stayed behind; but refused to join Octavius in any measures against his general: and, when pressed to it by Octavius, he answered, "The services I have done to Antony are greater than the favours I have received from him; but these are better known. I will therefore remain neuter, and become the prey of the conqueror." 420th consulship.

The two chiefs kept now no longer any measures with one another. Octavius, provoked at the outrageous treatment of his sister, made a report to the senate of all Antony's scandalous behaviour. He said, that he was become a slave to a foreign queen, and had sacrificed to her the provinces of the empire, and that he had dishonoured the Roman name by his faithless and cruel treatment to the king of Armenia and his whole family: he reproached him also with the death of Sextus Pompey, and, in fine, he grievously complained of the affront offered by Antony's unjust and indecent behaviour towards his sister, and by his acknowledging Cleopatra's son Cæsario for the lawful son of Julius Cæsar.[q] Antony, on his side, sent a bill of divorce immediately to Octavia, ordered her to leave his house in Rome, and, in his letters to Octavius, declared that he had been married to Cleopatra these nine years, and, consequently, that his children by her were his lawful children: and that Cæsario had been owned by Cæsar, which Matius and Op-

[q] Some historians tell us, that Cæsario was acknowledged as the son of Julius Cæsar by the three triumvirs; a fact which is in itself utterly improbable, and which is disproved by this complaint of Octavius.

Year of ROME 721. B.C. 31.

420th consul-

pius could attest. In answer to what Octavius had spoken and written against Antony's love for Cleopatra, and the prodigality of his feasts, he reproached him with the famous feast where he and his guests represented so many deities; with his preposterous match with Livia, his infamous divorce of Scribonia, and with the indecent familiarity in which he lived with several Roman ladies: he even proceeded to attack Octavius's birth, his honour, and personal conduct, accusing him of cowardice in the battles of Mutina and Philippi. In fine, he sent formal complaints to the senate, that Octavius had, contrary to all right, put himself in possession of all Sicily, and the provinces governed by Lepidus, whom he had unjustly and barbarously deposed: that he had not sent him back the whole number of ships lent him for his expedition against Pompey: and that he had parcelled out all Italy to his own soldiers, without giving Antony's their proper share: and, in some of these public letters, in order to regain the affections of the people, he declared his resolution to abdicate the triumvirship, as a magistracy too powerful and absolute in a republican state. Octavius answered that he was ready to do the same, and invited Antony to Rome to make good his word: and, as to the other articles, he made answer, "That Lepidus's conduct had obliged him to remove him; that Antony should have a share in Sicily and Africa, when Antony had shared with him Armenia; and, as for Antony's soldiers, that it was not likely they would value a few pitiful lands in Italy, after they had conquered all Media and the empire of the Parthians, in following their brave commander." Antony was so enraged at this jeer, that he ordered Canidius, to whom he had given the command of his land-forces, to march, without intermission, with sixteen legions, to Ephesus, which he appointed the general rendezvous of all his forces: and thither he soon repaired with Cleopatra. Here they were met by their friends, who had left Italy

Year of ROME 721. B.C. 31. 420th consulship.

to join them. Domitius was very earnest to engage him to send Cleopatra back to Egypt, till the war was ended; and Antony was inclined to follow this wholesome advice; but she, fearing lest Octavia should take advantage of her absence, and make her peace, by large presents gained Canidius to represent to Antony the many inconveniences her departure would occasion; particularly the depriving him of the assistance of the Egyptians, who made a great part of his navy. This queen is said to have brought with her 200 vessels with 20,000 talents, and provisions for all his forces. These counsels and her own cunning insinuations prevailed, and Antony consented to her stay. Lest he should, however, be tempted again to give ear to Domitius and his true friends, she carried him over into the island of Samos, where, while the preparations were going on at Ephesus, she plunged him into all the pleasures and diversions that could be invented. Never, says Plutarch, were any man's cares so pleasantly divided as Antony's. On one side all the kings, princes, and potentates, from Egypt to the Euxine sea, and from Armenia and Illyricum, had orders to send arms, provisions, and soldiers, to Ephesus; on the other all the comedians, dancers, musicians, and buffoons, were obliged to repair to Samos: and, while the whole universe was in commotion, and many parts of it in great misery and desolation, joy and all kind of pleasure reigned in this island. Every city of Antony's empire had a share in his sacrifices, and the kings who accompanied him contended who should make the noblest entertainment, so that it gave occasion to one to ask, "What rejoicings will those people make for a victory, who make such magnificent treats before a dangerous war?"

From Samos, Antony and Cleopatra crossed over to Athens, where the queen, amidst the usual amusements, was intent upon another object. She was jealous of the honours which Octavia had received in that city, and,

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by flattering that vain people, obtained a decree comprehending all kinds of honours, beyond what had been offered to any mortal: and Antony, in quality of a citizen of Athens, was at the head of the deputation, and pronounced the speech, in the name of the city, on this occasion. Some authors tell us, that Antony meant this compliment as a solemn reparation for the injury he had done her in that city, by honouring Octavia as his lawful spouse.

Thus the whole year was spent, on Antony's side, between vain amusements and preparations for war, when if he had carried over his forces immediately, he would have found his enemy very little prepared to receive him. Octavius found himself under the necessity of laying heavy taxes on the people of Italy. The citizens paid him a fourth part of their revenue, and the freedom of an eighth. This, with the dread of Antony's arrival with the formidable forces he had gathered, put them in a very ill humour, and he was often obliged to make use of his soldiers to get the money into his coffers: but Antony gave him time to quiet all disturbances, and to inspire them with a thorough contempt for a man, who was more taken up in filling the theatres of Samos with fiddlers and pipers, than in carrying on his military operations.

Antony began now to be despised by his own party. Plancus, the constant companion of his debauches and the servile flatterer of the queen, deserted him at this time, with his nephew Titius, the same who had taken Pompey and put him to death.[r] These deserters, to

[r] The virulence with which Paterculus has treated Plancus's character, betrays him to have been his personal enemy:

" Inter hunc apparatum belli, Plancus, non judicio recta legendi, neque amore reipublicæ, aut Cæsaris (quippe hæc semper impugnabat) sed morbo proditor, cùm fuisset humillimus assentator reginæ, et infra servos cliens; cùm Antonii librarius, cùm obscœnissimarum rerum et auctor et minister, cùm in omnia et omnibus venalis; cùm cæruleatus et nudus, caputque redimitus arundine, et caudam trahens, genibus innixus Glaucum saltàsset in convivio; refrigeratus ab Antonio, ob manifestarum rapinarum indicia, transfugit ad Cæsarem. Et idem posteà clementiam victoris pro sua virtute interpretabatur; dictitans, id probatum à Cæsare, cui ille ignoverat. Mox autem hunc avunculum Titius imitatus est. Haud absurdè Coponius, vir præ-

recommend themselves to their new master, told all they knew of Antony's enormities, and, amongst other things, acquainted him with the contents of Antony's will. This will was deposited in the hands of the vestals, who were forced to give it up; and Octavius made no scruple of reading it in the senate, and publishing the contents among the people. Antony therein confirmed the declaration he had already made concerning Cæsario: he bequeathed immense legacies to his children by Cleopatra, and ordered, "that in case he died in Rome, his body, after the usual ceremonies, should be transported to Alexandria, and delivered to Cleopatra, by whom he desired to be buried." To this a report was added, "that Antony designed to give Rome to Cleopatra, and to transfer the seat of the empire to Alexandria."

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Antony's friends in Italy, sensible how much the interest of the whole party was hurt at Cleopatra, made a last effort to recall their chief to a sense of honour, and engage him to act a more prudent part. Geminius, one of his zealous partisans, was sent upon this errand: but Cleopatra, suspecting that she was the object of his mission, affronted him upon all occasions. However, Geminius bore with all, waiting an audience of Antony, till, at last, being called up in the middle of a feast to explain himself he answered, "The affairs I came to treat about are not of a nature to be debated at table: but one thing there is that every body must be sensible of, whether merry or sober, which is, that affairs would go very well, if Cleopatra returned to Egypt." Antony's passion rose, but the queen answered very calmly, "You have done right, Geminius, to speak your secret without being put to the torture." Geminius made his escape as soon as possible, and was

torius gravissimus, P. Silii socer cùm recens transfuga, multa ac nefanda Plancus absenti Antonio in senatu objiceret: multa, inquit, meherculè fecit Antonius pridie, quam tu illum relinqueres." Lib. 2. 83. Krause, 387.

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followed by many more, who could bear no longer the imperious demeanour of the queen, and the insolence of her favourites.[s] Rome rung with complaints against Antony: a slave to Cleopatra, he appeared to have no other will than that of his queen, who had the assurance to promise herself the empire of Rome, and, when she would confirm any thing by oath, used to swear by the laws she would dictate in the Capitol.[t] She had already a Roman guard, and her name was engraved upon the bucklers of the soldiers. But Antony himself seemed to have forgot that he was a Roman: he would often appear clothed in the manner of the eastern princes, all glittering with purple and precious stones, a Median sabre by his side, a golden sceptre in his hand, and a diadem upon his head, and, thus accoutred, set himself upon a throne of gold.[u] His tent in the camp was no longer called *prætorium*, but *the royal pavilion*: and in the same manner as Cleopatra assumed all the attributes of the goddess Isis in her pictures and statues, so Antony caused himself to be represented in brass and marble, or in painting, with the symbols of Osyris.

Octavius was very industrious in bringing the Roman people and soldiers acquainted with these follies; and a decree passed to deprive Antony of the consulship, which he was to hold the following year with Octavius, as also

s ——— Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus et imperio parabat
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunâque dulci
Ebria. Hor. lib. 1. od. 37.

t Romanique ducis conjux Ægyptia, tædæ
Non bene fisa, cadet; frustraque erit illa minata,
Servitura suo Capitolia nostra Canopo.
Ovid. Met. lib. 15. 826. Gierig. vol. 2. p. 815.

u "Hæc mulier Ægyptia, ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum Romanum imperium petit. Et promisit Antonius. Igitur dominationem parare nec tacitè; sed patriæ, nominis, togæ, fascium oblitus, totus in monstrum illud ut mente, ita animo quoque et cultu desciverat. Aureum in manu baculum; ad latus acinaces; purpurea vestis ingentibus obstricta gemmis; diadema aderat, ut regina rex ipse frueretur." Flor. lib. 4. c. 11. Duker, p. 773.

of the triumviral power; and war was declared, not against him, but against Cleopatra. The decree was so framed, that it left his partisans the liberty of saving themselves by abandoning their general, and made him more contemptible than if he and his adherents had been declared enemies to the commonwealth. Octavius affected to say, "that Antony was no more himself, since Cleopatra by her philters, had taken away the use of his reason: so that he was not to be esteemed as a person engaged in this war, which was only managed by Mardion her eunuch; and Iras and Charmion, her women." All Antony's followers were invited over with promises of rewards: and all Italy engaged itself by oath to serve Octavius. The city of Bologna alone asked and obtained liberty not to join in this oath, having been always under the patronage of the Antonian family.

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The forces of the two generals were now got together, and they were proportioned to the empire they contended for; one drawing all the east, and the other the west, to his party.[x] The ancient writers tell us, that Antony's army was composed of 100,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, besides the auxiliary troops sent by the kings in his alliance. Bogud, king of a part of Libya, Tarcondimotus, king of the higher Cilicia, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus, king of Paphlagonia, Mithridates, of Commagena, and Amyntas of Galatia, served in person in his army: and the king of the Medes,[y] Malchus of Arabia, and Polemon of Pontos, sent him their contingents. His fleet amounted to 500 vessels, a great many of which had from eight to ten rows of oars.

x Hinc Augustus agens Italos in prælia Cæsar
Cum Patribus, Populoque, Penatibus et magnis dis.—
Hinc ope barbarica, variisque Antonius armis,
Victor ab Auroræ populis et litore rubro,
Ægyptum, viresque Orientis, et ultima secum
Bactra vehit; sequiturque (nefas) Ægyptia conjunx.
Virg. Æn. 8. 678. Heyne.

y Antony having recalled the troops he had lent this monarch, the Parthians took the opportunity to make themselves masters of Media; and Armenia was likewise lost.

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Octavius had 80,000 legionary troops with cavalry equal to that of Antony: but his fleet did not exceed 250 vessels, and they were much smaller than those of Antony, but better built and better manned with sailors and rowers, who had learned their business in the war against Pompey; whereas those of Antony were half empty, and their sailors and rowers, being most of them forced into the service, had never seen the sea.

Antony sailed, with his whole force, to Corcyra, in the autumn of this year; but, being informed, that the enemy's vessels appeared upon the neighbouring coast, he supposed that Octavius's whole fleet was at sea, and retired towards Peloponnesus. There he put his troops into winter-quarters, and spent that season himself at Patræ.[z]

[z] Atticus died under the present consulship at the age of seventy-seven. He had been attacked with a fistula, for which, finding no cure, he came to a resolution of starving himself to death: and though, after abstaining for two days, the fever left him, and he found himself better, yet he rem[illegible]ed obstinate in his purpose, and was deaf to the entreaties of his relations and friends. He died altogether in character as a true Epicurean, voluntarily sacrificing the remains of a languishing life, to purchas[illegible] a deliverance from pain, wh[illegible] he deemed the sovereign evil. The difficulty of the times in which he live[illegible] the perpetual quiet he enjoyed in them, shewed that he was a perfect master of the principles of his sect, and knew how to
Middl. secure that chief good of an Epicurean life, his private ease and safety. One would
5. 2. naturally imagine, that this union with Cicero and Brutus, added to the fame of his
p. 580. wealth, would have involved him of course in the ruin of the proscription. But, as if he had foreseen such an event and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to Antony; and, in the time even of his disgrace, when he was driven out of Italy and his affairs thought desperate, he did many eminent services to Antony's friends, and particularly to his wife and children. It must be likewise imputed to the same principle of Atticus's caution and regard to his safety, that after so long and intimate a correspondence of letters with Cicero, on the most important transactions of that age, of which there are sixteen books of Cicero's still remaining, yet not a single letter of Atticus's was ever published: which can hardly be charged to any other cause, but his having withdrawn them from Tiro after Cicero's death, and suppressed them with a singular care; lest in that revolution of affairs, they should be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new masters. But his interest with the reigning powers was soon established upon a more solid foundation than that of his personal merit, by the marriage of his only daughter with M. Agrippa; which was first proposed and brought about by Antony. This introduced him into the friendship and familiarity of Octavius, whose minister and favourite Agrippa was; and Vipsania Agrippina, born of this marriage, when scarcely a year old, being promised to Tiberius, son-in-law to Octavius, and his successor, he became allied to the reigning family; and dignity was added to his quiet. It appears that he was born with very good natural parts, which he cultivated to his old age by perpetual study, and was particularly very learned in the Roman history, which gave him an occasion of obliging many families by making out their genealogies. He never formed any pretensions to the honours of the state, and made therefore no enemies, but with great address and assiduity courted the favour of all the great men, however opposite were their views and interests; and he had the success which every man of parts will have, who with such a pliant disposition, and so

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M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS, }

481st consulship.

The two generals were now in readiness for action. Antony brought his fleet into the gulf of Ambracia, Gulf of Arta. and Octavius assembled all his forces at Brundusium and the neighbouring ports. We are told, that Octavius wrote to his competitor, that if he would approach at the head of his army he should have ports in Italy to land in without molestation; and he would draw his troops so far from the sea, that he should want no room for encamping and putting his men in battalia. To make a return to this bravado, Antony challenged Octavius to fight a single combat, or, if he pleased, he would give him battle in the plains of Pharsalia, where Cæsar and Pompey had decided their differences. As soon as the fair season came on, Agrippa was detached, at the head of a numerous fleet, to reconnoitre the enemy and distress them. He made descents on the coasts Greece, took by force Methona, a considerable town Now called Modon. Peloponnesus, defended by a good garrison; killed gud, king of Mauritania, and seized a large convoy provisions coming from Syria and Egypt. At his return, Octavius carried over his whole army, and landed them at the Ceraunian mountains, whence they were Della Chimera. ordered to march along the coast as far as the gulf of Ambracia. He then sailed at the head of his fleet to the promontory of Actium, where he was very near surprising Antony, whose fleet lay there at anchor, but was in no state of defence. Antony, however, puts his ships into a fighting posture, and, to deceive his enemy, armed all his rowers, suspending the oars in such a manner as to make their blades appear on each side of the ship. Octavius durst not engage him in that narrow passage, and

much moderation, joins the splendour of an affluent fortune. Such a one is in nobody's way, and is necessarily looked on by all as a useful acquaintance.

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421st consulship.

stood off to sea. The two armies were now encamped on each side of the gulf, and for several months while they remained in this posture, had several skirmishes.

In the mean time Agrippa, at the head of a part of the fleet, took Toryna, Patræ, Leucas, and Corinth, to the great astonishment of Antony's army; which success caused many desertions. Amyntas, Deiotarus, and Domitius Ahenobarbus, went over to Octavius.[a] To the latter of these Antony generously sent all his servants and equipage, which so sensibly touched Domitius, who was already sick, that he died partly of grief and vexation. These desertions are said to have greatly soured his temper, and to have made him so suspicious and cruel, that he began to distrust Cleopatra herself, and would eat nothing without a taster. Cleopatra ridiculed his precautions: and, to convince him how useless all his care was, she poisoned the flowers of a garland which adorned her head, and, when the company was full of mirth and gaiety, she proposed to steep them in wine and to drink them. Antony instantly snatched from her the garland threw the flowers into his cup, and was just going to drink, when the queen stopped his hand, telling him, "that now it was evident he could have no guard against her address, were not her heart interested in his preservation." He thus perceived how useless it was to guard against the arts of a woman, who could so skilfully mingle the inevitable snares of death among her pleasures.

The summer was now spent, and nothing decisive was done. The grand question in Antony's camp was,

[a] " Longè ante, quam dimicaretur, exploratissima Julianarum partium fuit victoria. Vigebat in hac parte miles atque imperator; illâ marcebant omnia. Hinc remiges firmissimi; illinc inopiâ affectissimi: navium hac magnitudo modica nec celeritati adversa; illa, species terribilior: hinc ad Antonium nemo, illinc ad Cæsarem quotidiè aliqui transfugiebant. Denique in ore atque oculis Antonianæ classis per M. Agrippam Leucas expugnata, Patræ captæ, Corinthus occupata, bis ante ultimum discrimen classis hostium superata. Rex Amyntas meliora et utiliora secutus, (nam Dellius exempli sui tenax, ut a Dolabella *** ad Cæsarem accessere) virque clarissimus Cn. Domitius, qui solus Antoniarum partium, nunquam reginam, nisi nomine, salutavit, maximo et præcipiti periculo transmisit ad Cæsarem." Vell. Pat. 2. 84. Krause, p. 391.

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whether to trust all to a naval or land battle? Canidius, who commanded his legions, represented to him in the strongest manner, "that it would be contrary to all reason to put a victory to the hazard of the seas and winds, which they were certain of at land, by the valour and experience of their general, who to that day had kept up the title of invincible; and by the bravery of their soldiers, who had been tried in so many great dangers; that it would be no dishonour for him to leave the sea to Cæsar, whose officers and soldiers, in so long and desperate a war with S. Pompey, had become skilful in sea affairs." He also proposed, "that Cleopatra should go back to Egypt, whilst Antony marched into Macedonia, where he might determine the quarrel by a general battle, and where he would receive a powerful assistance from Dicomes, king of the Getæ." Antony was much inclined to follow this advice; but Cleopatra biassed him the other way, and obliged him, against his will, to hazard his empire and life in a sea-fight, and this, only that, in case of a defeat, she might escape with the greater ease.[b] Dio pretends that she even advised him to march back all his troops to Egypt.

Antony having taken this resolution to fight by sea, picked out of his numerous fleet 170 of his best ships, which was all he could well man, and burnt the rest. These, with Cleopatra's sixty galleys, made 230; but, as they were larger and higher than the enemy's, he reckoned that advantage would infallibly give him the victory. He put on board these ships 20,000 legionary

[b] If Octavius had great advantages over Antony in a sea-fight, I cannot think that he had less at land; and, certainly, the fatal consequences of a defeat at land were more immediate than one at sea. The legions Antony carried over into the east, were greatly diminished by his losses in the Parthian expedition, and they had lived the rest of the time at ease in a luxurious country: whereas Octavius was really the general of the veterans, and could command as many as he saw necessary, or was able to maintain; he had kept them under continual duty, and inured his new levies to war in his expeditions against the people of Dalmatia and Illyricum. The several towns taken by Agrippa, as it were in the sight of Antony's army, shew that Octavius's officers and soldiers were as active and enterprising as Antony's were dejected and spiritless. Now, in case of a defeat at land, Antony would have found great difficulty to escape; his fleet locked up in the gulf of Ambracia, was lost. Whereas,

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soldiers and 2000 archers. While he was thus embarking his troops, a brave old soldier, all covered with scars, spoke to him aloud, "My general, why do you despise this good sword and this old arm, which all my wounds have not weakened; and put your confidence in a frail piece of wood? Leave the water to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, people born and nursed up in that element; but leave us Romans to the firm land, where we may boldly meet death, and fall like men." Antony answered nothing; only by the motion of his head he seemed to encourage him, though he himself was not well satisfied; for, when his officers proposed taking away the sails, he opposed it, alleging, that he would have none of the enemy escape. Octavius, on his side, was very sensible of the advantage his enemy gave him by offering battle at sea, and prepared every thing for it. But, notwithstanding that the two generals were ready to engage, a violent storm prevented them for four days. On the fifth, which was the 2d of September,[c] the two fleets advanced towards each other.

Antony ranged his before the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, giving the command of the right wing to Gellius Publicola, the left to Sosius, and of the centre to M. Octavius and M. Justeius. He reserved to himself the general inspection of all, and, before the engagement, he, in his galley, went about encouraging his men with the remembrance of the many victories they had gained under his conduct, telling them, that the largeness of their vessels gave them an opportunity of fighting as firmly and with as much assurance as on dry land; and that this day, as he expected the empire of

in a sea-fight, which he took care to begin but late in the day, he had an opportunity of making off to Egypt, where he had a sure retreat, and an army in the neighbourhood, with which he hoped, if not to retrieve his affairs, at least to make a stand, and, perhaps, some composition with his rival. He seems likewise, it may be observed, to have despaired from the beginning of bringing off his land-army, in case of bad success at sea.

c The beginning of Octavius's reign was reckoned from this date by many authors. Vid. Scal. de Emend. temp. p. 453. and Petav. Doct. temp. lib. 10. c. 66.

the world from their valour, so they might expect rewards answerable to so noble a conquest. Octavius gave the command of his fleet to Agrippa, who had under him in the right M. Lurius, and L. Arruntius in the left. The consul Messala probably commanded the centre. As to Octavius himself, he kept no particular command, but, surrounded by a number of little boats to carry his orders, superintended the whole. The two land-armies, drawn up on the two sides of the gulf, were simple spectators of the battle, and encouraged their friends; the one was commanded by Canidius, the other by Statilius Taurus. Antony had recommended to his officers to keep as near the shore as possible, and to consider their vessels as so many citadels designed to sustain the assault of a number of besiegers: and they stayed in this situation till noon; Octavius keeping at a mile's distance, being sensible that, while the enemy's fleet was in that position, he could avail himself but very little of the nimbleness of his ships, and the skill of his mariners, which were his chief advantages. About noon, a gale springing up, Antony's left wing, impatient to begin the battle, moved forwards; and Octavius, to draw them farther from the shore, made his right wing fall still farther back. The battle began on both sides with great courage and bravery, and so continued for a long time, till, Agrippa stretching out his left wing in order to surround the enemy, Publicola, who commanded Antony's right wing, was obliged to do the same; and, in spreading out his vessels, he was separated gradually from the centre, which began to be put in disorder. The advantage was not determined on either side, according to all the ancient historians, when Cleopatra, wearied with expectation, and overcome with fear, unexpectedly tacked about, and fled towards Peloponnesus with her sixty sail; and, what is still more surprising, Antony himself, now regardless of his honour, fled precipitately after, and abandoned his men, who so gene-

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rously exposed their lives for his interest. Having reached Cleopatra's galley, he went into it, and sat a long time in a melancholy posture, without desiring to see the queen, though he had followed her, says Plutarch, without any apparent reason but the thoughts of her absence.

The battle, notwithstanding, continued with great obstinacy till five in the evening, when Antony's forces were partly constrained to submit by the great conduct of Agrippa, and partly persuaded by the obliging promises of Octavius.[d]

The conqueror's first care was to send away Mæcenas with a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra; but they had got so much the advantage of him, that he soon returned from the chase,[e] and was then dispatched to Rome to keep all quiet in Italy, in quality of prefect. Antony's land-army could not be persuaded, at first, that they were abandoned by their general, and were in expectation of seeing him every moment. In this confidence they held out seven days, paying no regard to Octavius's solicitations, and began to march towards Asia through Macedonia, till, at last, being deserted by

[d] "Ubi initum certamen est, omnia in altera parte fuere, dux, remiges, milites; in altera nihil præter milites. Prima occupat fugam Cleopatra. Antonius fugientis reginæ, quam pugnantis militis sui, comes esse maluit: et imperator, qui in desertores sævire debuerat, desertor exercitûs sui factus est. Illis, etiam detracto capite, in longum fortissimè pugnandi duravit constantia; et desperatâ victoriâ, in mortem dimicabatur. Cæsar, quos ferro poterat interimere, verbis mulcere cupiens, clamitansque et ostendens fugisse Antonium, quærebat pro quo et cum quo pugnarent? At illi, cum diu pro absente dimicassent duce, ægrè summissis armis, cessêre victoriam: citiûsque vitam veniamque Cæsar promisit, quam illis, ut ea precarentur, persuasum est. Fuitque in confesso, milites optimi Imperatoris, Imperatorem fugacissimi militis functum officio. Quis dubitet suo, an Cleopatræ arbitrio victoriam temperaturus fuerit, qui ad ejus arbitrium direxit fugam? Idem locatus in terra fecit exercitus, cum se Canidius præcipiti fuga rapuisset ad Antonium." Vell. Pat. 2. 85. Krause, p. 396.

If the battle did not begin till noon and all was over at five; and if Antony's ships fought a long time after his flight; then Cleopatra's expectation was soon wearied. Undoubtedly both she and Antony soon saw how affairs would turn, and were sensible that their fleet, consisting of heavy ships, was inevitably lost; and that they themselves would not be able to escape by flight, if they waited any longer. After they had lost their fleet and so many brave soldiers in the sight of their land-army, could they depend upon its fidelity? Since, even before the sea-fight, appearances were so much against Antony, that he was deserted by several of his chief officers, and to that moment the most zealous of his friends.

[e] Plutarch says, that one Eurycles did actually come up with Antony's ships, and took one loaded with plate and rich furniture.

the allies, who marched home, and also by their commander Canidius, and by many of their chief officers, they yielded to necessity, and accepted the conditions offered them. Octavius generously pardoned all his adversaries, excepting a very small number, who, in a very particular manner, were his declared enemies.[f] He then returned solemn thanks to Apollo, who was his particular patron among the gods, and the tutelar divinity of Actium, and consecrated to him a vessel of each kind, picked out of those taken from Antony, from one bank of oars to ten,[g] and, remembering what had happened in Sicily, after the reduction of Pompey's and Lepidus's armies, he immediately dismissed all Antony's old soldiers, and sent his own veterans into Italy, there to wait for the rewards which had been prômised them; keeping about him only such as had not served their full time, and who, in hopes of sharing the spoils of Egypt, would be faithful and zealous in his cause. At the same time, to put the city and all Italy in good humour, he took off all the taxes which he had been obliged lately to lay on them, and even remitted the arrears that were due. And, lest the veterans should raise a mutiny and disturbance, he sent Agrippa to take care of them. He himself went to Athens, where, being made acquainted with the oppression the Greeks had groaned under since Antony's arrival, he relieved the misery of the people by distributing among them the provisions which Antony had made for his army. From Athens he passed into Asia with a design of marching on towards Egypt,

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[f] Among the first are named Socius, Furnius, and M. Scaurus, Sextus Pompey's half-brother by the mother's side. The chief of those put to death were Curio, the son of the famous Curio; Aquilii Flori, father and son; and Cassius of Parma. Velleius infers, from his present clemency, that the cruelties exercised in the beginning of the triumvirate, and after the battle of Philippi, are not to be laid to his charge. "Victoria fuit clementissima; nec quisquam interemtus, nisi paucissimi, et ii, qui ne deprecari quidem pro se sustinerent. Ex qua lenitate ducis colligi potuit, quem aut initio triumviratûs, aut in campis Philippicis, si licuisset, facturus fuerit." Vell. 2. 86. Krause, p. 398.

[g] Suetonius's account is something different in Aug. c. 18. "Ampliato vetere Apollinis templo, locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis, Neptuno ac Marti consecravit." Wolfii, vol. 1. p. 132.

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when he was recalled into Italy by Agrippa, who had not authority enough over the veterans, who had grown turbulent, and loudly demanded their recompense.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS IV. } Consuls.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS. }

Octavius set sail in the middle of winter, and in his passage was twice in great danger of being shipwrecked; first upon the coast of Peloponnesus, and then on the coast of Epirus. He lost several of his ships, and the rigging and rudder of his own were torn away. At last he arrived safe at Brundusium, where he was met by all the senators, knights, and magistrates, except two prætors, and two tribunes of the people, who were ordered by the senate to remain in the city, in order to keep it quiet. His sudden arrival and this pompous reception disconcerted the mutinous soldiers, who were quite over-awed by the severity of his look and the haughtiness of his behaviour.[h] However, he distributed what money he

[h] "Divus Augustus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit." Tac. An. 1. 42. Our modern authors have made very free with Octavius's character as a soldier: "What a prodigious and incoherent mixture of opposite qualities in the same man! (says Abbé de Vertot) and especially in a man that aspired to render himself master of the whole world! In him we see an exalted, bold, audacious genius, capable of forming the greatest designs; yet incapable of facing coolly the least danger, and that shewed no courage but in council, and where there was no need of venturing his person in the execution. He was very early sensible that courage, a general's first quality, was wanting in him; yet, though he was conscious of this weakness in himself, it abated nothing of his ambition. He contented himself with calling another man's valour to his aid: he borrowed, as it were, Agrippa's courage." Hist. of the Revol. of Rome, b. 14. Abbé de St. Real is of the same opinion, and Mr. Montesquieu is yet more severe in his censure: "I believe Octavius is the only man, of all the Roman generals, who ever gained the affections of the soldiers by giving them perpetual instances of a natural timidity of spirit. The soldiers, at that time, were more affected with the liberality of their commanders than with their valour: perhaps it was even fortunate for him that he was not master of any qualities which could procure him the empire, and that his very incapacity should be the cause of his promotion to it, since it made him the less dreaded. It is not impossible that the defects which threw the greatest dishonour on his character were the most propitious to his fortune. If he had discovered at first any traces of an exalted soul, all mankind would have been jealous of his abilities; and if he had been spirited by any true bravery, he would not have given Antony time to launch into all the extravagances which proved his ruin." Reflections on the Grandeur of the Romans, c. 13. It is hard to understand what the president can mean by the last reflection; for it is evident, that till Octavius had vanquished Sextus Pompey and Lepidus, and Antony, by his extravagant behaviour, had lost the affections of the soldiers, the young triumvir was not a match for his partner in power: and as to the judgment these three very ingenious writers pronounce against Octavius's courage, it is grounded purely on some expressions which, Suetonius tells us, were thrown out against him in Antony's invectives and manifestoes. The whole tenor of his conduct,

had among the oldest of them, and allotted lands to them; but it was not in his power to discharge all that was due to them, and, to make them sensible of it, he exposed to sale his own effects and those of his friends. These nobody ventured to purchase, and his soldiers were ashamed that they had forced their general to such an expedient. They consented, therefore, to wait quietly his time; and he paid them out of the immense spoils which he brought from Egypt.

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After a stay of only twenty-seven days, he embarked again for Asia, to complete his victory by the destruction of Antony. All the kings of Asia came to assure him of their obedience; and none appeared more forward than Herod, king of Judea, who went as far as Rhodes to lay his crown at Octavius's feet, and offered to serve him in person with his troops. Octavius received him into favour, but would not spare Alexas, the Syrian, who attended him: and who, after having been Antony's greatest flatterer, was a most perfidious traitor to him. Didius, who commanded for Antony in Syria, declared likewise against him: and none of all his allies and officers remained faithful to him. A company of gladiators, which he had at Cyzicum, were the only friends he had left in all his dominions. These brave fellows set out to join him, and marched over all Asia, in spite of the opposition they met with from the kings and states who had abandoned his party. Didius stopped them in Syria, but was not able to reduce them: they informed Antony of their situation, entreating him to

from his first entrance upon the stage of action, is repugnant to it. No man could shew more daring spirit and more true courage than Octavius did, when he attacked Antony, armed with consular authority, and all the forces of the state, at the siege of Mutina; in his wars against S. Pompey; in those he waged against the Dalmatians; in fine, in this last against the formidable Antony himself. At the battle of Philippi he made no figure; he withdrew to Antony's camp; but we know very little of the circumstances of that battle: and it must be remembered that he had been long ill of a lingering disorder. But that he was lost for three days after the battle of Mutina, that he hid himself at Philippi among the baggage of Antony's army, and that in a sea-fight against Pompey he laid himself down in his ship upon his back, like a man in a trance, till the engagement was over; these are imputations as ridiculous in themselves, as they are inconsistent with the more authentic accounts of the ancient historians.

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come and put himself at their head; but, receiving no answer, they came to an agreement with Didius, and upon condition that they should be no more obliged to fight in the amphitheatre, they consented to wait in the suburbs of Antioch till Octavius disposed of them. They were afterward separated and incorporated into different legions.

Antony, after he was received into Cleopatra's galley, gave himself entirely over to melancholy reflections and despairing thoughts, and, through shame or indignation, refused to see the queen for three days; till, arriving at Tenarus, her women so bestirred themselves, that they brought them to see one another, and to sit together. There news was brought him of the entire loss of his fleet, but that it was uncertain whether his army remained firm. He wrote, therefore, from thence to Canidius to retreat through Macedonia and return to Asia, and he took what care he could of his friends, distributing among them all the money he had, and commanding them to leave him and provide for their own safety. From Tenarus he sailed to Paretonium, a town on the coast of Egypt, which borders on the territory of Cyrene.

Here Cleopatra left him to return to Alexandria.[1] His view, in remaining some time in the neighbourhood of Cyrene, was to assemble about him the troops he had in that country under the command of Pinarius Scarpus: but this lieutenant declared himself for the conqueror, and, having put to death Antony's couriers, and also some soldiers who spoke loudly in favour of their general, he delivered Cyrene, with four legions, to Gallus, who commanded for Octavius in those parts. This disappointment rendered him desperate, and he would in-

[1] Dio tells us, that she crowned her ships with garlands, and entered the port as if she returned victorious and triumphant; fearing lest the Alexandrians, in her distress, should refuse her admittance; and that her first care after her return, was to put to death a great many of her principal officers, and to confiscate the estates of others.

stantly have put an end to his life, if his friends had not hindered him, and carried him to Alexandria. There he found Cleopatra engaged in a project, which well shewed her enterprising spirit. She had caused some of her galleys to be carried over the isthmus of Suez into the Red sea, proposing to save herself with her treasures in an unknown world: but the Arabians having burnt them by the persuasion of Didius who commanded in Syria, she was forced to abandon a design so full of difficulties, and she set about fortifying the avenues of her kingdom, and making preparations for war. She also solicited foreign assistance, addressing herself to all the princes in the alliance of Antony; and it was then, to make up matters with the king of the Medes in particular, that she put to death Artabazes, king of Armenia, and sent his head to his enemy.

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While Cleopatra was thus employed, Antony's behaviour was very different. We are told that he betrayed a shameful weakness; built a house near Pharos, where he shut himself up without either friends or domestics, to imitate Timon, as he said, since he had no less reason to hate mankind than that Athenian, being betrayed by those whom he had most obliged. But his natural temper did not allow him to remain long in this state, and, quitting his cell, he gave himself up to feasting and every sort of extravagance. The society formed in the days of his power, and known under the title of "the inimitable life," was now changed into another, which was called "an engagement to die together." His friends subscribed their names, and all the fraternity prepared for death by the most excessive intemperance. In the midst of these diversions, Cleopatra is said to have made experiments of all sorts of poisons and venomous animals, in order to find out the means of procuring the quickest and easiest death; and she found that the asp was the only one, which caused such a one as she desired, without convulsions or pains. A gentle moisture bedewed

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the face, the senses became obliterated, and an excessive heaviness oppressed the whole body like those who are in a very sound sleep: and to this death she resolved to have recourse.

Plut. Ant.

Notwithstanding this firm resolution to die, we are told, that they sometimes entertained hopes of life; and Euphronius, tutor to Antony's children, was employed to make proposals to Octavius.[k] Cleopatra also privately sent her crown and sceptre, with a royal seal, as relinquishing all title to sovereignty herself, and demanded only the kingdom of Egypt for her children: and Antony requested that he might be allowed to live as a private man at Athens, if Octavius was not willing that he should stay in Egypt. It is added, that Antony, to soothe Octavius, had the baseness to deliver up to him Turullius, who was one of Cæsar's murderers, but who had served him well. Octavius put Turullius to death, accepted of the presents, and made no answer to Antony's propositions; but sent word to Cleopatra, "that there was no manner of favour which she might not reasonably expect, if she would either put Antony to death, or banish him." With this answer Euphronius returned, and with him Thyrsus, a freedman of Octavius, a person very artful and fit to manage an intrigue, who, coming with a message from a young emperor to an ambitious princess possessed with a mighty opinion of her own charms, had no difficult access to her. But these secret conferences between Cleopatra and him, and the honours she did him, threw Antony into such a furious passion of jealousy, that he immediately ordered him to be cruelly beaten with rods, and in that condition sent him to Octavius, with letters, that he had chastised Thyrsus, "for insulting over him at a time when his bad

Ibid.

k He and Cleopatra at this time, according to Dio, gave the *toga virilis* to Cæsario and Antyllis, and made this ceremony an occasion to regale the Alexandrians; perhaps, he thought also to strengthen his interest, by shewing two successors who were already in a condition to supply his place and revenge him; but this precaution was of no use to him, and proved fatal to the two youths, who would have found more security under the robe of infancy.

fortune had put him into an ill humour; but, if this proceeding offended him, he had his freedman Hipparchus by him, whom he might use after the same manner, and so be upon equal terms." Hipparchus was the first of Antony's freedmen that went over to Octavius. Cleopatra omitted nothing to clear Antony's mind of jealousy and suspicion; she redoubled her fondness and caresses, and, when her birthday came, she kept it in a manner that was suitable to their deplorable condition; but Antony's was celebrated with great splendour and magnificence; and all the guests were enriched by the noble presents she made on his account. Year of ROME 723. B.C. 29. 422d consulship.

In the mean time Octavius's forces advanced on each side of Egypt. Cornelius Gallus took possession of Paretonium, which was the key of Egypt on the west side; and Antony, who flew with his army and fleet to wrest it out of his hands, returned with great loss, particularly of his ships. For Gallus had left the port open, but had stretched chains under the water in the mouth of the harbour, which he drew up by the help of machines as soon as Antony's fleet had sailed in, and then attacked them on all sides: they were all burnt or sunk. Antony had flattered himself that the four legions which had been given up to Gallus would declare for him, as soon as he shewed himself to them; but Gallus, when he appeared and attempted to speak, caused all the trumpets to sound, and made a sally upon him with some success. Dio, p. 448, 449.

Octavius, on the other side, made himself master of Pelusium, the other key of Egypt. It was surrendered to him by Seleucus, and it was reported that this governor had only followed Cleopatra's orders; but she, to clear herself, delivered up his wife and children into Antony's hands. Near the temple of Isis she had built a magnificent sepulchre;[1] into this place she now removed her jewels, her gold and silver, and every thing she had which Plut. Dio, p. 449. Plut. Ant.

[1] According to Dio, l. 51. p. 448. it was within the walls of the palace.

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was valuable, causing them to be covered with great quantities of combustible matter; making no secret of her intention, which she declared to be to burn herself, if pushed to it, with all her treasure. She was sensible that this menace would have some effect upon Octavius, and she was not deceived; for, in his march towards Alexandria, he omitted no occasion of giving her assurances of his respect and his kind usage.

The nigh approach of the enemy began now to rouse Antony: it was plain that no other hopes were left him than of dying like a Roman, and this he fully resolved upon. He gathered all the troops he had, and made a brave sally on Octavius's cavalry, which he drove back into their camp, and even put the camp itself into disorder. Upon this advantage he entered Alexandria as in triumph, and went all armed to Cleopatra, to bring her the good news of his success, presenting one of his officers, who had behaved himself bravely in the fight. The queen rewarded the valour of the man with an armour of gold; but that very night he went over to Octavius, which dangerous example very much troubled Antony. He tried to provoke Octavius's temper, and challenged him to a single combat; but he was coldly answered, "that, if Antony sought death, he might find other methods to procure it." Dio adds, that he endeavoured to debauch Octavius's troops, and threw billets into his camp, promising 1500 drachms to every one who would come over to him; which had no other effect than to raise in them a general indignation.

Plut. Ant.

Dio, p. 449.

Antony, now finding his affairs quite desperate, resolved to make the last push, both by sea and land, with a full purpose to conquer honourably or die bravely. He ordered his people to treat him cheerfully and fill him his wine plentifully: "Perhaps (said he) this may be the last service you can do me, for to-morrow you may have another master, while I lie extended upon the ground, despised by all mankind." Finding his

friends much moved at this sorrowful discourse, he added, "However, I will not do you so great an injury as to lead you where death is more certain than victory." At break of day, the 1st of August, he posted all the troops he had remaining upon the rising ground nigh the town, from whence he sent orders to his galleys to engage the enemy. The fleet advanced in good order, but, as soon as Cæsar's ships approached, the soldiers all held down their arms and saluted them: these returned the salute, both fleets joined and stood over against the city. His cavalry, seeing this, left him also and went over to Octavius's camp; his infantry engaged, but was forced presently to yield.[m] The unfortunate Antony, abandoned thus by his men, and finding he could not die with glory in the field, returned back to Alexandria, overcome with dreadful rage and fury, running and crying out, "that Cleopatra had betrayed him, when he had ruined all his fortunes for her sake alone."

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The queen, hearing of his transport, in a great fright retired to her monument, and secured the doors; and then made a report be spread that she was dead, which was soon brought to Antony. This sad and unexpected news recalled all that love and tenderness he had for this princess. "O wretched Antony (cried he), what hast thou here in

[m] If these events followed so close upon one another, it is not possible to defer the taking of Alexandria till the 29th of August, the day which most writers have assigned: or we must suppose the battle which preceded it later than the 1st of August. Dio, who always put the worst construction upon actions, will have it that Cleopatra acted a treacherous part to Antony all along. She ordered Pelusium, he says, to be surrendered; she made the army and fleet revolt to Octavius; she gave out her death to engage Antony to kill himself, and so get rid of him; and afterward did all she could to engage the affections of his enemy. M. l'Abbé de St. Real and M. le President de Montesquieu, are of opinion that she treacherously fled during the battle of Actium, with a design to ruin her lover, and make her court to Octavius. "Yet this same Cleopatra (says the Abbé), who seemed to live in Antony, treacherously abandoned him, and by her perfidious flight delivered him into the power of his enemy, whose affections she determined with herself, from that moment, to engage if possible; a perfidiousness of which we see many examples, and which should convince us, that such is a woman's love, that we can never be secure of not being betrayed by her." Consid. sur Antoine. "It evidently appeared (says M. le President), by the circumstances of her future conduct, that she afterward betrayed him: perhaps, that incomprehensible spirit of coquetry, so predominant in her sex, tempted her to practise all her arts to lay a third sovereign of the world at her feet." Grand. des Rom. c. 15.

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this world, when fate has snatched from thee the only thing for which thou couldest endure to live?" Then, returning to his cabinet, he laid aside his armour and renewed his complaints: "O Cleopatra (said he), our separation is not my greatest grief, for we shall meet again; but what afflicts me most is, that I, who have commanded so many gallant men, should be outdone by a woman in courage." Immediately he called Eros, the most faithful of his freedmen, whom he had engaged by oath to kill him, when he should think it necessary; and now bade him perform his promise. Eros drew out his sword, as if he designed to obey him; and, turning aside, gave himself a wound which threw him dead at his master's feet. "Dear Eros (cried he), I thank thee for teaching me to do myself, what thy regard for me did not permit thee to perform:" and at the same time drawing his sword and plunging it into his belly, he threw himself upon a bed that was near. The wound was mortal, but the blood, by the situation of his body, being stopped, he soon came to himself, and most earnestly begged of his friends, who were come into his apartment, to dispatch him; but they all fled, leaving him in a miserable condition, tossing and struggling in the greatest anguish of pain. While he was in this situation, Diomedes came to him from Cleopatra, begging him, in her name, to suffer himself to be transported to the monument where she was, which Antony readily consented to. He was, therefore, brought to the place: but Cleopatra, having only her two women, durst not open the door, and only let down cords from the window.[n] All the people of Alexandria were present at this sad spectacle, and nothing appeared so

[n] Dio, who is sensible that this tragical history is lame in many of its parts, has tried to mend it: he says, that the door of the monument when once shut, could not be opened again: that the monument was not finished at the top, and that the cords made use of to draw up Antony were the same the workmen made use of to pull up the stones. He has also given the women a eunuch to help them. But, good Dio, if Cleopatra did not love Antony, and gave out the report of her death in order to engage Antony to kill himself, as you say, why did she not let him die in peace? Why put him and herself to all this trouble?

lamentable as to view this great man, renowned for so many conquests and victories, bathed in his blood and just expiring, holding out his hands to Cleopatra, and faintly endeavouring to raise himself; and to see this famous queen striving, with her body almost out of the window, with the feeble assistance of her women, to pull him up, the people all the time seeming to assist her with their cries and tears. When, after much pains, she had drawn him in, she embraced him, and laid him gently upon her bed, tearing all her clothes in a most violent manner, beating her face and breast, calling Antony her husband, her lord, her emperor! And though her own misfortunes were very great, she forgot them all at the sight of this deplorable object. Antony begged of her to moderate the transports of her grief, and asked for some wine, either because he was thirsty, or because he thought it would soon end him. After he had drank, he exhorted Cleopatra "to endeavour to save her life, if she could do it with honour; and, for that end, Proculeius (he told her) would be her best friend in Cæsar's camp; that she would not too deeply reflect upon the cruel turn of fortune which he felt in his last days, but rather think of that glory and renown he had long lived in, and that, after he had been the first man in the world, and the most illustrious of the Romans, he was at last overcome by a Roman." These, we are told, were his last words, after which he expired, in the fifty-third year of his age.

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It cannot be denied but he was born with great natural endowments, which, notwithstanding the profligacy of his life, he cultivated so as to capacitate himself for every great office of the state, both civil and military. After Cæsar's death, we see him roused from the midst of pleasure and debauch, and an entire obsequiousness to the dictator's will, forming the true plan of his interest, and pursuing it with a surprising vigour and address; till, after many and almost insuperable

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difficulties, he obtained the sovereign dominion which he aimed at. But after the battle of Philippi, we find in him neither spirit nor prudence. The glory he reaped on that day, the influence he had over Lepidus and the greatest commanders of the army, Ventidius, Pollio, Plancus; the esteem and affection of the soldiers, his own military skill, the immense riches of the eastern provinces; undoubtedly gave him a great superiority over young Cæsar. All which advantages he gradually lost. He suffered his wife, her brother, and all his adherents, to be crushed in Italy, without taking his revenge, or demanding the least satisfaction; he foolishly helped Octavius to destroy S. Pompey, who had sued for his favour, and who was a thorn in his competitor's side, and a strong barrier to his eastern empire. He tamely saw his friend and saviour, Lepidus, deprived with ignominy of his dignity, his army, his provinces. He trifled away the treasures of the east, and wasted his army in an inglorious war. When we compare this conduct with that spirit which he shewed after Cæsar's death, it is hard not to allow the ambitious and politic Fulvia a share in the glory of his rise to power, since, separated from that active spirit, we see him weighed down by his indolence and sensuality.

Antony's bloody sword was taken up by one of his guards, and carried to Octavius, with an account of his death. He retired into his tent, where he could not refrain from tears, when he reflected on the deplorable end of so great a man. He called in his friends, to whom he declared, that he had contributed nothing to the overthrow of Antony through any hatred or ambition: shewing them the copies of the letters he had written to him, which contained nothing but just and reasonable proposals, and Antony's answers full of passion and disdain. After this he sent Proculeius to employ his utmost address to seize upon Cleopatra, being extremely desirous to save her treasure, but more especially to

grace his triumph with this queen, who had so long triumphed over the Roman commanders. Cleopatra refused Proculeius entrance, but, through the door, demanded Egypt for her children; which caused Proculeius, after observing the avenues of the monument, to return to Octavius, who, the same instant, sent Gallus with him, to make her new propositions. While Gallus was discoursing with Cleopatra below, Proculeius, with two others, entered by the window at which Antony had been drawn up; and one of her women, perceiving it, presently cried out, "Wretched princess, thou art taken alive!" Upon which Cleopatra turned about, and, seeing Proculeius, drew out a dagger to stab herself; but Proculeius caught hold of her arm, saying, "Madam, will you at once injure yourself and Cæsar, in depriving him of the most illustrious testimony he can give you of his generosity; and make the best and gentlest prince in the world pass for cruel and barbarous?" Whereupon he disarmed her, searched her clothes lest any poison should be concealed about her, and, after he had secured her person, returned to Octavius with this joyful news.

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Octavius was extremely satisfied to have this haughty queen at his disposal, who before had lifted the crown of Egypt above the empire of the Romans. He commanded Epaphroditus, one of his freedmen, to guard her with the greatest care, and yet to serve her like a queen; and made his entrance into Alexandria in the most solemn and pompous manner. The majesty of Octavius, followed by so many armed soldiers, who breathed nothing but destruction, impressed the Egyptians with great fears, and they all fell prostrate upon their faces before him. Octavius told them he pardoned the city for the sake of its illustrious founder, for the extraordinary beauty of it, and for the great esteem he had for Areius, their fellow-citizen and philosopher, who was then with him. Several kings and Roman senators are said to have begged of him the body of Antony, to pay their last re-

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spects to him; but he would not deprive Cleopatra of a satisfaction so dear to her; and also furnished her with what was requisite for the pomp of the funeral, which she solemnized with extraordinary magnificence. Octavius now redoubled his complaisance to the captive queen, that nothing might occasion the increase of her afflictions; but her excessive melancholy, and the many blows she had given her breast, threw her into a slow fever, which gave her great hopes of ending her sorrows and her life in a short time: she had, besides, resolved to abstain from eating; a secret which she trusted her physician with.[o] Octavius soon discovered her intention, and immediately threatened to put all her children to death, if she persisted in her obstinacy. This was the only thing she could be sensible of, and the thoughts of this caused her to comply, and receive whatever they prescribed to her.

Octavius resolved to visit Cleopatra, and by his civilities to give her fresh assurance of his favour. He found her upon a plain bed,[p] and as soon as she perceived him, she rose in a slight garment she had upon her to throw herself at his feet, with her hair in disorder, her face torn, her breast bruised, her eyes red with weeping, and her voice weak and trembling; all which had not extinguished the brightness of her eyes, nor destroyed the charms of her person. Octavius civilly lifted her up, and sat down by her, and she immediately entered upon the justification of her conduct, pretending that all she had done was more out of fear of displeasing Antony, than from her own inclinations: but, when Octavius began to confute every article of

o This physician's name was Olympus, and Plutarch tells us that he left in writing the story of Cleopatra's end, from which he borrowed his account.

p Dio tells us, that the bed was very rich and elegantly adorned; that she herself was clad in a negligent manner, but such a one as greatly became her; that the closet was hung with Julius Cæsar's images and pictures; and that she had ready in her lap, to shew Octavius, all the letters she had received from his father. He then tells us their whole conversation, and all her artful speeches. It is thus the historians have taken the liberty to ornament these events, every one according to his notions of the actors.

her excuses, she presently turned the discourse to move his compassion, as if she desired nothing more than to prolong her life; and delivered him an inventory of all her jewels and treasure. Seleucus, her treasurer, accusing her of concealing several things, Cleopatra, in a great rage, threw herself out of her bed, dragged him by the hair, and beat him severely; which, Dio thinks, was only a pretence to shew Octavius her beautiful shape and body, which she had too great a confidence in. However, Octavius only smiled at this action, and led the queen to her bed. "O Cæsar (cried she), after the honour of visiting me in this miserable condition, is it not cruel and barbarous that a vile slave should accuse me of laying aside a few trifles, alas! not to adorn myself, but to present them to Livia and Octavia, that their generous intercession may in some measure procure to me your favour?" This discourse gave great satisfaction to Octavius, imagining it implied a desire she had of living: and thereupon he assured her, she might keep her jewels, and that he would use her more generously than she could reasonably hope for; and so retired, much pleased with his success, having, as he supposed, overreached her: but the queen had sounded him every way, and deceived him.

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Cleopatra was soon afterward informed by Dolabella, one of Octavius's favourites and her admirer, that Octavius had resolved to set out soon for Syria, and had determined to send, within three days, her and her children away before him. Upon this information, she sent to beg leave to pay her last oblations to the memory of Antony, which was granted her. Whereupon she was carried to the stately sepulchre where Antony's body was laid; and, attended by two women, she fell upon her knees, embraced his tomb with extreme grief and passion, and, after a flood of tears, she cried, "My dearest lord, I was a queen and wore no chains, when I first placed thee in this monument: but now, that I pay my

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duties, I am fortune's slave; my servile body is reserved to grace the triumph of thy foes, on which I dare not so much as print the marks of my grief. These tears, these pangs of grief, are the last tokens of the love and duty of thy Cleopatra, who now must be forced far from thee: no chance could separate us while living, but our cruel destiny will part us in our deaths. And as, by a strange turn of fate, Egypt has afforded thee a tomb, so Rome will me: the only courtesy I shall receive from thy country. Yet I hope the heavenly powers that guard your happy abode (for ours have betrayed us) will stem the conqueror's pride, and suffer him not to triumph over thee in my person. Hide me, therefore, here, and receive me into thy tomb; for, amongst all my bitter griefs and heavy afflictions, none ere pressed my soul so hard as living thus long without thee." After these lamentations, she crowned the tomb with garlands and flowers, embracing it as if she designed to grow to it. Then, as if her mourning was quite over, she ordered her women to prepare her a bath; which when she had used, she dressed herself in the richest manner, and ordered her table to be served with the greatest magnificence. While she was eating, a countryman came and desired to speak to the queen: the guards stopped him and would know what he carried in a basket that he had in his hand. The Egyptian turned up some leaves and shewed them some fine figs in so innocent a manner that they let him go. After dinner she sent a letter to Octavius, wherein she earnestly beseeched him to permit her to be buried in the same tomb with Antony; and, clearing her room of all, except Iras and Charmion, she is supposed to have applied her arm to the asp that was brought her. Octavius, informed by her letter of what she was about, sent immediately some messengers, who found her dead upon a golden bed adorned with her royal robes, in the posture of one asleep, with Iras also dead at her feet, and Charmion just breathing and

placing her diadem right. One of the messengers very angrily asked, "Is this well done, Charmion?"—"Extremely well (replied she), and becoming a princess descended from so noble a race of monarchs;" at which she expired at her mistress's feet.[q]

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Thus died this famous queen, in the thirty-ninth year of her age, having reigned twenty-two, twelve of which she passed with Antony. Octavius ordered her a magnificent funeral, laying her body by Antony's, according to her desire: and her women also were interred with considerable pomp, to honour their fidelity. With her ended the Ptolemean race, after it had lasted 294 years. Her son Cæsario, whom she had by Julius Cæsar, was shortly after slain by Octavius's orders, who was told by Areius, the philosopher, that many Cæsars were of dangerous consequence. Her two sons by Antony, Ptolemy and Alexander, were led in triumph, after which they were dismissed and were no more heard of. Her daughter, Cleopatra Selene, was married afterward to Juba, king of Mauritania. Her statues were left standing, a favour, says Plutarch, which Archilius, a faithful servant of the queen, purchased at the price of 1000 talents. Antony's statues were all thrown down in Egypt as well as Rome, by virtue of a decree of the senate, by which all that had been enacted in his favour was made void; his birthday was ranked among those deemed unfortunate, and it was forbid in his family to bear the name of Marcus. M. Tullius, Cicero's son, was consul when this decree passed, and he had the pleasure of

[q] Octavius represented her in his triumph with an asp sticking to her arm, and it was the common persuasion that she had made use of this animal to poison herself, yet there was no spot or mark of poison upon her body, or any animal found in the monument. Only there were observed upon her arm two small punctures, and, upon the sand near the monument, some marks of the flight of an animal. It was suspected, at the time, that she and her maids had made use of a golden bodkin steeped in a very subtile poison, with which they pricked themselves. Dio reports that the Psylli were employed to suck out the poison, which they attempted in vain. This historian tells us very gravely, that the Psylli were a peculiar people of Africa (all males, for, says he, there is no Psylla), of such a natural complexion, that no poisonous animal could hurt them, and they could cure any one bit or stung by sucking out the poison: they also could know whether their wives were faithful by exposing their children to asps and other serpents.

Year of ROME 723. B.C. 29. — 422d consulship. executing it. It was designed so probably by Octavius, when he took him for his colleague.[r] He thus made some atonement for his treachery to the father; and, by giving the father this opportunity of revenging his death upon Antony, fixed the blame of it also there; Dio, lib. 51. p. 456. while the people looked upon it as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of Antony's name and fortunes should, by a strange revolution of affairs, be reserved for the triumph of young Cicero.

Egypt was reduced into the form of a Roman province, and its immense riches were transported to Rome; which enabled Octavius to pay all he owed to his soldiers. It is said that upon this event, and the re-establishment of peace, every thing rose to double their value, and the interest of money fell from twelve to four per cent.

A province, so rich and so extremely fertile in corn, was a very considerable acquisition to the Roman empire. It is said to have supplied the capital of the universe with provisions for four months of the year. But it was necessary to take measures to keep in subjection a people naturally fickle, and disposed to sedition and revolt, and to prevent the governor of it from aspiring to an independency in a kingdom so remote from Rome, and of such difficult access both by sea and land. To prevent these two inconveniences, Octavius would not suffer at Alexandria either senate or public council, as Tacit. Hist. l. c. 11. Strab. lib. 17. there was in every great town of the empire; but subjected them to a prefect, who had all the authority of a viceroy, having under his command three legions, and some other bodies of troops less considerable distributed in different parts of the kingdom; and for this prefect he neither chose a magistrate nor a senator, but a man of low birth, without adherents, and who owed his whole fortune to him. The first invested with this im-

[r] It appears, by the Capitoline marbles, that he bore this office from the ides of September to the calends of November.

portant prefecture was Cornelius Gallus, more distinguished by his literary talents than his military virtues: and it became a maxim of state afterward to follow these regulations.[s] However, Egypt was never happier than from this moment. The governor made his troops cleanse the canals into which the Nile, in its rise, discharged itself, and which were half stopped up with mud: and this greatly contributed to the fertility of the country, and to the facility of the interior commerce. He restored the vigour of the laws, and encouraged the foreign trade. Alexandria, by these means, preserved its rank of being the second city of the world, which she constantly enjoyed till the translation of the empire to Constantinople.

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Octavius[t] left Egypt towards the end of the fine season, and went by Syria into Asia to pass there the winter. In all these countries he applied himself to gain the affections of the people, and replaced in the temples the several statues, which Antony had taken away to gratify Cleopatra; a restitution which both religion, and the taste the Greeks had for arts, rendered extremely agreeable to them.

He had now an opportunity of concerning himself in the affairs of the Parthians. Phraates's cruelty had driven them to a revolt, and they crowned Tiridates in his place. The fugitive monarch had recourse on this to the Scythians, and, with their troops, returning into his kingdom, he, during Octavius's stay in Egypt, expelled Tiridates, who retired into Syria, with one of his enemy's sons, whom he had made prisoner. Tiridates offered to Octavius to become his vassal, if he restored

[s] This prefect was called Augustalis, and had under him an officer for the administering of justice, called Juridicus; and his retinue was made up of the household, or the freedmen and dependants of Cæsar.

[t] Before he left Alexandria, he had the curiosity to view the coffin and body of Alexander the Great, which were taken out of the vault: and he paid his respects to the memory of that prince by the present of a golden crown, and scattering flowers upon the body. Being asked whether he was inclined to see those of the Ptolemies, he replied, "that he had a desire to see a king, not dead men."

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him to the Parthian throne; and Phraates demanded back his son from him, together with his rebellious slave Tiridates. But Octavius hearkened to neither of them: he gave Tiridates protection in Syria, and kept the son of Phraates as a hostage for his father's good behaviour.

Vell. Pat.

While he was still in Asia, Mæcenas discovered at Rome a conspiracy against his life. The son of Lepidus, a rash, impetuous young man, was at the head of it: he saw in him the destroyer of all his relations, and proposed to revenge, by his death, his father, whom he had spoiled of all his power and riches, his uncle Brutus, and, last of all, Antony, his father-in-law.[u] We have no full account of this plot: all we know of it is, that Mæcenas soon discovered it, and kept such a vigilant eye upon the young man, that he soon had proofs enough to convict him. He was seized and put to death; Servilia, his wife, desired to follow her beloved husband to his tomb; but, being carefully observed by her family, and having no weapon, she choked herself by swallowing live coals.[x] The mother of the conspirator Junia, sister of M. Brutus, was included in the criminal process against her son, and Mæcenas was disposed to send her to Octavius, or, at least, he demanded security for her appearing, whenever she should be called upon. The consul, before whom that process was carried on, was one who had been proscribed, whom Appian calls Balbinus.

Year of ROME 724. B. C. 28.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS V. } Consuls.
SEXTUS APULEIUS, }

423d consulship.

Octavius entered upon his fifth consulship in Asia, and

[u] Antony, according to Dio, had given one of his daughters in marriage to Lepidus. She was now dead, since there is no mention of her among Antony's children, and the wife of young Lepidus was, at this time, Servilia.

[x] The same thing has been falsely reported of Porcia, M. Brutus's wife. This fact rests upon the authority of Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. c. 88. "Æquetur Calpurniæ Antistii, Servilia Lepidi uxor, quæ vivo igni devorato prræmaturam mortem immortali nominis sui pensavit memoria."

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did not return to the city till about Midsummer: he was then received with universal joy and satisfaction as, a person who had put an end to the miseries and calamities of the state. The senate had decreed him all sorts of honours, both human and divine, as they had formerly done to his father Julius: and, in the month of August, he triumphed, for three days together, with extraordinary splendour and magnificence. His first triumph was for his success in Illyricum; the second for the battle of Actium; and the third for the conquest of Egypt. These triumphs were attended with the shutting of the temple of Janus, which had stood open 205 years; and by the performance of the divination called the *augury of safety*, which had not been renewed since the end of the third Mithridatic war: they were followed by great largesses made to the people and the soldiery; by entertainments of all kinds, and dedications of temples: and, to perpetuate the memory of a victory which had given him the empire of the world, he increased the splendour and pomp of those games which had been celebrated at Actium in honour of Apollo from the remotest antiquity, and ordered that they should be renewed every five years. Upon the spot of ground there, where his army had encamped, he built a town which he called Nicopolis, the City of Victory, which soon, by the privileges granted it, became populous and flourishing. Another Nicopolis was built near Alexandria upon the field where Antony engaged him, and games were likewise instituted there.

Octavius was now sole master of the Roman empire by the destruction of his enemies, but with no other legal title than that odious one of the triumvir, which he had promised to resign; and we are told, that he had thoughts of fulfilling his promise, and took the advice of his two most intimate friends, Agrippa and Mæcenas. Agrippa, it is said, advised him to restore the commonwealth; but Mæcenas dissuaded it. Dio had given us

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the speeches which these two ministers made to their master; and a long sermon of Mæcenas, concerning the right administration of the empire. The senate had ordered that his name should be inserted in the public prayers for the safety of the empire, in which hitherto none but the senate and people had been named;[y] and on the 1st of January, the consul, his colleague, and the whole senate confirmed all his acts, and swore to observe his orders. This ceremony was observed ever after, and was no less than an oath of allegiance. But the first decree in his favour, made by the senate, seems to have been that of the tribunitian power for his whole life, which had already been offered him: yet he does not seem to have accepted of this grant till after his eleventh consulship. He accepted, however, of a very substantial one in that of imperator, which gave him the command of all the armies; and this, joined to the consulship, invested him in reality with all the military and civil power: and he continued himself in the consulship, till he gradually was vested with all the offices of the state. The following year he was made censor with Agrippa. In fine, in his seventh consulship, finding all matters ripe for his purpose, he went to the senate, and after a studied speech, resigned his sovereign power on the 7th of January. The house unanimously besought him, with many words and entreaties, "that he alone would take upon him the administration of the government;" and, after many arguments and persuasions, they compelled him, as it were, to accept of the sovereignty, under the title of prince, a word sometimes used under the republic, as in the case of the prince of the senate: so

y It was also enjoined, according to Dio, to make libations to him in private entertainments; one may doubt whether this was enacted by public authority; but we learn from an ode of Horace, that flattery introduced the custom:

Quisque—— alteris
Te mensis adhibet Deum:
Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
Defuso pateris; et Laribus tuum
Miscet numen, ut Græcia Castoris
Et magni memor Herculis. L. 4. od. 5.

that he would appear to be no more than the first man of the state. It was decreed, at the same time, that he should have a constant guard, and that their pay should be double that of the other soldiers.

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Thus Octavius Cæsar, by his artifice, in pretending to lay down all his power and authority, got it confirmed to him both by the senate and people. Yet, to soothe the senate and make himself popular, he refused to govern all the provinces, or to have a perpetual power over such as he should take care of. Therefore, on the ides of January, or on the 13th, he made a division of the empire. The weaker and inward provinces being in a more peaceable posture, he left them to be disposed of by the people in favour of consular and prætorian senators, with these provisions, that they should not take possession of them till five years after they had borne offices in the city: that they should hold their government but for a year; and that, as soon as successors were sent them, they should immediately depart from their provinces, and not fail of being at Rome within three months. These provinces were Africa and Numidia, Libya called Cyrenaica, Asia Minor, Greece with Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Crete, Sicily, Sardinia, and that part of Spain called Bœtica. Cæsar kept the rest of Spain, all Gaul and Germany, as also Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Egypt, and Cyprus, which were more exposed to the incursions of foreign enemies, and formed the barrier of the empire. When any war broke out in any of the provinces in the department of the people, the prince was to take it, and to give up some other one more quiet in its stead: so Augustus afterward took Dalmatia, and made over to the people Cyprus and Gallia Narbonesis. By this contrivance he engrossed the whole militia of the empire, declaring, at the same time, that he only took this charge upon himself for ten years.

On the 17th of the same month the senate, in ac-

Year of ROME 724. B.C. 28. 423d consulship.

knowledgment of the moderate use Octavius made of the sovereign authority, decreed him many honours. A laurel was placed before his gates, and upon it were hung garlands of oak-leaves, to signify that he was the perpetual conqueror of the enemies of the state, and preserver of the citizens.[z] His house was called the Palatium, wherever he took his abode. It was debated whether they should give him the title of Romulus, as second founder of the state; but the more venerable name and less invidious one of Augustus, propounded by Munacius Plancus, was agreed to: for sacred places and temples consecrated by augurs, were termed Augusta.[a] It was afterward enacted, that the prince should have, in the city, all the honours and power of the consuls, though he was not consul; and in the provinces, governed by prætorian and consular senators, the prerogatives of proconsul, with a power superior to that of the proper governors. He was made perpetual master of manners: he had all the power of the censorship and tribunate: and he was invested with the office of

Suet. in Oct. 7. Florus, 4. 12.

z Postibus augustis eadem fidissima custos
Ante fores stabis, mediamque tuebere quercum. Ovid. 1. Met. 562.

State Palatinæ laurus, prætextaque quercu
Stet domus. Id. 4. Fast. 953. Gierig, p. 256.

Cur tamen adposita velatur janua lauro;
Cingit et augustas arbor opaca fores?
Num quia perpetuos meruit domus una triumphos
An quia Leucadio semper amata Deo?
Ipsane quod festa est; an quòd facit omnia festa?
Quam tribuit terris, Pacis an ista nota est?
Utque viret semper laurus, nec fronde caduca
Carpitur; æternum sic habet illa decus.
Id. 3. Trist. 1. 39. Harles, p. 111.

a "Tractatum in senatu, an, quia condidisset imperium, Romulus vocaretur, sed sanctius et reverentius visum est nomen Augusti, ut scilicet jam tum, dum colit terras, ipso nomine et titulo consecraretur." Flor. 4. 12. The era of the Roman empire is dated from the 1st of January this year. This title of Augustus at first was only personal, and did not convey any idea of sovereignty: several of the imperial family took it, who were never emperors; as Germanicus. The female line who had not the least shadow of sovereignty with the Romans, had it, as Antonia Major: and thus Livia first took the name of Augusta, when she was adopted by her husband's will into the Julian family. After the time of Dioclesian, it was changed into Semper Augustus, which title the emperor of Germany now enjoys. Taylor, p. 36. See Mem. de Litt. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, t. 19. p. 342. where Abbé de la Bleterie has taken the pains to inquire by what steps and at what period the title of Augustus came to express the imperial power.

high-priest, and the presidency in all the colleges of augurs, septemviri, and quindecimviri. Thus the prince got into his hands all the jurisdiction and privileges of the several offices of the state; and what was granted to Augustus by degrees, was afterward conferred upon his successors at once by one single instrument, and despotic monarchy established by a law, called afterward *lex regia.*[b] Augustus consented at first to receive the sovereign power for ten years: when the ten years were expired, he was prevailed upon to accept it for ten more, and in this manner kept it all his life.—His successors, in imitation of this example, though they had the empire settled upon them without any limitation of time, yet, at the end of every ten years, celebrated solemn feasts, as for a renewal or continuation of the sovereignty in their persons.

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[b] A fragment of that relating to Vespasian was found engraven upon copper in the church of St. John de Lateran at Rome, and is now preserved in the Capitol. It was also called *lex Imperii, Augustum privilegium, lex Augusti:* and Ulpian, writing upon this law, uses this expression: "Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem: utpote cum lege regia, quæ de imperio ejus lata est, Populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem conferat." D. 1. 4. 1. pr.

THE CAPITOLINE MARBLES;

OR,

CONSULAR CALENDARS:

AN ANCIENT MONUMENT,

Accidentally discovered at ROME *in the Year* 1545, *during the Pontificate of* PAUL III.

KINGS OF ROME.

Year.

1. ROMULUS.
He triumphs for vanquishing the Cæninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates.
5. He makes himself a trophy of the spoils he took from king Acron, whom he killed with his own hand.
16. He triumphs over the Camerini.
17. He triumphs over the Veientes and Fidenates.
38. INTERREGNUM.
40. NUMA POMPILIUS.
83. TULLUS HOSTILIUS.
87. He triumphs over the Albans.
91. He triumphs over the Sabines.
114. ANCUS MARCIUS.
115. He triumphs over the Veientes.
120. He triumphs over the Sabines.
139. TARQUIN the First.
150. He triumphs over the Latins.
160. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.
171. He triumphs over the Sabines.
176. SERVIUS TULLIUS.
182. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.
186. He triumphs over the Hetrurians a second time.
200. He establishes the census and lustrum, of which there were four in his reign.
220. TARQUIN the Proud.
227. He triumphs over the Volsci.
228. He triumphs over the Sabines.
243. He is dethroned, and driven from Rome.

CONSULS.

YEAR OF ROME, 244.

1. CONSULSHIP.

L. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
L. TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS.
PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA is substituted in the room of L. Tarquinius, who abdicates.
SPURIUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS fills Brutus's place, who was killed before his office expired.
HORATIUS PULVILLUS is chosen in the room of Spurius, who died in his office.
Publius Valerius Poplicola triumphs over the Veientes and Tarquinienses.

Quæstors.

P. Veturius Geminus. *M. Minucius Augurinus.*

YEAR OF ROME, 245.

2. CONSULSHIP.

P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
TITUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.

THE FIFTH LUSTRUM.

Quæstors.

Q. Clælius Siculus. *A. Sempronius Atratinus.*

YEAR OF ROME, 246.

3. CONSULSHIP.

P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a third time.
M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS, a second time.

Quæstors.

T. Æbutius Elva. A. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 247.

4. CONSULSHIP.

SPURIUS LARTIUS FLAVUS.
T. HERMINIUS AQUILINUS.

Quæstors.

M. Tullius Longus. T. Virginius Tricostus.

YEAR OF ROME, 248.

5. CONSULSHIP.

M. VALERIUS.
P. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS. Marcus Valerius and Publius Posthumius triumph over the Sabines.

Quæstors.

T. Lartius Flavus. Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 249.

6. CONSULSHIP.

P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a fourth time.
T. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, a second time. Valerius triumphs over the Sabines and Veientes.

Quæstors.

P. Servilius Priscus. A. Virginius Tricostus Cælimontanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 250.

7. CONSULSHIP.

P. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS, a second time.
AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS, who triumphs over the Sabines. Posthumius receives only the honours of an ovation.

Quæstors.

T. Veturius Geminus. Posthumius Cominius Auruncus.

YEAR OF ROME, 251.

8. CONSULSHIP.

OPITER VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.
SPURIUS CASSIUS VISCELLINUS, who triumphs over the Sabines.

Quæstors.

Q. Servilius Priscus. T. Geganius Macerinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 252.

9. CONSULSHIP.

POSTHUMIUS COMINIUS AURUNCUS.
T. LARTIUS FLAVIUS.

THE SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Quæstors.

P. Minucius Augurinus. Q. Sulpitius Camerinus Cornutus.

YEAR OF ROME, 253.

10. CONSULSHIP.

SER. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS.
M. TULLIUS LONGUS, who dies in his consulship.

Quæstors.

C. Julius Iulus. M. Valerius Volusus.

YEAR OF ROME, 254.

11. CONSULSHIP.

P. VETURIUS GEMINUS.
T. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

Quæstors.

P. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

YEAR OF ROME. 255.

12. CONSULSHIP.

T. LARTIUS FLAVUS, a second time.
Q. CLŒLIUS SICULUS.

DICTATOR.

T. LARTIUS FLAVUS.

General of the Horse.

Sp. Cassius Viscellinus.

Quæstors.

M. Claudius Crassinus Regillensis. L. Geganius Macerinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 256.

13. CONSULSHIP.

A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS,

Quæstors.

C. Aquilius Tuscus. Virginius Tricostus Rutilus.

YEAR OF ROME, 257.

14. CONSULSHIP.

A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
TITUS VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.

DICTATOR.

A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.

General of the Horse.

T. Æbutius Elva.

A. Posthumius triumphs over the Latins.

Quæstors.

T. Sicinius Sabinus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 258.

15. CONSULSHIP.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.
P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.

Quæstors.

Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis. L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 259.

16. CONSULSHIP.

A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.
T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CICURINUS.

DICTATOR.

MANIUS VALERIUS.

General of the Horse.

Q. Servilius Priscus.

Manius Valerius triumphs over the Sabines.

Quæstors.

C. Minucius Augurinus. Sex. Furius Fusus.

YEAR OF ROME, 260.

17. CONSULSHIP.

SP. CASSIUS VISCELLINUS, a second time.
POSTHUMIUS COMINIUS AURUNCUS, a second time.

THE SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sicinius Bellutus. L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Mucius Cordus Scævola. Q. Mucius Cordus Scævola.

Quæstors.

P. Valerius Poplicola. M. Fabius Vibulanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 261.

18. CONSULSHIP.

T. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
P. MINUTIUS AUGURINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Icilius Ruga. C. Licinius Calvus.

Ædiles.

L. Sicinius Bellutus. L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

Quæstors.

C. Julius Iulus. Sp. Furius Fusus.

YEAR OF ROME, 262.

19. CONSULSHIP.

M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, a second time.
A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sicinius Bellutus. M. Decius Mus.

Ædiles.

Sp. Icilius Ruga. L. Junius Brutus.

Quæstors.

Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus. M. Horatius Pulvillus.

YEAR OF ROME, 263.

20. CONSULSHIP.

Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.
SP. LARTIUS FLAVUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Mænius. L. Albinius.

Ædiles.

C. Sicinius Bellutus. P. Licinius Calvus.

Quæstors.

T. Virginius Tricostus Rutilus. C. Servilius Structus Ahala.

YEAR OF ROME, 264.

21. CONSULSHIP.

C. JULIUS IULUS.
P. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Sicinius Bellutus. L. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles.

C. Icilius Ruga. C. Junius Bubulcus.

Quæstors.

C. Cornelius Lentulus. C. Horatius Pulvillus Esquilinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 265.

22. CONSULSHIP.

SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
SEX. FURIUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Plætorius. P. Licinius Calvus.

Ædiles.

L. Sicinius Bellutus. C. Licinius Calvus

Quæstors.

T. Menenius Lanatus. A. Virginius Tricostus Rutilus.

YEAR OF ROME, 266.

23. CONSULSHIP.

C. AQUILIUS TUSCUS.
T. SICINIUS SABINUS, who triumphs over the Volsci.
Aquilius defeats the Hernici, and has only the honour of an ovation.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Albinius. P. Licinius Calvus.

Ædiles.

L. Icilius Ruga. C. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors.

Sp. Servilius Structus. Q. Sextius Capitolinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 267.

24. CONSULSHIP.

SP. CASSIUS VISCELLINUS, a third time.
PROCULUS VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RUTILUS.
Sp. Cassius triumphs over the Volsci and Hernici.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Rabuleius. M. Silius.

Ædiles.

C. Junius Bubulcus. M. Platorius.

Quæstors.

C. Nautius Rutilus. L. Furius Medullinus Fusus.

YEAR OF ROME, 268.

25. CONSULSHIP.

Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Mucius Scævola. M. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Ædiles.

C. Licinius Calvus. C. Rabuleius.

Quæstors.

K. Fabius Vibulanus. L. Valerius Potitus.

YEAR OF ROME, 269.

26. CONSULSHIP.

L. ÆMELIUS MAMERCINUS.
K. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Titinius. C. Sicinius Bellutus.

Ædiles.

L. Albinius. M. Silius.

Quæstors.

A. Manlius Vulso. Vepiscus Julius Iulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 270.

27. CONSULSHIP.

M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Mænius. P. Licinius Calvus.

Ædiles.

C. Licinius Calvus. M. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Quæstors.

P. Furius Fusus. App. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 271.

28. CONSULSHIP.

C. JULIUS IULUS.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Albinius. P. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Ædiles.

C. Rabuleius. C. Mænius.

Quæstors.

L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus. T. Æmilius Mamercinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 272.

29. CONSULSHIP.

K. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a second time.
SP. FURIUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Icilius Ruga. L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Ædiles.

M. Titinius. P. Decius Mus.

Quæstors.

A. Virginius Tricostus Cælimontanus. Q. Servilius Priscus.

YEAR OF ROME, 273.

30. CONSULSHIP.

CN. MANLIUS CINCINNATUS.
M. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

Ti. Pontificius. C. Rabuleius.

Ædiles.

L. Albinus. P. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Quæstors.

T. Numicius Priscus. M. Volumnius Amintinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 274.

31. CONSULSHIP.

K. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a third time.

T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RUTILUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Junius Bubulcus. C. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles.

Sp. Icilius Ruga. M. Decius Mus.

Quæstors.

M. Minucius Augurinus. P. Minucius Augurinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 275.

32. CONSULSHIP.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.

CAIUS SERVILIUS STRUCTUS AHALA, who did not finish the year, but abdicated, or died before it ended.

C. CORNELIUS was put in his room.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Decius Mus. M. Flavuleius.

Ædiles.

T. Pontificius. L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Quæstors.

L. Volumnius Amintinus. M. Tullius Longus.

PROCONSULS.

K. Fabius Vibulanus. Sp. Furius Fusus.

YEAR OF ROME, 276.

33. CONSULSHIP.

C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.

T. MENEMIUS LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Rabuleius. L. Flavuleius.

Ædiles.

M. Flavuleius. C. Acilius Ruga.

Quæstors.

T. Æbutius Elva. Sp. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.

PROCONSUL.

K. Fabius Vibulanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 277.

34. CONSULSHIP.

A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RUTILUS.

P. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.

Tribunes of the People.

T. Genucius Aventinensis. Q. Considius.

Ædiles.

M. Decius Mus. P. Mucius Scævola.

Quæstors.

S. Furius Medullinus Fusus. M. Papirius Megillanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 278.

35. CONSULSHIP.

P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Valerius triumphs over the Veientes and Sabines.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cædicius. T. Statius.

Ædiles.

T. Flavuleius. Q. Mucius Scævola.

Quæstors.

C. Fossius Flaccinator. Sex. Papirius

YEAR OF ROME, 279.

36. CONSULSHIP.

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS FUSUS.

A. MANLIUS VULSO.

THE EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Manlius vanquishes the Veientes, and receives the honours of an ovation.

Tribunes of the People.

K. Atuius Longus. Q. Mucius Scævola.

Ædiles.

T. Pontificius. Q. Considius.

Quæstors.

A. Posthumius Albus Regillensis. L. Æbutius Elva.

YEAR OF ROME, 280.

37. CONSULSHIP.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time.

VOPISCUS JULIUS IULUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Genucius. C. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles.

T. Genucius Aventinensis. L. Cædicius.

Quæstors.

P. Servilius Priscus. L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 281.

38. CONSULSHIP.

L. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS.

C. FURIUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Volero Publilius Philo. C. Lætorius.

Ædiles.

Q. Considius. T. Statius.

Quæstors.

T. Veturius Geminus Cicurinus. P. Volumnius Amintinus Gallus.

YEAR OF ROME, 282.

39. Consulship.

AP. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Volero Publilius Philo. C. Lætorius.

Ædiles.

P. Mucius Scævola. K. Atinius Longus.

Quæstors.

Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus. C. Claudius Sabinus Regillencis.

YEAR OF ROME, 283.

40. Consulship.

L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS, a second time.
T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Sicinius Bellutus. L. Numitorius. M. Duilius. L. Mæcilius. S. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles.

L. Cædicius. T. Statsus.

Quæstors.

L. Quinctius Cincinnatus. L. Cornelius Maluginensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 284.

41. Consulship.

A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.
T. NUMICIUS PRISCUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Apronius. P. Mucius Scævola. K. Atinius Longus. M. Decius C. Mæninus.

Ædiles.

Volero Publilius Philo. C. Lætorius.

Quæstors.

L. Minucius Augurinus. C. Horatius Pulvilius.

YEAR OF ROME, 285.

42. Consulship.

T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a second time.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
T. Quinctius triumphs over the Volsci and Antiates.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Pontificius. C. Considius. L. Romuleius. L. Titinius. M. Genucius Aventinensis.

Ædiles.

C. Sicinius Bellutus. M. Duilius.

Quæstors.

Q. Minucius Augurinus. Sp. Virginius Tricostus Cælimontanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 286.

43. Consulship.

TI. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Duilius. C. Mævius. T. Statius. M. Decius. L. Cædicius.

Ædiles.

L. Numitorius. Sp. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors.

T. Romilius Rocus Vaticanus. C. Veturius Cicurinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 287.

44. Consulship.

SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
Q. SER[illegible]ILIUS PRISCUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

Volero Publilius Philo. M. Pompilius. M. Manilius. C. Sicinius Bellutus. P. Silius.

Ædiles.

L. Mæcilius. Cn. Apronius.

Quæstors.

A. Æternius Fontinalis. Sex. Quintilius.

YEAR OF ROME, 288.

45. Consulship.

Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a second time.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a third time.

THE NINTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Decius Mus. M. Metilius. P. Lætorius. M. Pontificius. M. Considius.

Ædiles.

C. Pontificius. L. Titinius.

Quæstors.

Sp. Tarpeius Montanus Capitolinus. P. Horatius Tergeminus.

YEAR OF ROME, 289.

46. Consulship.

A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus. L. Cæditius. L. Mænius. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis. M. Cædicius.

Ædiles.

M. Pompilius. C. Duilius.

Quæstors.

P. Sestius Capitolinus. T. Menenius Lanatus.

Proconsul.

T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 290.

47. Consulship.

P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
L. ÆBUTIUS ELVA. Both die before the year of their consulship ends.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Licinius. C. Volscius. C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus. M. Sellius. P. Publilius Philo.

Ædiles.

M. Metilius. M. Pontificius.

Quæstors.

Ap. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis. Sp. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 291.

48. Consulship.

L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, who triumphs over the Volsci and Æqui.
T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CICURINUS, who receives the honours of an ovation.

Tribunes of the People.

Sex. Titius. C. Terentius Arsa. M. Decius Mus. C. Fescennius. M. Considius.

Ædites.

L. Mænius. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.

Quæstors.

T. Genucius Augurinus. M. Cornelius Maluginensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 292.

49. Consulship.

P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTINUS GALLUS.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

A. Virginius. M. Volscius Fictor. C. Numitorius. L. Mæcilius. L. Sicinius Bellutus.

Ædiles.

C. Terentius Arsa. M. Sellius.

Quæstors.

T. Antonius Merenda. M. Sergius.

YEAR OF ROME, 293.

50. Consulship.

M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
C. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS. Valerius dies in his office.
L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS succeeds him.

Tribunes of the People.

A. Virginius. M. Volscius Fictor. C. Numitorius. L. Sicinius Bellutus. L. Mæcilius.

Ædiles.

Sex. Titius. M. Decius Mus.

Quæstors.

M. Horatius Barbatus. Lar. Herminius Aquilinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 294.

51. Consulship.

Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a third time.
L. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS.

The former triumphs over the Æqui and Volsci; the latter over the Volsci and Antiates.

THE TENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

A. Virginius. M. Volscius Fictor. C. Numitorius. L. Mæcilius.

Ædiles.

M. Considius. C. Fescennius.

Quæstors.

A. Cornelius Maluginensis Cossus. C. Servilius Structus Ahala.

YEAR OF ROME, 295.

52. Consulship.

C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a second time.
L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, who is forced to abdicate.

Dictator.

L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.

General of the Horse.

L. Tarquitius Flaccus.

Quinctius triumphs over the Æqui.

Tribunes of the People.

A. Virginius. M. Volscius. C. Numitorius. L. Sicinius Bellutus, L. Mæcilius.

Ædiles.

C. Volcius. P. Publilius Philo.

Quæstors.

M. Valerius Maximus. T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 296.

53. Consulship.

C. HORATUS PULVILLUS.
Q. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

A. Virginius. M. Volscius. C. Numitorius. L. Mæcilius. L. Sicinius Bellutus.

Ædiles.

Sex. Titius. C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

Quæstors.

M. Fabius Vibulanus. M. Geganius Macerinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 297.

54. Consulship.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
SP. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.

Secular Games.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Icilius Ruga. L. Allienius. K. Duilius. Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus. M. Oppius. Sex. Manilius. C. Fulcinius. L. Roscius. Sp. Antius. P. Licinius.

Ædiles.

M. Claudius Cicero. M'. Marcius Rutilus.

Quæstors.

C. Julius Iulus. Furius Fusus.

YEAR OF ROME, 298.

55. Consulship.

T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS.
C. VETURIUS SICURINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Icilius Ruga. L. Allienius. Q. Pætilius. P. Licinius. Sp. Antius. M. Oppius. L. Roscius. K. Duilius. C. Fulcinius. Sex. Manilius.

Ædiles.

M. Silius. C. Pompilius.

Quæstors.

M. Genucius Augurinus. A. Sempronius Atratinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 299.

56. Consulship.

SP. TARPEIUS MONTANUS CAPITOLINUS.
A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINALIS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sicinius Dentatus. C. Claudius Cicero. Sp. Oppius Cornicen. Sex. Titius. T. Albinius. M. Titinius. L. Mamilius Vitulus. M'. Marcius Rutilus. M. Claudius Cicero. M. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Ædiles.

L. Allienius. A. Virginius.

Quæstors.

L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus. C. Curtius Philo.

YEAR OF ROME, 300.

57. Consulship.

SEX. QUINTILIUS, who dies in his consulship.
P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Apronius. C. Memmius. C. Mælius, C. Mænius. P. Furius. Q. Romuleius. M. Silius. L. Volumnius Flamma. M. Terentius Arsa. N. Otacilius.

Ædiles.

L. Icilius Ruga. Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus.

Quæstors.

L. Atilius Longus. L. Papirius Mugillanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 301.

58. Consulship.

P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
T. MENENIUS LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Sex. Titius. C. Fulcinius. L. Fulcinius. P. Tarquitius Laurentinus. T. Genucius Aventinensis. M. Oppius. M. Juventius. C. Pompilius. C. Sextius. C. Rabuleius.

Ædiles.

K. Duilius. Sp. Oppius Cornicen.

Quæstors.

L. Sempronius Atratinus. M'. Rabuleius.

YEAR OF ROME, 302.

59. Consulship.

AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.

They abdicated the consulship to make way for the Decemviri.

YEAR OF ROME, 302.

1. Decemvirate.

Ap. Claudius Crassinus.
T. Genucius Augurinus.
Sp. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
C. Julius Iulus.
A. Manlius Vulso.
Sp. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.
Sp. Sestius Capitolinus.
Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus.
T. Romilius Rocus Vaticanus.
P. Horatius Tergeminus.

YEAR OF ROME, 303.

2. Decemvirate.

Appius Claudius Crassinus, a second time.
Q. Fabius Vibulanus.
M. Cornelius Maluginensis.
T. Antonius Merenda.
M. Sergius.
Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus.
L. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Rabuleius
K. Duilius.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.

YEAR OF ROME, 304.

3. Decemvirate.

Appius Claudius Crassinus, a third time, with the same colleagues as in the second decemvirate. Being forced to give place to new Consuls, they abdicated.

YEAR OF ROME, 304.

60. Consulship.

L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS. He triumphs over the Æqui.
M. HORATIUS BARBATUS. He triumphs over the Sabines.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Virginius. L. Icilius Ruga. P. Numitorius. M. Duilius. C. Sicinius Bellutus. M. Titinius. C. Apronius. C. Oppius. M. Pomponius. P. Villius.

Ædiles.

C. Claudius Cicero. M. Titinius.

Quæstors.

Agrippa Menenius Lanatus. L. Julius Iulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 305.

61. Consulship.

LAR. HERMINIUS AQUILINUS.
T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.

Tribunes of the People, according to Livy.

Sp. Tarpeius Montanus Capitolinus. A. Æternius Fontinalis. L. Trebonius Asper. Q. Considius. L. Allienius. M. Marcius. C. Fulcinius. M. Claudius Cicero. C. Claudius Cicero. L. Albinius.

Ædiles.

L. Volumnius Flamma. P. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Quæstors.

C. Sergius. M. Papirius Crassus.

YEAR OF ROME, 306.

62. Consulship.

M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
C. JULIUS IULUS.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Villius. C. Oppius. Sp. Antius. C. Pompilius. C. Antius. L. Villius. Sex. Manilius. M. Silius. C. Virginius. M. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles.

M. Titinius. M. Pomponius.

Quæstors.

M. Cornelius Maluginensis. C. Nautius Rutilus.

YEAR OF ROME, 307.

63. Consulship.

T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a fourth time.
AGRIPPA FURIUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Allienius. P. Numitorius. L. Trebonius Asper. L. Fulcinius. M. Allienius. M. Marcius. M. Pomponius. L. Roscius. M. Claudius Cicero. P. Scaptius.

Ædiles.

C. Sicinius Bellutus. C. Apronius.

Quæstors.

L. Valerius Potitus. Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 308.

64. Consulship.

M. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
C. CURTIUS PHILO.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Canuleius. C. Furius. C. Claudius Cicero. L. Furius. L. Oppius. Ti. Pontificius. M. Titinius. C. Virginius. Cn. Apuleius Pansa. T. Latinius.

Ædiles.

P. Villius. C. Oppius.

Quæstors.

C. Fossius Flaccinator. Posthumius Æbutius Elva.

YEAR OF ROME, 309.

1. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
L. ATILIUS LONGUS.
T. CLOELIUS SICULUS. They all three abdicated.

YEAR OF ROME, 309.

65. CONSULSHIP.

L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

N. Sextius Sextinus. Sp. Icilius Ruga. Pub. Numitorius. M. Pomponius. C. Apronius. L. Cædicius. C. Sicinius Bellutus. Sex. Manilius. C. Pompilius. Q. Mælius.

Ædiles.

L. Trebonius Asper. M. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors.

L. Sergius. Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 310.

66. CONSULSHIP.

M. GEGANIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a fifth time.
M. Geganius triumphs over the Volsci.

FIRST CENSORS.

M. Papirius Mugillanus.
L. Sempronius Atratinus.

THE ELEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Virginius. L. Marcius. C. Oppius. C. Antius. Cn. Genucius. P. Villius. L. Villius. Sp. Antius. L. Apronius. C. Latorius.

Ædiles.

C. Canuleius. N. Sextius Sextinus.

Quæstors.

L. Papirius Crassus. L. Virginius Tricostus.

YEAR OF ROME, 311.

67. CONSULSHIP.

M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
POSTHUMIUS ÆBUTIUS ELVA CORNICEN.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Petillius. C. Claudius Cicero. C. Sicinius Bellutus. L. Trebonius Asper. L. Oppius. Q. Decius Mus. Q. Roscius. M. Titinius. M. Allienius. Q. Terentius.

Ædiles.

C. Furius. L. Furius.

Quæstors.

L. Sergius Fidenas. Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 312.

68. CONSULSHIP.

C. FURIUS PACILUS FUSUS.
M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Petillius. L. Villius. N. Sextius Sextinus. M. Duilius. C. Volumnius Flamma. K. Atinius Longus. C. Furius. P. Virginius. L. Sicinius Bellutus. L. Romuleius.

Ædiles.

L. Cædicius. C. Lætorius.

Quæstors.

L. Cornelius Maluginensis. C. Serviliu. Structus Ahala.

YEAR OF ROME, 313.

69. CONSULSHIP.

PROCULUS GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
L. MENENIUS LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Marcius. C. Apronius. C. Canuleius. P. Mucius Scævola. Voler. Publilius. L. Titinius. Cn. Apronius. L. Petillius. Q. Mucius Scævola. Sp. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles.

Cn. Genucius. Q. Decius Mus.

Quæstors.

M. Posthumius Albus Regillensis. T. Geganius Macerinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 314.

70. CONSULSHIP.

T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS, a sixth time.
AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS.

DICTATOR.

L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, a second time.

General of the Horse.

C. Servilius Structus Ahala.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. Sex. Titinius. C. Sicinnius Bellutus. L. Cædicius. C. Plætorius. C. Considius. Q. Roscius. L. Numitorius. L. Mæcilius.

Ædiles.

C. Petillius. K. Atinius Longus.

Quæstors.

P. Horatius Tergeminus. C. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 315.

2. Military Tribuneship.

Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
L. Julius Iulus.

Tribunes of the People.

N. Sextius Sextinus. M. Pompilius. P. Decius Mus. C. Racilius. L. Canuleius. C. Volumnius Flamma. M. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Duilius. T. Statius. C. Pontificius.

Ædiles.
Voler. Publilius Philo. L. Romuleius.

Quæstors.

M. Fossius Flaccinator. L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 316.

71. Consulship.

M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS, a third time.
L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.

Dictator.

M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
He triumphs over the Veientes, Falisci, and Fidenates.

General of the Horse.

L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Canuleius. K. Atinius. M. Antius. M. Trebonius. M. Albinius. Sex. Titinius. M. Mæcilius. L. Statius. A. Allienius. C. Ælius Pætus.

Ædiles.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus. P. Mucius Scævola.

Quæstors.
Sp. Posthumius Regillensis. L. Furius Medullinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 317.

72. Consulship.

M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Mælius. C. Furius. C. Volumnius Flamma. L. Manilius. L. Sextius. M. Furius. L. Cædicius. M. Manilius. C. Apronius. C. Mænius.

Ædiles.

C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. Sex. Titinius.

Quæstors.

T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus. A. Posthumius Tubertus.

YEAR OF ROME, 318.

73. Consulship.

C. JULIUS IULUS, a second time.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.

Dictator.

Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.

General of the Horse.

Posthumius Æbutius Elva Cornicen.

Censors.

C. Furius Pacilus Fusus.
M. Geganius Macerinus.

THE TWELFTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Canuleius. C. Considius. C. Plætorius. C. Titius. M. Trebonius. L. Canuleius. M. Considius. C. Racilius. M. Fulcinius. T. Statius.

Ædiles.

P. Decius Mus. C. Pontificius.

Quæstors.

C. Julius Mento. A. Æternius Fontinalis.

YEAR OF ROME, 319.

74. Consulship.

C. JULIUS IULUS, a third time.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS, a second time.

Dictator.

MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

General of the Horse.

A. Posthumius Tubertus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Furius. M. Cædicius. L. Mænius. M. Pontificius. C. Volscius. L. Domitius Ænobarbus. P. Silius. C. Mænius. M. Metilius. L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

Ædiles.

M. Albinius. A. Allienius.

Quæstors.

T. Lartius Flavus. Hostius Lucretius Tricipitinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 320.

3. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Canuleius. L. Cædicius. C. Volumnius Flamma. M. Sellius. V. Volscius Fictor. K. Atinius Longus. L. Cædicius. M. Silius. L. Volscius. C. Titius.

Ædiles.

Sp. Mælius. M. Furius.

Quæstors.

N. Fabius Vibulanus. T. Genucius Augurinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 321.

4. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

L. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus. L. Sicinius Bellutus. L. Cæcilius Metellus. M. Decius Mus. L. Domitius Ænobarbus. Sex. Titinius. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus. P. Decius Mus. L. Ælius Pætus. M. Marcius.

Ædiles.

M. Trebonius. T. Statius.

Quæstors.

P. Servilius Priscus. M. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 322.

75. CONSULSHIP.

T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS.
C. JULIUS MENTO.

DICTATOR.

A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS.
He triumphs over the Æqui and Volsci.

General of the Horse.

L. Julius Iulus.

Tribunes of the People.

A. Virginius. T. Metilius. M. Metilius. C. Pontificius. C. Cæcilius. C. Pætilius. M. Pontificius. M. Furius. C. Pætilius. P. Plautius Proculus.

Ædiles.

L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus. C. Volscius.

Quæstors.

Sex. Julius Iulus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 323.

76. CONSULSHIP.

C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
L. JULIUS IULUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Sex. Titinius. M. Sellius. M. Silius. L. Sicinius Bellutus. P. Lætorius. L. Volscius Fictor. C. Volumnius Flamma. C. Pompilius. L. Cæditius. C. Terentius Arsa.

Ædiles.

L. Volscius. M. Decius.

Quæstors.

A. Sempronius Atratinus. L. Horatius Barbatus.

YEAR OF ROME, 324.

77. CONSULSHIP.

L. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a second time.
HOSTUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Petelius. C. Pœtelius Libo. Sp. Mælius. L. Cæcilius Metellus. M. Volscius Fictor. C. Numitorius. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. C. Lætorius. Sp. Antius. M. Trebonius.

Ædiles.

M. Marcius. L. Ælius Pætus.

Quæstors.

Ap. Claudius Crassus Regillensis. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

YEAR OF ROME, 325.

78. CONSULSHIP.

T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS, a second time.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS. Some authors place Cossus's triumph, and the trophy he made of the spoils of Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, under this year.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Sicinius Bellutus. C. Cæcilius Metellus. P. Publilius Philo, the son of Publius. P. Publilius Philo, the son of Volero. L. Virginius. M. Furius. M. Plætorius. L. Publilius Philo Vulscus. Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. L. Mamilius Vitulus.

Ædiles.

P. Plautius Proculus. T. Metilius.

Quæstors.

C. Sempronius Atratinus. L. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 326.

79. Consulship.

L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, a second time.
C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS AHALA.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Cæcilius Metellus. Sex. Manilius. A. Virginius. C. Pompilius. L. Cædicius. M. Ma[illegible]s. M. Silius. L. Sicinius. P. L[illegible]orius. P. Licinius.

Ædiles.

C. Terentius Arsa. M. Sellius.

Quæstors.

Q. Antonius Merenda. L. Papirius Mugillanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 327.

5. Military Tribuneship.

T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus.
C. Furius Paci..us.
M. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.
A. Cornelius Cossus.

Dictator.

MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time. He triumphs over the Veientes and Fidenates.

General of the Horse.

A. Cornelius Cossus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Lætorius. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus, the son of Spurius. L. Ælius Pætus. L. Icilius Ruga. L. Publilius Philo. Spurius Mælius Capitolinus, the son of Caius. M. Oppius. M. Claudius Cicero. K. Duilius.

Ædiles.

C. Numitorius. M. Volscius.

Quæstors.

L. Servilius Structus. T. Quinctius Capitolinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 328.

6. Military Tribuneship.

A. Sempronius Atratinus.
L. Furius Medullinus, a second time.
L. Horatius Barbatus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Fulcinius. L. Virginius. P. Publilius Philo, the son of Volero. C. Popilius. P. Numitorius. Sex. Titius. Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. P. Publilius Philo, the son of Publius. M. Plætorius. M. Titinius.

Ædiles.

Cn. Sicinius Bellutus. L. Mæmilius Vitulus.

Quæstors.

M. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

YEAR OF ROME, 329.

7. Military Tribuneship.

Ap. Claudius Crassus Regillensis.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
S. Sergius Fidenas, a second time.
Sex. Julius Iulus.

Censors.

L. Julius Iulus.
L. Papirius Crassus.

THE THIRTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Virginius. C. Pompilius. Sp. Oppius Cornicen. C. Claudius Cicero. C. Numitorius. L. Sicinius. C. Pompilius. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. L. Roscius. L. Volumnius Flamma.

Ædiles.

Sex. Manilius. M. Manilius.

Quæstors.

L. Lucretius Tricipitinus. C. Servilius Axilla.

YEAR OF ROME, 330.

80 Consulship.

C. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Junius Bubulcus. Sp. Mælius. L. Albinius. L. Trebonius Asper. C. Mælius. M. Claudius Cicero. M. Oppius. M. Apuleius. M. Plætorius. P. Furius.

Ædiles.

L. Icilius Ruga. K. Duilius.

Quæstors.

M. Papirius Mugillanus. Sp. Veturius Crassus.

YEAR OF ROME, 331.

8. Military Tribuneship.

L. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.
Q. Antonius Merenda.
L. Papirius Mugillanus.
L. Servilius Structus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Hortensius. Sex. Tempanius. L. Antistius. A. Sellius. Sp. Icilius Ruga. T. Roscius. M. Terentius Arsa. M. Silius. L. Volumnius Flamma. Q. Romuleius.

Ædiles.

C. Popilius. Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus.

Quæstors.

T. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus. Cn. Cornelius Cossus.

YEAR OF ROME, 332.

81. CONSULSHIP.

T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS BARBATUS.

N. FABIUS VIBULANUS. He gains a victory over the Æqui, and is honoured with an ovation.

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. Sp. Oppius Cornicen. C. Trebonius Asper. C. Rabuleius. N. Otacilius. L. Albinius. L. Roscius. L. Allienius. P. Silius. C. Claudius Cicero.

Ædiles.

C. Junius Bubulcus. L. Hortensius.

Quæstors.

C. Valerius Potitus Volusus. Cn. Cornelius Maluginensis Cossus.

YEAR OF ROME, 333.

9. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS, a second time.

M. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a third time.

A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Antistius. Sex. Pompilius. M. Canuleius. Sp. Mæcilius. C. Plautius Proculus. M. Apuleius. L. Sicinius Dentatus. Q. Petilius. M. Marcius. M. Pomponius.

Ædiles.

Sex. Tempanius. A. Sellius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Cossus. M. Fabius Ambustus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Cincinnatus. M. Cornelius Cossus.

YEAR OF ROME, 334.

10. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS.

SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

P. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.

C. SERVILIUS AXILLA.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Junius Bubulcus. L. Albinius. L. Allienius. C. Popilius. M. Pomponius. L. Hortensius. C. Apuleius. Q. Considius. C. Marcius. C. Oppius.

Ædiles.

L. Antistius. Sp. Icilius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Posthumius Albus Regillensis. L. Menenius. Lanatus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Horatius Barbatus. P. Valerius Potitus.

YEAR OF ROME, 335.

11. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

C. SERVILIUS AXILLA, a second time.

L. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a third time.

DICTATOR.

Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a second time.

General of the Horse.

C. Servilius Axilla.

CENSORS.

L. Papirius Mugillanus.
Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

THE FOURTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Mæcilius. Sp. Metilius. A. Sellius. M. Canuleius. L. Villius. P. Silius. T. Pontificius. P. Villius. L. Sicinius. C. Pompilius.

Ædiles.

Sex. Pompilius. P. Antistius.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Cornelius Cossus. P. Sulpicius Camerinus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Sergius Nepos. L. Virginius Tricostus.

YEAR OF ROME, 336.

12. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

P. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.

L. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.

AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS, all three a second time.

SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Mæcilius. Sp. Metilius. C. Apronius. L. Antistius. M. Apuleius. Sex. Tempanius. Sp. Icilius Ruga. L. Allienius. M. Allienius. C. Plautius Proculus.

Ædiles.

C. Oppius. M. Pomponius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Furius Medullinus. C. Furius Pacilus.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Furius Pacilus. Q. Fabius Ambustus.

YEAR OF ROME, 337.

13. Military Tribuneship.

A. Sempronius Atratinus, a third time.
M. Papirius Mugillanus, and
Sp. Nautius Rutilius, a second time.
Q. Fabius Vibulanus.

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Mæcilius. Sp. Metilius. M. Canuleius. C. Apuleius. L. Oppius. C. Antistius. Q. Petilius. Cn. Apuleius. L. Fulcinius. M. Juvencius.

Ædiles.

C. Marcius Rutilus. Q. Considius.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Nautius Rutilius. M. Æmilius Mamercinus.

Military Quæstors.

Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus. Sex. Quintilius.

YEAR OF ROME, 338.

14. Military Tribuneship.

P. Cornelius Cossus.
Quinctius Cincinnatus.
C. Valerius Volusus.
N. Fabius Vibulanus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius. C. Junius Bubulcus. M. Antistius. C. Oppius. Q. Mælius. C. Sextius. L. Hortensius. Sex. Pompilius. C. Canuleius. T. Genucius.

Ædiles.

C. Apronius. M. Antistius.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Julius Iulus. Proculus Geganius Macerinus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Nautius Rutilus. Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 339.

15. Military Tribuneship.

Q. Fabius Vibulanus, a second time.
Cn. Cornelius Cossus.
P. Posthumius Albus, who was killed by his soldiers.
L. Valerius Potitus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius, Sex. Tempanius. A. Tempanius. M. Canuleius. L. Oppius. L. Apronius. T. Pontificius. Sp. Tempanius. Sp. Mæcilius. L. Canuleius.

Ædiles.

C. Plautus. M. Ælienius.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Servilius Ahala. P. Sestius Capitolinus.

Military Quæstors.

T. Virginius Tricostus Cælimontanus. C. Servilius Structus.

YEAR OF ROME, 340.

82. Consulship.

M. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Publius. C. Antistius. L. Tempanius. C. Marcius Rutilius. L. Rabuleius. Cn. Sellius. L. Cædicius. Sex. Sextius Sextinus. T. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Apronius.

Ædiles.

L. Oppius. L. Fulcinius.

Quæstors of Rome.

N. Fabius Ambustus. P. Cornelius Rutilus Cossus.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Cornelius Cossus. P. Cornelius Cossus.

YEAR OF ROME, 341.

83. Consulship.

Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
C. FURIUS PACILUS.

Censors.

L. Sergius Fidenas.
Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas.

THE FIFTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Icilius Ruga. M. Antistius. C. Canuleius. Sex. Pompilius. M. Canuleius. L. Sextius. C. Sellius. Q. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Sextius. M. Duilius.

Ædiles.

Sp. Tempanius. Q. Petilius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Claudius Crassus Regillensis. M. Geganius Macerinus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Valerius Maximus. Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

YEAR OF ROME, 342.

84. Consulship.

M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. Q. Silius. Ti. Pontificius. K. Atinius Longus. T. Voler. Publilius Philo. Q. Terentius. C. Duilius. C. Plautius Proculus. Trebius. L. Petilius.

Ædiles.

L. Cædicius. L. Oppius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Maluginensis. T. Veturius Geminus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Sergius Fidenas. L. Sergius Fidenas.

YEAR OF ROME, 343.

85. Consulship.

M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS VOLUSUS. He defeats the Æqui, and receives the honours of an ovation.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Mænius. Volero Publilius Philo. M. Genucius Aventinensis. Sex. Sextius Sextinus. L. Tempanius. L. Mæcilius. A. Tempanius. C. Apronius. Q. Publilius. Cn. Sellius.

Ædiles.

L. Icilius Ruga. Trebius. He (according to Pliny, b. 18.) distributed corn among the people gratis. They, in gratitude, erected statues to his memory on the capitol, and the hill Palatinus; and at his funeral, his corpse was carried on the shoulders of citizens.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Furius Fusus. A. Manlius Vulso.

Military Quæstors.

M. Quintilius Varus. M. Æbutius Elva.

YEAR OF ROME, 344.

86. Consulship.

CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the Poeple.

Sp. Icilius Ruga. L. Icilius Ruga. C. Icilius Ruga. C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus. C. Volumnius Flamma. Q. Decius Mus. C. Licinius Calvus. L. Villius. M. Pompilius. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Ædiles.

Volero Publilius Philo. M. Duilius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Ælius Pætus. Q. Silius.

Military Quæstors.

P. Puppius. K. Fabius Ambustus. The last of these four quæstors was the only patrician among them; the other three were the first plebeians who enjoyed the quæstorship.

YEAR OF ROME, 345.

16. Military Tribuneship.

L. Julius Iulus.
P. Cornelius Cossus.
C. Servilius Ahala.

Dictator.

P. CORNELIUS RUTILUS COSSUS.

General of the Horse.

C. Servilius Ahala.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Genucius Aventinensis. L. Icilius Ruga. L. Sicinius Bellutus. Trebius. P. Decius Mus. Sex. Titinius. L. Manilius. C. Sicinius Bellutus. K. Atinius Longus. L. Titinius.

Ædiles.

M. Mænius. C. Duilius.

Quæstors of Rome.

Appius Claudius Crassus. L. Julius Iulus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Pomponius. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 346.

17. Military Tribuneship.

C. Valerius Potitus Volusus.
C. Servilius Ahala, a second time.
N. Fabius Vibulanus, a third time.
Furius Medullinus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. Q. Mucius Scævola. P. Mucius Scævola. Volero Publilius Philo. Q. Publilius Philo. Sex. Sextius Sextinus. M. Manilius. L. Cædicius. Q. Decius Mus. C. Titinius.

Ædiles.

Sp. Icilius Ruga. Q. Silius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Atinius Longus. L. Publilius Philo Volscus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus. Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas.

YEAR OF ROME, 347.

18. Military Tribuneship.

P. Cornelius Rutilus Cossus.
Valerius Potitus, a second time.

CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
N. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Ælius Pætus. Volero Publilius Philo. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis. P. Puppius. Trebius. M. Pomponius. K. Atinius. M. Pompilius. C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus. C. Titius.

Ædiles.

C. Icilius Ruga. Q. Decius Mus.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Mælius Capitolinus. P. Mænius.

Military Quæstors.

L. Julius Iulus. P. Licinius Calvus.

YEAR OF ROME, 348.

19. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

C. JULIUS IULUS, a second time.
M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time.
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Duilius. L. Titinius. L. Publilius. Philo Volscus. L. Cædicius. C. Popilius. M. Duilius. L. Atinius Longus. C. Ælius Pœtus. Cn. Pupius. C. Volumnius Flamma.

Ædiles.

L. Icilius Ruga. M. Genucius Aventinensis.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Metilius. P. Curatius Nepos.

Military Quæstors.

Sp. Furius Medullinus. L. Virginius Tricostus Cælimontanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 349.

20. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

P. CORNELIUS MELUGINENSIS.
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a third time.
CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time.
K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Icilius Ruga. Volero Publilius Philo. P. Licinius Calvus. P. Mælius Capitolinus. M. Manlius. P. Mænius. A. Trebius. P. Silius. C. Titinius. C. Apronius.

Ædiles.

P. Ælius Pætus. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Lucretius. M. Sulpicius Peticus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Popilius. M. Genucius Aventinensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 350.

21. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.
M. FURIUS FUSUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.
L. JULIUS IULUS.
M. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time.

CENSORS.

M. Furius Camillus.
M. Posthumius Albinus Regillensis.

THE SIXTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Silius. L. Publilius Philo Volscus. M. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Titius. Cn. Apronius. L. Icilius Ruga. M. Pomponius. M. Pompilius. L. Titius. M. Cædicius.

Ædiles.

P. Pupius. Cn. Pupius.

Quæstors of Rome.

Sp. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus. Sp. Papirius Crassus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Acutius. M. Valerius Maximus.

YEAR OF ROME, 351.

22. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

C. SERVILIUS AHALA, a third time.
Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS CORNUTUS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.
A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS, a second time.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.
M' SERGIUS FIDENAS, a second time.
The two last were forced to abdicate.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Mænius. M. Popilius. Sp. Antius. A. Trebius. C. Mænius. L. Atinius Longus. C. Silius. C. Icilius Ruga. P. Mælius Capitolinus. M. Antius.

Ædiles.

C. Popilius. L. Titinius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus. P. Cornelius Scipio.

Military Quæstors.

A. Posthumius Regillensis. C. Duilius.

YEAR OF ROME, 352.

23. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a fourth time.
L. JULIUS IULUS.

M. Furius Camillus.
M' Æmilius Mamercinus, a third time.
Cn. Cornelius Cossus, a second time.
K. Fabius Ambustus, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Trebonius Asper. C. Lucerius. M. Acutius. P. Curatius. M. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Fulcinius. Cn. Minucius Augurinus. M. Metilius. L. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles.

P. Silius. P. Licinius Calvus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Lucretius Flavus. Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Cornelius Cossus. P. Plautius Proculus.

YEAR OF ROME, 353.

24. Military Tribuneship.

P. Licinius Calvus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
P. Mænius.
Sp. Furius Medullinus.
L. Litinius.
L. Publilius Philo Volscus.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Pupius. M. Pontificius. L. Volscius. C. Mæcilius. C. Numitorius. M. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Pontificius. M. Sellius. C. Antius. T. Statius.

Ædiles.

L. Mænius. K. Atinius Longus.

Quæstors of Rome.

T. Menenius Lanatus. T. Sicinius Dentatus.

Military Quæstors.

Sp. Mællus. A. Virginius.

YEAR OF ROME, 354.

25. Military Tribuneship.

C. Duilius.
L. Atinius Longus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
M. Pomponius.
Volero Publilius.
M. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Acutius. L. Lucerius. L. Statius. C. Racilius. M. Considius. P. Licinius Calvus. C. Volscius. M. Mæcilius. M. Plætorius. L. Allienius.

Ædiles.

C. Trebonius Asper. Sp. Antius.

Quæstors of Rome

C. Æmilius Mamercinus. Q. Pomponius.

Military Quæstors.

L. Papirius Cursor. L. Valerius Poplicola.

YEAR OF ROME, 355.

26. Military Tribuneship.

L. Valerius Potitus, a fifth time.
L. Furius Medullinus, a third time.
M. Valerius Maximus.
M. Furius Camillus, a second time.
Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas, a second time.
Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus, a second time.

Censors.

C. Valerius Potitus Volusus.
M' Æmilius Mamercinus.

THE SEVENTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Silius. P. Curatius. C. Pætilius. C. Plætorius. Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. P. Publilius Philo. M. Metilius. C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. P. Plautius Proculus. M. Popilius.

Ædiles.

L. Icilius Ruga. C. Lucerius.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Cornelius Maluginensis. M' Marcius.

Military Quæstors.

M. Æmilius Mamercinus. L. Fulvius Corvus.

YEAR OF ROME, 356.

27. Military Tribuneship.

L. Julius Iulus, a second time.
L. Furius Medullinus, a fourth time.
L. Sergius Fidenas.
A. Posthumius Albin. Regillensis.
A. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus, a third time.
P. Cornelius Maluginensis, a second time. Their election was deemed irregular, and they were forced to abdicate.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Mænius. T. Metilius. L. Volscius. M. Pontificius. P. Pupius. L. Lucerius. M. Volscius Fictor. M. Sellius. C. Plautius Proculus. M. Genucius.

Ædiles.

M. Acutius. C. Numitorius.

Quæstors of Rome.

Sp. Posthumius Albin. Regillensis. Q. Sulpicius Longus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Valerius Potitus. M. Aulius Cerretanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 357.

28. Military Tribuneship.

P. Licinius.
L. Atinius Longus, a second time.
P. Mælius Capitolinus, a second time.
L. Titinius, a second time.
P. Mænius, a second time.
C. Genucius Aventinensis, a second time. He was killed in a battle with the Falisci and Capenates.

Dictator.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

He triumphs over the Veientes.

General of the Horse.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Trebonius Asper. P. Lucerius. M. Decius Mus. Sp. Mælius. M. Furius. M. Acutius. M. Minucius Augurinus. C. Terentius Arsa. P. Lætorius. L. Virginius.

Ædiles.

M. Considius. M. Platorius.

Quæstors of Rome.

K. Fabius Ambustus. Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.

Military Quæstors.

L. Cornelius Lentulus. Agrippa Furius Fusus.

YEAR OF ROME, 358.

29. Military Tribuneship.

P. Cornelius Cossus.
P. Cornelius Scipio.
M. Valerius Maximus, a second time.
K. Fabius Ambustus, a third time.
L. Furius Medullinus, a fifth time.
Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

T. Sicinius Dentatus. A. Virginius. Q. Pomponius. L. Icilius Ruga. L. Fulvius Corvus. C. Lætorius. L. Cædicius. C. Lucerius. P. Pupius. P. Curatius.

Ædiles.

C. Pætelius Libo Visolus. Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Marcius Rutilus. C. Licinius Calvus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Fabius Ambustus. M. Albinius.

YEAR OF ROME, 359.

30. Military Tribuneship.

M. Furius Camillus, a third time.
L. Furius Medullinus, a sixth time.
C. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Sp. Posthumius Albin. Regillensis.
P. Cornelius Scipio, a second time.
L. Valerius Poplicola.

Tribunes of the People.

T. Sicinius Dentatus. P. Pomponius. A. Virginius. L. Icilius Ruga. M. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Pompilius. L. Mamilius Vitulus. Q. Silius. L. Volumnius Flamma. L. Cædicius.

Ædiles.

C. Trebonius Asper. M. Minucius Augurinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Virginius Tricostus. C. Marcius Rutilus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Cornelius Cossus, the son of Aulus. P. Cornelius Cossus, the son of Publius.

YEAR OF ROME, 360.

87. Consulship.

L. LUCRETIUS FLAVUS.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

T. Sicinius Dentatus. C. Lucerius. P. Curatius. L. Ælius Pætus. Sex. Pompilius. M. Titinius. C. Acutius. C. Mænius. M. Silius. Sex. Manilius.

Ædiles.

T. Metilius. M. Decius Mus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus. C. Sextilius.

Military Quæstors.

A. Manlius Capitolinus. L. Posthumius Albin. Regillensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 361.

88. Consulship.

L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
M. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
They both abdicate.

Censors.

C. Julius.
L. Papirius.

The former died in his office, and M. Cornelius Maluginensis was chosen in his room.

THE EIGHTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Silius. L. Icilius Ruga. C. Titius. C. Curatius. P. Furius. K. Duilius. C. Licinius Calvus. M. Cædicius. L. Virginius. C. Lætorius.

Ædiles.

P. Lætorius. L. Fulvius Corvus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Julius Iulus. L. Aquilius Corvus.

Military Quæstors.

T. Quinctius Cincinnatus. T. Manlius Capitolinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 362.

31. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

L. LUCRETIUS FLAVUS.
SER. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS.
M. ÆMILIUS MEMERCINUS.
L. F[illegible]US MEDULLINUS, a seventh time.
AGR[illegible]A FURIUS FUSUS.
C. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Trebonius Asper. L. Hortensius. C. Acutius. Q. Romuleius. M. Terentius. L. Appuleius. Sp. Oppius Cornicen. Q. Manlius. L. Rabuleius. N. Otacilius.

Ædiles.

T. Sicinius Dentatus. L. Mamilius Vitulus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Sicinius Dentatus. L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

Military Quæstors.

Ser. Sulpitius Rufus. C. Sergius Fidenas.

YEAR OF ROME, 363.

32. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
Q. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a fourth time.
SERVIUS CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.

DICTATOR.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Gauls.

General of the Horse.

L. Valerius Potitus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Marcius Rutilus. L. Icilius Ruga. L. Ælius Pætus. M. Decius Mus. M' Otacilius. K. Duilius. L. Pupius. M. Appuleius. M. Albinius. C. Oppius.

Ædiles.

C. Licinius Calvus. M. Titinius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Menenius Lanatus. C. Cornelius Cossus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Quinctius Cincinnatus. L. Antistius.

YEAR OF ROME, 364.

DICTATOR.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

General of the Horse.

L. Valerius Potitus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Marcius Rutilus. L. Hortensius. C. Claudius Cicero. L. Fulvius Corvus. L. Marcius. C. Appuleius. C. Sextilius. M' Pomponius. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. Q. Petilius.

Ædiles.

L. Appuleius. L. Virginius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Valerius Poplicola Potitus. T. Quinctius Capitolinus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Quinctius Capitolinus. L. Horatius Pulvillus.

YEAR OF ROME, 365.

33. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.
P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS REGILLENSIS.

DICTATOR.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a third time. He triumphs over the Volsci, Æqui, and Hetrurians.

General of the Horse.

C. Servilius Ahala.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Trebonius Asper. L. Ælius Pætus. C. Otacilius. M. Appuleius. Lucius Albinius. Q. Considius. Q. Hortensius. N. Otacilius. L. Allienius. C. Acutius.

Ædiles.

M. Albinus. L. Marcius Rutilus.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Fabius Dorso. C. Apronius.

Military Quæstors.

C. Papirius Crassus. M. Trebonius Flavus.

YEAR OF ROME, 366.

34. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a fifth time.
L. JULIUS IULUS.
L. AQUILIUS CORVUS.

L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
Ser. Sulpicius Rufus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Titinius. Cn. Appuleius. L. Sextius. L. Numitorius. C. Appuleius. C. Licinius Calvus. C. Sextilius. M. Juventius. L. Fulcinius. T. Roscius.

Ædiles.

L. Hortensius. C. Oppius.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Publilius Philo. M. Pœtelius Libo.

Military Quæstors.

Sp. Papirius Crassus. M. Mænius.

YEAR OF ROME, 372.

35. Military Tribuneship.

L. Papirius Cursor.
C. Sergius Fidenas.
L. Æmilius Mamercinus, a second time.
L. Menenius Lanatus.
L. Valerius Poplicola, a third time.
C. Cornelius Cossus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sicinius Dentatus. C. Trebonius Asper. Q. Hortensius. L. Marcius Rutilus. M. Trebonius Flavus. L. Antistius. C. Acutius. L. Albinius. Sp. Mæcilius. M. Appuleius.

Ædiles.

C. Marcius Rutilus. Sp. Oppius Cornicen.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Papirius Crassus. Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas.

Military Quæstors.

Ser. Sulpicius Prætextatus. Cn. Apronius.

YEAR OF ROME, 368.

36. Military Tribuneship.

M. Furius Camillus, a fourth time.
Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.
C. Servilius Priscus Fidenas, a sixth time.
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
L. Horatius Pulvillus.
P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Licinius Calvus. Sp. Metilius. A. Sellius. C. Volumnius Flamma. M. Pompilius. Sex. Tempanius. P. Scaptius. P. Silius. C. Mamilius Vitulus. Ti. Pontificius.

Ædiles.

C. Sextilius. C. Appuleius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Furius Medullinus. Sp. Papirius Cursor.

Military Quæstors.

M. Fabius Ambustus. P. Mænius.

YEAR OF ROME, 369.

37 Military Tribuneship.

A. Manlius Capitolinus, a second time.
P. Cornelius Cossus, a second time.
T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
L. Papirius Cursor, a second time.
C. Sergius Fidenas, a second time.
L. Quinctius Capitolinus.

Dictator.

A. CORNELIUS COSSUS. He triumphs over the Volsci.

General of the Horse.

T. Quinctius Capitolinus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Hortensius. C. Marcius Rutilus. L. Antistius. C. Apronius. L. Apronius. L. Sextius. C. Antistius. M. Albinius. A. Lucerius. L. Cædicius.

Ædiles.

M. Trebonius. L. Numitorius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Manlius Capitolinus. C. Sulpicius Camerinus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Manlius Capitolinus. A. Sempronius Atratinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 370.

38. Military Tribuneship.

Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, a third time.
P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola, a second time.
M. Furius Camillus, a fifth time.
Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, a second time.
C. Papirius Crassus.
T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Mænius. Sp. Mecilius. Q. Hortensius. C. Furius. T. Romuleius. Q. Publilius Philo. P. Mænius. Cn. Apronius. P. Mælius. Q. Terentius.

Ædiles.

L. Sicinius Dentatus. L. Albinius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Clælius Siculus. Q. Decius Mus.

Military Quæstors.

Sp. Furius Medullinus. M. Horatius Pulvillus.

YEAR OF ROME, 371.

39. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a fourth time.
A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a third time.
SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS, a third time.
L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, a third time.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time.
M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Marcius Rutilus. M. Albinius. L. O[illegible]us. Q. Cæcilius Metellus. M. Cl[illegible]ius. C. Sextilius. T. Juventius. C. Oppius Cornicen. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. M. Duilius.

Ædiles.

C. Apronius. C. Mamilius Vitulus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Geganius Macerinus. Sp. Servilius Priscus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Claudius Siculus. Q. Mucius Scævola.

YEAR OF ROME, 372.

40. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

SP. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a fourth time.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a fourth time.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sicilius Dentatus. L. Albinius. L. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. L. Petilius. C. Canuleius. C. Icilius Ruga. P. Mænius. L. Publilius Philo Volscus. L. Canuleius. L. Rabuleius.

Ædiles.

M. Mænius. L. Sextius.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Quinctius Cincinnatus. C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Pupius. L. Mecilius.

YEAR OF ROME, 373.

41. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a sixth time.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS REGILLENSIS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS REGILLENSIS.
L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, a third time.
M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Antistius. A. Lucerius. A. Tempanius. Cn. Sellius. C. Apronius. C. Martius Rutilus. L. Marcius Rutilus. Sp. Metilius. L. Tempanius. C. Sellius.

Ædiles.

Q. Hortensius. Q. Publilius Philo.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Licinius Calvus. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Military Quæstors.

Ser. Sulpicius Longus. L. Æmilius Barbula.

YEAR OF ROME, 374.

42. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a fifth time.
P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA, a fifth time.
L. MENENIUS LANATUS, a second time.
C. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a third time.
SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a fifth time.

DICTATOR.

T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
He triumphs over the Prænestini.

General of the Horse.

A. Sempronius Atratinus.

CENSORS.

C. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Sp. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.
The latter dies in his office, and the former abdicates on account of the death of his colleague.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Mænius. Q. Decius Mus. M. Pompilius. C. Mamilius. Sex. Titinius. Cn. Apronius. C. Volumnius Flamma. Q. Marcius Tremulus. C. Sicinius Bellutus. C. Titius.

Ædiles.

M. Duilius. C. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Silius. M' Sergius Fidenas.

Military Quæstors.

C. Titinius. Q. Antonius Merenda.

YEAR OF ROME, 375.

43. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
C. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. JULIUS IULUS, a second time.
C. SEXTILIUS.
M. ALBINIUS.
L. ANTISTIUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Apronius. L. Sextius. C. Canuleius. M. Titius. L. Rabuleius. L. Marcius Rutilus. P. Decius Mus. Q. Publilius Philo. Q. Canuleius. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Ædiles.

P. Mænius. L. Canuleius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Genucius Aventinensis. B. Sextius Capitolinus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Genucius Aventinensis. L. Virginius Tricostus Cœlimontanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 376.

44. Military Tribuneship.

Sp. Furius Medullinus.
Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas, a second time.
C. Licinius Calvus.
P. Clœlius Siculus.
M. Horatius Pulvillus.
L. Geganius Macerinus.

Censors.

Sp. Servilius Priscus.
Q. Cloelius Siculus.

THE NINETEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sicinius Dentatus. L. Domitius Ænobarbus. Q. Mucius Scævola. C. Icilius Ruga. P. Mucius Scævola. C. Ælius Pætus. P. Ælius Pætus. L. Petilius. C. Ælius Pætus. M. Duilius.

Ædiles.

A. Tempanius. C. Sellius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Mælius Capitolinus. C. Valerius Potitus.

Military Quæstors.

A. Cornelius Cossus. M. Cornelius Maluginensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 377.

45. Military Tribuneship.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus, a fifth time.
Ser. Sulpicius Prætextatus, a second time.
P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola, a fourth time.
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a second time.
C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
C. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus. C. Licinius Stolo. Cn. Pupius. Voler. Publilius Philo. L. Atinius Longus. M. Fulcinius. M. Atilius Regulus. C. Popillius. L. Villius. A. Trebonius.

Ædiles.

Q. Decius Mus. C. Titius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Quinctius Capitolinus. Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

YEAR OF ROME, 378.

Anarchy.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Licinius Calvus Stolo. M. Mænius. Cn. Lucretius. C. Metilius. C. Sellius. Q. Mæcilius. A. Acutius. A. Tempanius. L. Volumnius Flamma.

Ædiles.

Q. Canuleius. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

YEAR OF ROME, 379.

Anarchy.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Licinius Calvus Stolo. Q. Publilius Philo. Q. Decius Mus. C. Atinius Longus. M. Atilius Regulus. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis. L. Villius. P. Plautius Proculus. Q. Manilius.

Ædiles.

P. Mucius Scævola. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

YEAR OF ROME, 380.

Anarchy.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Licinius Calvus Stolo. L. Genucius Aventinensis. Cn. Pupius. Q. Silius. Cn. Sicilius Bellutus. M. Genucius Aventinensis. P. Pupius. L. Volumnius Flamma. C. Marcius Rutilus.

Ædiles.

M. Fulcinius. A. Trebius.

YEAR OF ROME, 381.

Anarchy.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Licinius Calvus Stolo. C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. M. Popilius Lænas. L. Atinius Longus. C. Titinius. Volero Publilius Philo. K. Atinius. Q. Decius Mus. M. Genucius Aventinensis.

Ædiles.

C. Metilius. A. Acutius.

YEAR OF ROME, 382.

46. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time.
P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA, a fifth time.
A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a fourth time.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS, a fifth time.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS.
SERV. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a sixth time.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo. C. Plautius Proculus, the son of Publius. C. Plautius Proculus, the son of Caius. P. Curatius. L. Furius. P. Plautius Proculus. C. Atinius Longus. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis. P. Mælius Capitolinus.

Ædiles.

M. Atilius Regulus. L. Villius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Papirius Crassus. L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Geganius Macerinus. M. Popilius.

YEAR OF ROME, 383.

47. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a third time.
M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
C. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS, a second time.
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo. L. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Plautius Proculus. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. P. Licinius. M. Genucius Aventinensis. M. Popilius Lænas. M. Minucius Augurinus. M. Decius Mus.

Ædiles.

C. Pætelius Libo Visolus. Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Sulpicius Peticus. Q. Servilius Ahala.

Military Quæstors.

Sp. Furius Camillus. Q. Pomponius.

YEAR OF ROME, 384.

48. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SP. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a seventh time.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS, a fourth time.
L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo. C. Marcius Rutilus Juventius Thalna. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. P. Plautius Proculus. C. Duilius. Cn. Fulvius Pætinus. C. Sempronius Longus. L. Atinius Longus.

Ædiles.

K. Atinius Longus. C. Plautius Proculus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus. Ap. Claudius Crassus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Aulius Cerretanus. Cn. Quinctius Capitolinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 385.

DICTATOR.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fifth time.

General of the Horse.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

DICTATOR.

P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.

General of the Horse.

C. Licinius Calvus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus. L. Licinius Calvus Stolo. C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. C. Plautius Proculus. M' Marcius. M. Considius. C. Petillius. L. Allienius. P. Publilius Philo. M. Plætorius.

Ædiles.

Voler. Publilius Philo. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Scapula. P. Cornelius Scipio.

Military Quæstors.

C. Carvilius Maximus. Q. Decius Mus.

YEAR OF ROME, 386.

49. MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

A. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time.
L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS, a second time.
M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a second time.

P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA, a sixth time.
M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a second time.

DICTATOR.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fifth time. He triumphs over the Gauls.

General of the Horse.

T. Quinctius Cincinnatus Capitolinus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo. M. Popilius. C. Plautius Proculus. C. Racilius. C. Trebonius Asper. C. Marcius Rutilus. C. Plætorius. L. Fulcinius. T. Stratius.

Ædiles.

L. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Sempronius Longus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis. M. Fabius Ambustus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Pinarius Natta. M. Pomponius.

YEAR OF ROME, 387.

89. CONSULSHIP.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS. He was the first plebeian who was made consul.

First Prætor.

SP. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

First Curule.

Cn. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

Ædile.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Plætorius. C. Numitorius. C. Antius. M. Acutius. M. Pontificius. L. Statius. M. Antius. C. Mæcilius. C. Lucerius. L. Volscius Fictor.

Quæstors of Rome.

Cn. Manlius Capito. Torquatus. Q. Aulius Cerretanus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Licinius Calvus. C. Terentius.

YEAR OF ROME, 388.

90. CONSULSHIP.

L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.

Prætor.

L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Juventius Thalna. C. Licinius Calvus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. C. Plautius Proculus. L. Lucerius. C. Trebonius. C. Volscius. M. Popilius. T. Metilius. M. Sellius. T. Statius. C. Racilius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Popilius Lænas. C. Martius Rutilus.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Fabius Ambustus. L. Hortensius.

Military Quæstors.

M. Valerius Poplicola. L. Fulvius Curvus.

YEAR OF ROME, 389.

91. CONSULSHIP.

C. SULPICIUS PETICUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS.

Prætor.

CN. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Scapula. Appius Claudius, Crassus Sabinus Regillensis.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Plautius Proculus. C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. M. Considius. L. Appuleius. C. Sempronius Longus. L. Racilius. C. Plætorius. L. Allienius. M. Marcius. C. Fulvius Curvus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Fulcinius. L. Volscius Fictor.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Æbutius Elva. L. Icilius Ruga.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. C. Marcius Rutilus.

YEAR OF ROME, 390.

92. CONSULSHIP.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

DICTATOR.

L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.

General of the Horse.

L. Pinarius Natta.

CENSORS.

M. Fabius Ambustus, the son of Cæso.
L. Furius Medullinus.

THE TWENTIETH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

M. Fabius Ambustus, the son of Numerius.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Popillius Lænas. L. Statius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. C. Antius.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Antius. C. Numitorius. M. Popilius Lænas. Q. Pœtelus Libo Visolus. L. Pupius. Q. Aulius Cerretanus. C. Marcius Rutilus. A. Allienius. L. Ælius Pætus. C. Carvilius Maximus.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Valerius Poplicola. C. Julius Iulus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Hortensius. M' Curius.

YEAR OF ROME, 391.

93. Consulship.

Q. SERVILIUS AHALA, a second time.

L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS, a second time.

Dictator.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.

General of the Horse.

P. Cornelius Scapula.

Prætor.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus. C. Fabius Ambustus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Pomponius. Q. Decius Mus. C. Oppius. C. Terentius Arsa. Q. Romuleius. C. Mælius Capitolinus. Sp. Oppius Cornicen. N. Otacilius. M. Terentius. L. Rabuleius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Lucretius. C. Volscius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Cornelius Scipio. C. Petillius.

Military Quæstors.

L. Mænius. L. Aquilius Corvus.

YEAR OF ROME, 392.

94. Consulship.

C. LICINIUS CALVUS, a second time.

C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Hernici.

Dictator.

T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CAPITOLINUS CRISPINUS. He triumphs over the Gauls.

General of the Horse.

Serv. Cornelius Maluginensis.

Prætor.

M. Valerius Poplicola.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Plætorius. M. Considius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Plætorius. L. Allienius.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Plautius Hypsæus. M. Marcius. M' Otacilius. C. Lætorius, the son of Caius. P. Furius. L. Ælius Pætus. P. Licinius Calvus. Q. Mælius. C. Lætorius, the son of Publius. L. Virginius.

Quæstors of Rome.

A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina. L. Papirius Mugillanus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Duilius. C. Duilius.

YEAR OF ROME, 393.

95. Consulship.

M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

C. PETILIUS LIBO VISOLUS. The latter triumphs over the Gauls, and the Tiburtini. The former, after having defeated the Hernici, obtains the honours of an ovation.

Prætor.

Spurius Furius Camillus, a second time.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Valerius Poplicola. C. Julius Iulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Aulius Cerretanus. C. Carvilius Maximus.

Tribunes of the People.

K. Duilius. M. Cædicius. C. Apronius. T. Sicinius Dentatus. C. Marcius Rutilus. L. Hortensius. C. Curatius. L. Sextius. C. Titius. M. Titinius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Æmilius Barbula. L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

Military Quæstors.

T. Manlius Capitolinus Torquatus. C. Livius Denter.

YEAR OF ROME, 394.

96. Consulship.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.

Prætor.

SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Pomponius. L. Rabuleius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Mælius Capitolinus. C. Terentius Arsa.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Marcius. Sex. Manilius. P. Silius. C. Apronius. M. Terentius. L. Icilius Ruga. C. Plautius Hypsæus. Sex. Pompilius. P. Villius. C. Sextius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Valerius Poplicola. L. Marcius Rutilus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Fossius Flaccinator. C. Servius Fidenas.

YEAR OF ROME, 395.

97. CONSULSHIP.

C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS, who triumphs over the Privernates.

DICTATOR.

C SULPICIUS PETICUS. He triumphs over the Gauls.

General of the Horse.

M. Valerius Poplicola.

Prætor.

T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CAPITOLINUS CRISPINUS.

Curule Ædiles.

T. Manlius Torquatus. A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Plebeian Ædiles.

K. Duilius. L. Virginius.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Petilius. L. Plautius Venno. L. Hortensius. Q. Hortensius. C. Sextilius. M. Cædicius. P. Furius. P. Licinius. C. Lætorius. M. Mænius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Furius Camillus. P. Mænius.

Military Quæstors.

C. Pætelius Libo Visolus. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

YEAR OF ROME, 396.

98. CONSULSHIP.

C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. He triumphs over the Privernates.
CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS, a second time.

Prætor.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Duilius. L. Sextius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Curatius. C. Titius.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Duilius. L. Mænius. M. Pomponius. M. Titinius. C. Mælius Capitolinus. C. Claudius Cicero. C. Apronius. T. Sicinius. M' Curius.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Papirius Mugillanus. Ti. Coruncanus.

Military Quæstors.

Sp. Papirius Cursor. M' Pomponius.

YEAR OF ROME, 397.

99. CONSULSHIP.

M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a second time.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a second time.

DICTATOR.

C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

General of the Horse.

C. Plautius Proculus.

Prætor.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Scipio. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Plautius Hypsæus. C. Sextius.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Livius Denter. P. Licinius Calvus. Q. Hortensius. C. Junius Bubulcus. M. Marcius. P. Mænius. K. Duilius. L. Icilius Ruga. L. Antistius. C. Petilius.

Quæstors of Rome.

Sex. Tullius. M. Pætilius Libo.

Military Quæstors.

M. Fabius Dorso. Ser. Sulpicius Pretextatus.

YEAR OF ROME, 398.

100. CONSULSHIP.

C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, a third time.
M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Prætor.

P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Duilius. L. Mænius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Mænius. P. Furius.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Hortensius. C. Antistius. C. Duilius. Cn. Appuleius. C. Appuleius. L. Albinius. L. Fulcinius. L. Albinius. C. Considius. L. Numitorius.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. Q. Servilius Ahala.

Military Quæstors.

Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus. C. Claudius Crassus Regillensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 399.

101. Consulship.

M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a third time. He triumphs over the Tiburtini.
T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CAPITOLINUS CRISPINUS.

Prætor.

C. Julius Iulus.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Furius Camillus. M. Papirius Mugillanus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Livius Denter. Q. Hortensius.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. Sp. Mæcilius. L. Marcius Rutilus. Sp. Mætilius. A. Sellius. K. Duilius. Ti. Pontificius. T. Roscius. Sex. Tempanius. L. Villius.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Fabius Ambustus. A. Lucerius.

Military Quæstors.

C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. C. Papilius Crassus.

YEAR OF ROME, 400.

102. Consulship.

C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, a fourth time.
M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time.

Dictator.

T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS.

General of the Horse.

A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Prætor.

L. Cornelius Scipio.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Hortensius. M. Marcius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Antistius. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Publilius Philo. P. Decius Mus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Mænius. Cn. Cornelius Cossus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Plautius Hypsæus. L. Mænius. C. Sicinius Bellutus. C. Titius. C. Sextius. M. Duilius. C. Mamilius Vitulus. T. Sicinius Dentatus. C. Apronius. L. Sextilius.

YEAR OF ROME, 401.

103. Consulship.

P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, a second time.

Dictator.

C. JULIUS IULUS.

General of the Horse.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

Prætor.

Ap. Claudius Crassus Regillensis.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Valerius Poplicola. L. Pinarius Natta.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Cn. Appuleius. L. Albinius.

Tribunes of the People.

Sex. Tullius. K. Duilius. M' Pomponius. L. Cædicius. P. Mælius. P. Mænius. Q. Hortensius. M. Mænius. C. Furius, C. Canuleius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus. L. Æmilius Barbula.

Military Quæstors.

C. Volumnius Flamma. Q. Æmilius Barbula.

YEAR OF ROME, 402.

104. Consulship.

C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, a fifth time.
T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS CAPITOLINUS.

Dictator.

M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

General of the Horse.

Q. Servilius Ahala.

CENSORS.

Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus.
C. Marcius Rutilus. The first Plebeian who was made Censor.

THE TWENTY-FIRST LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. C. Appuleius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Antistius. L. Villius.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Ovinius. C. Duilius. L. Canuleius. L. Rabuleius. T. Romuleius. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. M. Claudius Cicero. M. Pœtelius Libo. P. Mælius Capitolinus. Q. Terentius.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ser. Sulpicius Longus. Sp. Furius Medullinus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Lucretius Tricipitinus. Q. Cædicius.

YEAR OF ROME, 403.

105. CONSULSHIP.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a third time. He triumphs over the Gauls.
L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

DICTATOR.

L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

General of the Horse.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Prætor.

P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fabius Dorso. Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Sextilius. C. Mamilius.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Mænius. K. Duilius. T. Juventius. L. Oppius. P. Decius Mus. C. Oppius Cornicen. C. Licinius Calvus. C. Livius Denter. Q. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Ælius Pætus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Horatius Pulvillus. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Claudius Hortator. A. Posthumius Albinus Regillensis.

YEAR OF ROME, 404.

106. CONSULSHIP.

L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS. He died in his office.

DICTATOR.

T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a second time.

General of the Horse.

A. Cornelius Arvina.

Prætor.

L. PINARIUS NATTA.

Curule Ædiles.

M' Pomponius. L. Cædicius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Ser. Tullius. C. Furius.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Publilius Philo. C. Icilius Ruga. M. Claudius Cicero. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. C. Mænius. P. Mucius Scævola. C. Fabricius Luscinus. L. Antistius. P. Pupius. L. Publilius Philo Volscius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Ælius Pætus. Q. Antonius Mærenda.

Military Quæstors.

C. Quinctius Cincinnatus. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

YEAR OF ROME, 405.

107. CONSULSHIP.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a fourth time.
M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

DICTATOR.

C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLENSIS.

General of the Horse.

C. Livius Denter.

Prætor.

M. FABIUS DORSO.

Curule Ædile.

Q. Fabius Ambustus. Q. Servilius Ahala.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Pœtelius Libo. P. Mælius Capitolinus.

Tribunes of the People.

K. Duilius. A. Trebius. Cn. Lucerius. A. Tempanius. P. Licinius Stolo. Cn. Sellius. P. Decius Mus. C. Appuleius. Q. Mæcilius. Q. Marcius Tremulus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Papirius Crassus. L. Petilius.

Military Quæstors.

L. Posthumius Megellus. M. Fulcinius.

YEAR OF ROME, 406.

108. Consulship.

C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS.

Prætor.

Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Licinius Calvus Stolo. P. Decius Mus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Publilius Philo. T. Juventius.

Tribunes of the People.

Sex. Tullius. C. Mænius. L. Antistius. M' Pomponius. C. Duilius. Volero Publilius Philo Volscus. L. Atinius Longus. P. Mænius. P. Pupius. C. Antistius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Genucius Aventinensis. L. Furius Camillus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Sulpicius Longus. Ser. Sulpicius Saverrio.

YEAR OF ROME, 407.

109. Consulship.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Antiates, Volsci, and Satricani.
C. PŒTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Secular Games.

Prætor.

A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fabius Ambustus. Ser. Sulpicius Longus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Icilius Ruga. P. Mucius Scævola.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Decius Mus. M. Claudius Cicero. C. Ælius Pætus. P. Licinius Stolo. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. C. Fabricius Luscinus. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. Q. Cecilius Metellus. P. Mælius Capitolinus. Q. Cædicius.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Atilius Regulus. C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Military Quæstors.

A. Sempronius Atratinus. Q. Canuleius.

YEAR OF ROME, 408.

110. Consulship.

M. FABIUS DORSO.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Dictator.

L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a second time.

General of the Horse.

Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus.

Prætor.

Q. Servilius Ahala.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Mænius. Q. Mæcilius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

A. Trebius. Cn. Lucerius

Tribunes of the People.

C. Claudius Hotator. Q. Publilius Philo. L. Cædicius. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus. M. Titinius. C. Duilius. P. Ælius Pætus. M. Genucius Aventinensis. Sex. Titius. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

Quæstors of Rome.

T. Veturius Calvinus. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Pupius. M' Sergius Fidenas.

YEAR OF ROME, 409.

111. Consulship.

C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, a third time.
T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a second time.

Dictator.

P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

General of the Horse.

Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Prætor.

L. Furius Camillus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas. Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Decius Mus. L. Atinius Longus.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Mænius. Q. Manilius. C. Pompilius. C. Volumnius Flamma. L. Volumnius Flamma. C. Titinius. L. Mamilius Vitulus. Q. Silius. L. Villius. L. Titius.

Quæstors of Rome.

Cn. Quinctilius Varus. C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Claudius Marcellus. Cn. Fulvius Pœtinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 410.

112. CONSULSHIP.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a third time. He triumphs over the Samnites.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA. He triumphs over the Samnites.

CENSORS.

M. Fabius Ambustus.
M. Popilius Lænas.

THE TWENTY-SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

SER. SULPICIUS LONGUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Cædicius. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Licinius Stolo. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Ælius Pætus. M. Antonius. Se Titius. C. Claudius Hortator. M. Atilius Regulus. R. Sextius Sextinus. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis. M. Genucius Aventinensis. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus. L. Cædicius.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Papirius Crassus. L. Papirius Cursor.

Military Quæstors.

C. Plautius Decianus. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

YEAR OF ROME, 411.

113. CONSULSHIP.

C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, a fourth time
Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.

DICTATOR.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

General of the Horse.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas.

Prætor.

L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Papirius Crassus. C. Sulpicius Longus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Titinius. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Mænius. L. Furius. P. Curatius. Q. Canuleius. M. Minucius Augurinus. M. Decius Mus. P. Mucius Scævola. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. P. Mælius Capitoinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Valerius Poplicola. L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Cornelius Rufinus. M. Aulius Cerretanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 412.

114. CONSULSHIP.

C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS, a second time.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.

Prætor.

T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Titinius. Q. Manilius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Pompilius. L. Villius.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Publilius Philo. M. Atilius Regulus. Q. Pomponius. C. Duilius. K. Atinius Longus. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. Cn. Pupius. C. Sempronius Sophus. L. Atinius Longus. C. Atinius Longus.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus. Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

Military Quæstors.

D. Junius Brutus Scæva. L. Plautius Venno.

YEAR OF ROME, 413.

115. CONSULSHIP.

T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a third time. He triumphs over the Latins, Campani, Sidicini, and Aurunci.
P. DECIUS MUS.

DICTATOR.

L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

General of the Horse.

L. Papirius Cursor.

Prætor.

L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, who was created Dictator.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Valerius Corvus. C. Claudius Crassus Regillensis.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Antonius. L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Allienius. M. Plætorius. M' Marcius. C. Popilius. C. Petilius. C. Mæcilius. P. Publilius Philo. C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. M. Claudius Marcellus. M. Considius.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Sallonius Surra. L. Æmilius Paulus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Plautius Proculus. L. Pinarius Natta.

YEAR OF ROME, 414.

116. Consulship.

T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. He triumphs over the Latins.

Dictator.

Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

General of the Horse.

D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

Prætor.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Atilius Regulus. P. Curatius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus. L. Furius.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Lucerius. M. Pontificius. L. Villius. C. Pompilius. M. Acutius. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus. L. Volscius Fictor. T. Veturius Calvinus. Q. Mamilius. P. Silius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Valerius Potitus. M. Geganius Mamercinus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Duilius. M. Mæcilius.

YEAR OF ROME, 415.

115. Consulship.

L. FURIUS CAMILLUS. He triumphs over the Pedani and Tiburtini.
C. MENIUS. He triumphs over the Antiates, Lavinians, and Velitrani.

Prætor.

M. Valerius Corvus.

Curule Ædiles.

T. Veturius Crassus. Cn. Quinctilius Varus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Atinius Longus.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Sempronius Longus. P. Sallonius Sarra. C. Plautius Decianus. M. Minucius Augurinus. C. Terentius Arsa. M. Decius Mus. L. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Titinius. Q. Canuleius. M' Juventius Thalna.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Sulpicius Peticus. L. Veturius Crassus Augurinus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Furius. C. Minucius Augurinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 416.

118. Consulship.

C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Dictator.

C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLENSIS.

General of the Horse.

C. Claudius Hortator.

Prætor.

T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Rufinus. M. Papirius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Petilius. L. Allienius.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus. C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. D. Junius Brutus Scæva. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. C. Sempronius Sophus. L. Plautius Venno. M. Aulius Cerretanus. Q. Pomponius. M. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Atilius Regulus.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Scapula. L. Julius Iulus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Decius Mus. C. Carvilius Maximus.

YEAR OF ROME, 417.

119. Consulship.

L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
K. DUILIUS.

Prætor.

Q. Publilius Philo. The first plebeian who was raised to this office.

Curule Ædiles.

Sp. Posthumius Albinus. P. Valerius Poplicola.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Sallonius Sarra. P. Silius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Antonius Nepos. C. Plautius Decianus. L. Genucius Aventinensis. M' Marcius Nepos. C. Popillius Nepos. M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Plautius

Proculus. C. Marcius Rutilus. P. Publilius Philo. L. Considius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Sp. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus. Q. Aulius Cerretanus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Fulvius Curvus. M. Æbutius Elva.

YEAR OF ROME, 418.

120. Consulship.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a fourth time. He triumphed over the inhabitants of the territory of Cales.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Dictator.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.

General of the Horse.

Q. Publilius Philo.

Prætor.

Cn. Quinctilius Varus.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus. L. Valerius Potitus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Juventius Thalna. Q. Canuleius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Plautius Venno. L. Plætorius. L. Fulcinius. C. Numitorius. M. Mæcilius. C. Plætorius. C. Racilius. T. Statius. C. Antius Restio. C. Lucerius.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Papirius Mugillanus. A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Military Quæstors.

L. Julius Libo. M. Aulius Cerretanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 419.

121. Consulship.

T. VETURIUS CALVINUS.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Dictator.

P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.

General of the Horse.

M. Antonius.

Prætor.

M. Papirius Crassus.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Lentulus. M. Geganius Macerinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. M. Fulvius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Sallonius Sarra. T. Metilius. M. Scaptius. M. Mamilius. C. Memmius. L. Racilius. M. Sellius. P. Silius. Q. Cædicius Noctua. P. Furius.

Quæstors of Rome.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. Ap. Claudius Crass. Sabin. Regillensis.

Military Quæstors.

C. Acutius Nepos. T. Pontificius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 420.

122. Consulship.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
C. PŒTILIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Prætor.

C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Valerius Corvus. L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Plautius Venno. C. Plautius Decianus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Popilius Lænas. C. Mælius Capitolinus. C. Canuleius Nepos. Q. Hortensius. C. Plautius Proculus. C. Lætorius. C. Minucius Augurinus. M. Terentius. M' Juventius Thalna.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Foslius Flaccinator. Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 421.

123. Consulship.

A. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

Dictator.

M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

General of the Horse.

P. Valerius Poplicola.

Censors.

Q. Publilius Philo.
Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

THE TWENTY-THIRD LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

L. Papirius Mugillanus.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Plætorius. C. Plætorius,

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Racilius. L. Fulcinius.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Fulvius Curvus. L. Hortensius. A. Ogulnius Gallus. Q. Decius Mus. L. Ælius Pætus. M. Lætorius. M' Otacilius Crassus. Sp. Oppius Cornicen. C. Carvilius Maximus. M' Curius Dentatus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Flavius. A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Military Quæstors.

M. Fabius Ambustus. C. Aquilius Florus.

YEAR OF ROME, 422.

124. CONSULSHIP.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS.

DICTATOR.

CN. QUINTILIUS VARUS.

General of the Horse.

L. Valerius Potitus.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. M. Æbutius Elva.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Racilius Nepos. M. Mamilius Vitulus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Aulus Cerretanus. L. Pupius Nepos. C. Livius Denter. C. Fulvius Curvus. M. Fulvius Flaccus. Sp. Icilius Ruga. M' Pomponius Matho. D. Junius Brutus Scæva. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. M. Marcius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Valerius Flaccus. Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Æmilius Papus. L. Plautius Venno.

YEAR OF ROME, 423.

125. CONSULSHIP.

L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, a second time
L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.

Prætor.

P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Popilius Lænas. C. Lætorius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Manlius Capitolinus. C. Minucius Augurinus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Livius Denter. L. Fulvius Curvus. A. Allienius Nepos. M. Racilius Nepos. A. Trebonius Asper. M. Aulius Cerretanus. L. Appuleius Nepos. L. Plætorius Nepos. L. Fulcinius Nepos. P. Numitorius Pullus.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Plautius Hypsæus. C. Pætelius Nepos.

Military Quæstors.

L. Horatius Pulvillus. L. Æmilius Manercinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 424.

126. CONSULSHIP.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS, a second time.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS. Both triumph over the Privernates.

Prætor.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Papirius Mugillanus. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M' Curius Dentatus. Q. Decius Mus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Plætorius Nepos. C. Fescennius Nepos. T. Pontificius Nepos. Sex. Pompilius Nepos. Q. Mamilius Vitulus. Sp. Antius Restio. C. Acutius Nepos. P. Silius Nepos. Sex. Manlius Nepos. M. Mamilius Vitulus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Foslius Flaccinator. L. Furius Camillus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Popilius Lænas. P. Villius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 425.

127. CONSULSHIP.

C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.

Prætor.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Valerius Corvus. C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Fulvius Curvus. Q. Aulius Cerretanus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Aulius Cerretanus. M. Titinius Nepos. Cn. Apronius Nepos. C. Sextilius Nepos. L. Mænius Nepos. T. Sicinius Dentatus. Sex. Titius Nepos. C. Sex-

tius Calvinus. C. Curatius Nepos. A. Virginius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Papirius Crassus. Q. Æmilius Barbula.

Military Quæstors.

P. Ælius Pætus. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

YEAR OF ROME, 426.

128. Consulship.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a second time.

Dictator.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

General of the Horse.

Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

Prætor.

Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fabius Ambustus. Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Fulvius Curvus. M. Livius Denter.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Flavius Nepos. C. Lætorius Nepos. C. Minucius Augurinus. C. Aquillius Florus. C. Otacilius Nepos. C. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Mælius Capitolinus. C. Rabuleius Nepos. L. Hortensius Nepos. Q. Decius Mus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Pætelius Libo Visolus. M. Foslius Flaccinator.

Military Quæstors.

C. Julius Iulus. L. Romuleius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 427.

129. Consulship.

C. PŒTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS, a second time.
L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

Prætor.

C. Plautius Decianus.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Valerius Flaccus. A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Sex. Manilius Nepos. Sex. Pompilius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Petillius Nepos. M' Curius Dentatus. M. Aulius Cerretanus. Ti. Coruncanius. L. Icilius Ruga. C. Fulvius Curvus. C. Antistius Nepos. Sex. Tullius Nepos. T. Sempronius Blæsus. L. Marcius Rutilus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Mælius Nepos. L. Manlius Capitolinus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Manlius Vulso. Ti. Claudius Cicero.

Proconsul.

Q. Publius Philo. He triumphs over the Samnites and Palæpolitani.

Pro-quæstor.

L. Romuleius.

YEAR OF ROME, 428.

130. Consulship.

L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a second time.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.

Dictator.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

General of the Horse.

Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, who abdicates; and,
L. Papirius Crassus is chosen in his room.

Prætor.

L. Fulvius Curvus.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Foslius Flaccinator. M. Æmilius Papus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Flavius Nepos. A. Virginius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Plautius Venno. C. Plautius Hypsæus. C. Considius Nepos. L. Numitorius Nepos. Sp. Mæcilius Nepos. C. Popilius Lænas. L. Albinius Nepos. L. Fulcinius Trio. T. Roscius Nepos. A. Lucerius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Quinctius Capitolinus. M. Antistius Nepos.

Military Quæstors.

P. Valerius Poplicola. P. Plautius Hypsæus.

YEAR OF ROME, 429.

Dictator.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. He triumphs over the Samnites.

General of the Horse.

L. Papirius Crassus.

Censors.

M. Valerius Corvus.
C. Pœtelius Libo Visoluss.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

M. Fabius Ambustus.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Papirius Crassus. L. Furius Camillus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Cæcilius Metellus. L. Hortensius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Ælius Pætus. C. Fulvius Curvus. Sex. Tempanius Nepos. L. Apronius Limo. C. Mænius Nepos. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. Sp. Metilius Nepos. L. Villius Nepos. L. Sextilius. P. Virginius.

Quæstors of Rome.

Sp. Nautius Rutilus. C. Fabius Ambustus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Decius Mus. T. Pontificius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 430.

131. CONSULSHIP.

C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.

Prætor.

Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Foslius Flaccinator. Q. Æmilius Barbula.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Marcius Rutilus. T. Sempronius Blæsus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Flavius Nepos. M. Pœtelius Libo. C. Canuleius Nepos. M. Aulius Cerretanus. M' Curius Dentatus. L. Icilius Ruga. M. Popilius Lænas. C. Aurelius Cotta. Q. Ælius Pætus. Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Cominius Nepos. C. Marcius Rutilus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Valerius Maximus. A. Virginius Tricostus Rutilus.

YEAR OF ROME, 431.

132. CONSULSHIP.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS. He triumphs over the Samnites and Apulians.

L. FULVIUS CURVUS. He triumphs over the Samnites.

DICTATOR.

A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.

General of the Horse.

M. Fabius Ambustus.

Prætor.

L. PLAUTIUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Plautius Hypsæus. A. Lucerius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Sp. Mæcilius Nepos. L. Albinius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. Sex. Tullius Nepos. C. Petilius Nepos. C. Considius Nepos. M. Trebonius Flavus. A. Atilius Bulbus. L. Albinius Nepos. L. Fulcinius Trio. L. Numitorius Nepos. C. Volumnius Flamma.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Sestius Capitolinus. Q. Publilius Philo.

Military Quæstors.

M' Sergius Fidenas. C. Apuleius Pansa.

YEAR OF ROME, 432.

133. CONSULSHIP.

T. VETURIUS CALVINUS, a second time.

SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS, a second time.

DICTATORS.

Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
M. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

Generals of the Horse.

P. Ælius Pætus.
L. Valerius Flaccus.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Popilius Lænas. Sp. Metilius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Ser. Tempanius Nepos. L. Villius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Pœtelius Libo. C. Mamilius Vitulus. L. Sextilius Nepos. C. Mænius Nepos. P. Mælius Capitolinus. T. Roscius Nepos. L. Apronius Nepos. L. Cædicius Nepos. C. Furius Nepos. L. Canuleius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Cn. Furius Pacilus. P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

Military Quæstors.

Sp. Papirius Crassus. Cn. Lucerius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 433.

134. CONSULSHIP.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a second time.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a third time.

DICTATORS.

C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS.

Generals of the Horse.

M. Foslius Flaccinator.
L. Papirius Cursor.
L. Papirius Crassus.

Prætor.

Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Quinctius Capitolinus. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. C. Canuleius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Livius Denter. Y. Mælius Nepos. T. Numicius Nepos. These were all three obliged to abdicate, in order to go to Caudium, as hostages for the performance of the treaty concluded at the Caudian Forks.

P. Decius Mus. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus. P. Mænius Nepos. C. Sicinius Bellutus. M. Cædicius Nepos. P. Virginius Nepos. T. Romuleius Nepos. C. Oppius Cornicen. T. Juventius Nepos. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Volumnius Flamma. Q. Fundanius Mendulus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Fabius Dorso. Q. Antonius Merenda.

YEAR OF ROME, 434.

135. CONSULSHIP.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a third time. He triumphs over the Samnites.

Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS, a second time.

CENSORS.

C. Sulpicius Longus.
C. Plautius Decianus. They both abdicate.

Prætor.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Valerius Maximus. C. Fabius Ambustus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Volumnius Flamma. M. Trebonius Flavus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Antistius Nepos. M. Pœtelius Libo. L. Apronius Nepos. L. Cominius Nepos. C. Mænius Nepos. Q. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Marcius Rutilus. L. Sextilius Nepos. L. Cædicius Nepos. C. Furius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Marcius Tremulus. L. Geganius Macerinus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Clœlius Siculus. L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 435.

136. CONSULSHIP.

L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.

Censors.

L. Papirius Crassus.
C. Mænius.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Valerius Corvus. M' Sergius Fidenas.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Decius Mus. T. Roscius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Mælius Nepos. C. Claudius Hortator. C. Fabricius Luscinus. P. Pupius Nepos. Q. Publilius Philo. L. Domitius Ænobarbus. P. Mucius Scævola. C. Icilius Ruga. Sex. Tullius Nepos. C. Plautius Hypsæus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Genucius Aventinensis. Ap. Claudius Cæcus.
M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus. T. Minucius Augurinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 436.

137. CONSULSHIP.

Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.

Prætor.

L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Pætelius Libo. L. Livius Denter.

Plebeian Ædiles.

T. Numicius Nepos. M. Antistius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cominius Nepos. C. Apuleius Pansa. M. Trebonius Flavus. Q. Mæcilius

Nepos. Cn. Sellius Nepos. A. Trebius Nepos. Cn. Lucerius Nepos. Sp. Metilius Nepos. A. Tempanius. L. Villius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Arvina. L. Papirius Maso.

Military Quæstors.

C. Lutatius Catulus. M. Fulcinius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 437.

138. CONSULSHIP.

SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

DICTATOR.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.

General of the Horse.

L. Fulvius Curvus.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Mælius Nepos. C. Marcius Rutilus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Apronius Limo. L. Sextilius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Decius Mus. M. Titinius Nepos. Sex. Titius Nepos. L. Cædicius Nepos. P. Mænius Nepos. C. Volumnius Flamma. Q. Fundanius Fundulus. M. Genucius Aventinensis. M. Cædicius Nepos. C. Furius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ti. Cornelius Lentulus. L. Atilius Regulus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Volumnius Flamma. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 438.

139. CONSULSHIP.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a fourth time.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a fourth time.

DICTATOR.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.

General of the Horse.

Q. Aulius Cerretanus, who was killed in battle; and,
C. Fabius Ambustus chosen in his room.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Ap. Claudius Cæcus. M. Fabius Dorso.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Cominius Nepos. Q. Publilius Philo.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Livius Denter. M. Antistius Nepos. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens. Q. Canuleius Nepos. Q. Cæcilius Metellus. T. Numicius Nepos. Q. Marcius Tremulus. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. P. Licinius Nepos Stolo. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Marcius Rutilus. M. Decius Mus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Livius Denter. L. Æmilius Barbula.

YEAR OF ROME, 439.

140. CONSULSHIP.

M. PŒTELIUS LIBO.
C. SULPICIUS LONGUS, a third time. He triumphs over the Samnites.

DICTATOR.

C. MÆNIUS.

General of the Horse.

M. Foslius Flaccinator.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Geganius Macerinus. Q. Clœlius Siculus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Appuleius Pansa. A. Trebius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Mælius Nepos. Ti. Minucius Augurinus. L. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Claudius Hortator. P. Mucius Scævola. M. Trebius. M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus. M. Domitius Calvinus. M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Fabricius Luscinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus. P. Sempronius Longus.

YEAR OF ROME, 440.

141. CONSULSHIP.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a fifth time.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS, a second time.

DICTATOR.

C. PŒTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

General of the Horse.

M. Poetelius Libo.

Prætor.

C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Arvina. Ap. Claudius Cæcus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Titinius Nepos. Sex. Titius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cominius Nepos. M. Marcius Tremulus. Cn Papius Nepos. Q. Publilius Philo. Q. Petilius Nepos. L. Livius Denter. Sp. Icilius Ruga. L. Atinius Longus. C. Plautius Decianus. C. Lutatius Catulus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Posthumius Megellus. L. Furius Nepos.

Military Quæstors.

P. Sulpicius Saverrio. M. Titinius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 441.

142. Consulship.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS. He triumphs over the Samnites and Sorani.
P. DECIUS MUS.

Dictator.

C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.

General of the Horse.

C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

Censors.

Ap. Claudius Cæcus.
C. Plautius Venox.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

M. Foslius Flaccinator.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Valerius Corvus. L. Papirius Maso.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Genucius Aventinensis. A. Trebius Nepos. L. Villius Nepos. Q. Silius Nepos. Q. Manlius Nepos. M. Fulcinius Nepos. A. Acutius Nepos. L. Volumnius Flamma. C. Pompilius Nepos. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Papirius Crassus. Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Sempronius Gracchus. Q. Appuleius Pansa.

YEAR OF ROME, 442.

143. Consulship.

C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS, a third time. He triumphs over the Samnites.
Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, a second time. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

Prætor.

M. Valerius Maximus.

Curule Ædiles.

Ser. Cornelius Lentulus. Ti. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Fabricius Luscinus. P. Mucius Scævola.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Atilius Regulus. C. Marcius Rutilus. M. Decius Mus. T. Minucius Augurinus. M. Trebius Nepos. M. Antonius Nepos. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis. M. Livius Denter. L. Titius Nepos. N. Sextius Sextinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Ogulnius Gallus. M. Fulvius Pætinus.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus. C. Pætelius Libo Visolus.

YEAR OF ROME, 443.

144. Consulship.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, a second time.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, who was afterward called Censorinus.

Prætor.

P. Cornelius Arvina.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus. L. Æmilius Barbula.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Lutatius Catulus. Q. Petilius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Sempronius Sophus. L. Genucius Aventinensis. M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus. P. Curatius Nepos. M. Claudius Marcellus. Q. Pomponius Nepos. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus. M. Aulius Cerretanus. Sp. Icilius Ruga. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Anicius Prænestinus. M. Minucius Fessus.

Military Quæstors.

T. Popillius Nepos. Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.

YEAR OF ROME, 444.

Dictator.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. He triumphs over the Samnites.

General of the Horse.

C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

PROCONSULS.

Q. Fabius Max. Rullianus. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

P. Cornelius Arvina.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Marcius Tremulus. L. Atilius Regulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

T. Minucius Augurinus. Q. Manilius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Marcius Rutilus. M. Titinius Nepos. C. Atinius Labeo. P. Publilius Philo. C. Plautius Decianus. M. Livius Denter. C. Atinius Longus. M' Marcius Nepos. C. Popilius Nepos. L. Allienius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Valerius Falto. L. Cornelius Blasio.

Military Quæstors.

P. Licinius Varus. M. Duilius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 445.

145. CONSULSHIP.

P. DECIUS MUS, a second time.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, a third time.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Posthumius Megellus. P. Sulpicius Saverrio.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Decius Mus. M. Antonius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Furius Nepos. P. Sempronius Sophus. M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus. L. Genucius Aventinensis. Q. Appuleius Pansa. M. Plætorius Nepos. M. Trebius Nepos. M. Considius Nepos. M. Fulcinius Nepos. M. Mæcilius Tullus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Cornelius Scipio. M. Atilius Regulus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Papirius Turdus. M. Æmilius Paulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 446.

146. CONSULSHIP.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.

CENSORS.

M. Valerius Maximus.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

PROCONSUL.

Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.

Prætor.

T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Marcius Rutilus. M. Titinius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus. Q. Pomponius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. M. Livius Denter. L. Lucerius Nepos. L. Volscius Fictor. P. Silius Nepos. Q. Anicius Prænestinus. Cn. Fulvius Pætinus. M. Acutius Nepos. P. Villius Nepos. Q. Mamilius Turinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Sp. Carvilius Maximus. M. Atilius Regulus.

Military Quæstors.

T. Manlius Torquatus. A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

YEAR OF ROME, 447.

147. CONSULSHIP.

Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS. He triumphs over the Samnites, and the inhabitants of Anagnia.

DICTATOR.

P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS.

General of the Horse.

P. Decius Mus.

Prætor.

SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Cornelius Corvus. P. Valerius Falto.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Sempronius Sophus. L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Flavius Nepos. M. Decius Mus. M. Fulvius Pætinus. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. L. Genucius Aventinensis. P. Furius Nepos. L. Furius Nepos. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Antonius Nepos. P. Curatius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Carvilius Maximus. *L. Julius Libo.*

Military Quæstors.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus. *L. Julius Iulus.*

YEAR OF ROME, 448.

148. CONSULSHIP.

L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS.
T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, who is killed fighting with the Samnites; and
M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS, chosen in his room. The latter triumphs over the Samnites.

Prætor.

AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Æmilius Paulus. *L. Cornelius Blasio.*

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Livius Denter. *Q. Appuleius.*

Tribunes of the People.

C. Marcius Rutilus. C. Minucius Augurinus. L. Ogulnius Gallus. Q. Decius Mus. M. Duilius Nepos. M. Minucius Fessus. M' Juventius Thalna. P. Licinius Varus. Q. Aulius Cerretanus. Q. Pomponius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Cn. Ogulnius Gallus. *M. Mamilius Vitulus.*

Military Quæstors.

C. Sergius Fidenas. *M. Geganius Macerinus.*

YEAR OF ROME, 449.

149. CONSULSHIP.

C. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. He triumphs over the Æqui.
P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO. He triumphs over the Samnites.

CENSORS.

Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
P. Decius Mus.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

P. VALERIUS FALTO.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Flavius Nepos. *Q. Anicius Prænestinus.*

Plebeian Ædiles.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. *L. Furius Nepos.*

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Flavius Nepos. Q. Papirius Turdus. D. Junius Pera. M' Pomponius Matho. M. Sempronius Tuditanus. T. Popilius Nepos. Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. M. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Atilius Regulus. C. Plautius Proculus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Papirius Cursor. *M' Curius Dentatus.*

Military Quæstors.

L. Ælius Pætus. *D. Junius Brutus Scæva.*

YEAR OF ROME, 450.

150. CONSULSHIP.

SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Scipio. *A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.*

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Genucius Aventinensis. *P. Furius Nepos.*

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Publicius Malleolus. M. Allienius Nepos. L. Plætorius Nepos. L. Racilius Nepos. Sex. Statius Nepos. L. Considius Nepos. C. Plætorius Nepos. C. Apustius Fullo. C. Numitorius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Cornelius Scipio. *C. Fulvius Curvus.*

Military Quæstors.

M. Valerius Flaccus. *Q. Mamilius Vitulus.*

YEAR OF ROME, 451.

151. CONSULSHIP.

M. LIVIUS DENTER.
M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

DICTATOR.

C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS. He triumphs over the Æqui.

General of the Horse.

M. Titinius Nepos.

Prætor.

Q. APULEIUS PANSA.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Posthumius Megellus. *T. Manlius Torquatus.*

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Fulvius Pætinus. *C. Minucius Augurinus.*

Tribunes of the People.

L. Furius Nepos. Sp. Carvilius Maximus. M. Atilius Regulus. C. Metilius Nepos. A. Sellius Nepos. Q.

Papirius Turdus. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. Ti. Pontificius. M. Volscius Fictor. L. Antonius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Cædicius Noctua. C. Acutius Nepos.

Military Quæstors.

C. Foslius Flaccinator. Q. Fabius Ambustus.

YEAR OF ROME, 452.

DICTATORS.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

Generals of the Horse.

M. Æmilius Paulus.
P. Sempronius Sophus.

Prætor.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Pætelius Libo Visolus. D. Junius Pera.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Atilius Regulus. C. Plautius Proculus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Anicius Prænestinus. Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus. L. Genucius Aventinensis. M. Lætorius Plancianus. M. Minucius Fessus. C. Memmius Nepos. P. Furius Nepos. C. Lætorius Nepos. C. Mælius Capitolinus. M. Terentius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

M' Sergius Nepos. Q. Hortensius Nepos.

Military Quæstors.

C. Cædicius Noctua. M. Claudius Marcellus.

YEAR OF ROME, 453.

152. CONSULSHIP.

Q. APULEIUS PANSA.
M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a fifth time.

Prætor.

CN. FULVIUS MAXIMUS CENTUMALUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Julius Iulus. L. Julius Libo.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Papirius Turdus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus. Cn. Ogulnius Gallus. M. Mamilius Vitulus. T. Juventius Thalna. C. Otacilius Crassus. C. Carvilius Maximus. Q. Terentius Arsa. M. Otacilius Crassus. Sp. Oppius Cornicen. Q. Aulius Cerretanus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Fabius Gurges. M. Aquilius Florus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Ælius Pætus. L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 454.

153. CONSULSHIP.

M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS. He triumphs over the Samnites and Nequinates.
T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, who dies in his office; and, to supply his room,
M. VALERIUS CORVUS is chosen consul a sixth time.

CENSORS.

P. Sempronius Sophus.
P. Sulpicius Saverrio.

THE TWENTY-NINTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. L. Papirius Cursor.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Antonius Nepos. C. Metilius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Ælius Pætus. M. Atilius Regulus. D. Junius Brutus Scæva. M. Aulius Cerretanus. D. Junius Pera. C. Fulvius Curvus. C. Cæcilius Metellus. L. Pupius Nepos. M. Volscius Fictor. C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Rufinus. M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Livius Denter. C. Claudius Canina.

YEAR OF ROME, 455.

154. CONSULSHIP.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. He triumphs over the Samnites and Hetrurians.

Prætor.

M. LIVIUS DENTER.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Scipio. L. Valerius Flaccus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Lætorius Plancianus. C. Lætorius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

M' Curius Dentatus. Q. Papirius Turdus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus. A. Atilius Calatinus. M. Marcius Nepos. C. Plautius Proculus. M. Flavius Nepos. M. Atilius Regulus. M. Popilius Lænas. L. Plautius Venno.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Trebonius Asper. M. Scantius Nepos.

Military Quæstors.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. A. Manlius Vulso Longus.

YEAR OF ROME, 456.

155. Consulship.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, a fourth time.
P. DECIUS MUS, a fourth time.

Prætor.

L. Julius Iulus.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fabius Ambustus. M. Sergius Fidenas.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Atilius Regulus. D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Hortensius Nepos. Q. Cædicius Noctua. C. Plautius Hypsæus. C. Petillius Nepos. A. Allienius Nepos. C. Cædicius Noctua. M. Æmilius Regulus Serranus. M. Pœtelius Libo. L. Apuleius Saturinus. C. Pontificuis Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Fulvius Pætinus. Ti. Sempronius Blæsus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Manlius Capitolinus. Ser. Cornelius Rufinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 457.

156. Consulship.

AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, a second time.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS, a second time.

Prætor.

P. Sempronius Sophus.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus. Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Ælius Pætus. C. Fulvius Curvus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus. Q. Papirius Turdus. P. Numitorius Pullus. Q. Sallonius Sarra. M' Curius Dentatus. M. Claudius Marcellus. M. Racilius Nepos. Sp. Antius Restio. M. Acutius Nepos. M. Mætilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Nautius Rutilus. M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Flaminius Chilo. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Proconsuls in Samnium.

Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
P. Decius Mus.

YEAR OF ROME, 458.

157. Consulship.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, a fifth time. He triumphs over the Samnites, the Hetrurians, and the Gauls.
P. DECIUS MUS, a third time.

Prætor.

Ap. Claudius Cæcus.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fabius Gurges. L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Hortensius Nepos. L. Plautius Venno.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Cædicius Noctua. P. Villius Nepos. Sex. Pompilius Nepos. L. Sicinius Dentatus. Sex. Titius Nepos. C. Ælius Pætus. P. Silius Nepos. C. Manilius Nepos. Q. Titinius Nepos. Cn. Apronius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Sp. Nautius Rutilus. Cn. Æmilius Papus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Ælius Pætus. C. Fabricius Luscinus.

Proconsuls.

L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
L. Cornelius Scipio.
Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumalus.
L. Posthumius Megellus.
M. Livius Denter.

YEAR OF ROME, 459.

158. Consulship.

L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Samnites and Hetrurians.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS. He triumphs over the Volscinienses and the Samnites.

Censors.

P. Cornelius Arvina.
C. Marcius Rutilus.

THE THIRTIETH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus, P. Cornelius Rufinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M' Curius Dentatus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Trebonius Asper. M. Livius Denter. C. Claudius Canina. C. Sextilius Nepos. L. Mænius Nepos. A. Virginius Nepos. C. Sextius Calvinus. C. Curatius Nepos. T. Memmius Nepos. M. Lætorius Plancianus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Opimius Pansa. Q. Marcius Philippus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Æmilius Lepidus. C. Servilius Tucca.

YEAR OF ROME, 460.

159. Consulship.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
Sp. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. They both triumph over the Samnites.

Prætor.

M. Atilius Regulus.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. Q. Cædicius Noctua.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Numitorius Pullus. Sp. Antius Restio.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Scantius Nepos. Q. Hortensius Nepos. C. Canuleius Nepos. C. Aquilius Florus. Q. Ogulnius Gallus. Ti. Claudius Cicero. L. Cæcilius Metellus. L. Romuleius Nepos. C. Ogulnius Gallus. C. Aurelius Cotta.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ti. Coruncanius. L. Furius Camillus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Mælius Nepos. C. Furius Pacilus.

YEAR OF ROME, 461.

160. Consulship.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS GURGES.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.

Dictator.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.

General of the Horse.

C. Marcius Rutilus.

Prætor.

L. Papirius Cursor.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Ælius Pætus. C. Claudius Canina.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Apronius Nepos. P. Sitius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Rabuleius Nepos. M. Claudius Marcellus. M. Pupius Nepos. M. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior. L. Flaminius Chilo. L. Hortensius Nepos. L. Icilius Ruga. Sex. Tullius Nepos. C. Flavius Nepos. M. Atilius Nepos.

These ten abdicated, because their election was deemed defective; and in their room were chosen,

L. Tullius Nepos. M. Antistius Nepos. L. Albinius Nepos. C. Considius Nepos. M. Racilius Nepos. C. Junius Pullus. P. Plautius Hypsæus. L. Allienius Nepos. M. Plætorius Nepos. L. Fulcinius Trio.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Æmilius Papus. L. Aurelius Cotta.

Military Quæstors.

C. Cornelius Scapula. P. Decius Mus.

YEAR OF ROME, 462.

161. Consulship.

L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS, a third time.
C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.

Prætor.

M. Valerius Maximus.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Nautius Rutilus. M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Livius Denter. C. Trebonius Asper.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Cædicius Noctua. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Trebonius Flavus. T. Roscius Nepos. Sex. Tempanius. Q. Hortensius. C. Fabricius Luscinus. L. Numitorius Pullus. Cn. Lucerius Nepos. C. Scaptius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Dolabella Maximus. L. Æmilius Barbula.

Military Quæstors.

C. Antius Restio. Sp. Mæcilius.

Proconsul in Samnium.

Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges. He triumphs over the Samnites.

Pro-quæstor.

L. Aurelius Cotta.

YEAR OF ROME, 463.

162. CONSULSHIP.

P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.
M' CURIUS DENTATUS. The latter triumphs over the Samnites and Sabines at two different times.

Prætor.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Sp. Nautius Rutilus. Cn. Æmilius Papus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Aurelius Cotta.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Ælius Pætus. Q. Marcius Philippus. C. Mamilius Vitulus. L. Antonius Nepos. L. Cominius Nepos. A. Atilius Bulbus. C. Volumnius Flamma. Cn. Apronius Nepos. C. Sextius Calvinus. M. Cædicius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Valerius Lævinus. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

Military Quæstors.

C. Genucius Clepsina. Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 464.

163. CONSULSHIP.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS CORVINUS.
Q. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.

CENSORS.

M. Æmilius Paulus.
L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

THE THIRTY-FIRST LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Æmilius Lepidus. C. Servilius Tucca.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus. C. Fabricius Luscinus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Papirius Turdus. C. Ælius Pætus. Ti. Coruncanius Nepos. P. Virginius Nepos. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. L. Canuleius Nepos. C. Claudius Canina. Sp. Curatius Nepos. C. Furius Aculeo. T. Numicius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Sulpicius Saverrio. Sp. Papirius Cursor.

Military Quæstors.

L. Papirius Cursor. C. Mænius Nepos.

PROCONSUL IN LUCANIA.

M' Curius Dentatus. He enjoys the honours of an ovation, after having subdued the Lucani.

Pro-quæstor.

C. Genucius Clepsina.

YEAR OF ROME, 465.

164. CONSULSHIP.

Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.
Both the second time.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTITUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Furius Camillus. C. Furius Pacilus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Marcius Philippus. M. Trebonius Flavus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. Q. Romuleius Nepos. C. Aurelius Cotta. C. Ælius Pætus. P. Mucius Scævola. P. Decius Mus. M. Oppius Cornicen. Q. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Claudius Hortator. C. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Licinius Calvus. M. Fabius Dorso.

Military Quæstors.

M. Domitius Ænobarbus. T. Antonius Merenda.

YEAR OF ROME, 466.

165. CONSULSHIP.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

DICTATOR.

Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS. He dies in his office.

General of the Horse.

M. Livius Denter, who abdicated after the death of Hortensius.

DICTATOR.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.

General of the Horse.

L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

Prætor.

C. Claudius Canina.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Æmilius Papus. C. Cornelius Scapula.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Ti. Coruncanius Nepos. P. Decius Mus.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Mænius Nepos. P. Pupius Nepos. C. Fabricius Luscinus. L. Livius Denter. Q. Marcius Tremulus. C. Lutatius Catulus. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. L. Antistius Nepos. L. Aurelius Cotta. L. Publilius Philo.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Fulvius Curvus. L. Atilius Regulus.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Quinctilius Varus. P. Quinctilius Varus.

YEAR OF ROME, 467.

166. Consulship.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTITUS.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Prætor.

C. Servilius Tucca.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Dolabella. L. Æmilius Barbula.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Papirius Turdus. C. Furius Aculeo.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Genucius Clepsina. M. Plætorius Nepos. A. Trebius Nepos. Sp. Mæcilius Nepos. Q. Marcius Philippus. M. Albinius Nepos. C. Antius Nepos Restio. M. Trebonius Flavus. M. Mæcilius Tullus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus. M. Metilius Nepos.

Military Quæstors.

M. Foslius Flaccinator. C. Fabius Ambustus.

YEAR OF ROME, 468.

167. Consulship.

C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Prætor.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Valerius Lævinus. T. Geganius Macerinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Oppius Cornicen. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Fabricius Luscinus. P. Decius Mus. M. Titinius Nepos. L. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Mænius Nepos. T. Coruncanius Nepos. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens. C. Fundanius Fundulus. C. Claudius Hortator. P. Curatius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Cornelius Lentulus. L. Papirius Maso.

Military Quæstors.

L. Sextius Lateranus. M. Antonius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 469.

168. Consulship.

C. SERVILIUS TUCCA.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Prætor.

Q. Æmilius Papus.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Sulpicius Saverrio. Sp. Papirius Cursor.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Genucius Clepsina. L. Aurelius Cotta.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Marcius Philippus. Q. Canuleius Nepos. M. Licinius Calvus. L. Domitius Ænobarbus. P. Mucius Scævola. Ti. Minucius Augurinus. P. Licinius Stolo. C. Ælius Pætus. M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ser. Cornelius Merenda. C. Fabius Dorso. Licinus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Genucius Clepsina. M. Decius.

YEAR OF ROME, 470.

169. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA MAXIMUS.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

Prætor.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. He was killed in a battle with the Hetrurians; and M' Curius Dentatus was chosen in his room.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Papirius Cursor. M. Fabius Dorso.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Albinius Nepos. M. Plætorius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

Ti. Coruncanius Nepos. C. Junius Pullus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Atinius

Longus. Q. Petillius Nepos. P. Decius Mus. M. Fulvius Curvus. L. Atilius Regulus. C. Plautius Decianus. M. Trebonius Flavus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Sp. Furius Purpureo. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Lutatius Catulus. A. Posthumius Albinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 471.

170. CONSULSHIP.

C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. He triumphs over the Samnites, Lucani, and Brutii.
Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

Prætor.

M. LIVIUS DENTER DRUSUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Quinctilius Varus. P. Quinctilius Varus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Fundanius Fundulus. L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Genucius Clepsina. L. Trebius Nepos. L. Villius Nepos. Q. Silius Nerva. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus. M. Trebius Nepos. C. Acutius Nepos. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens. C. Pompilius Nepos. M. Titinius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus. Q. Valerius Falto.

Military Quæstors.

Ti. Claudius Nero. P. Clælius Siculus.

YEAR OF ROME, 472.

171. CONSULSHIP.

L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

Prætor.

P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fœlius Flaccinator. C. Fabius Ambustus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

T. Minucius Augurinus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Titius Nepos. P. Licinius Varus. Sp. Icilius Ruga. C. Sempronius Gracchus. P. Publilius Philo. M. Genucius Aventinensis. M. Aulius Cerretanus. Cn. Pupius Nepos. C. Martius Rutilus. T. Popilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Quinctius Claudus. P. Sempronius Sophus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Servilius Cæpio. C. Valerius Potitus Flaccu

YEAR OF ROME, 473.

172. CONSULSHIP.

P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS. He triumphs over the Volsinienses, and Volcientes.

CENSORS.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges.

THE THIRTY-SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Lentulus. L. Papirius Maso.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Fulvius Curvus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Genucius Clepsina. C. Atinius Longus. Q. Petilius Nepos. Q. Appuleius Pansa. M. Pletorius Nepos. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. C. Plautius Decianus. C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. M. Albinius Nepos. Q. Anicius Prænestinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio. Sp. Carvilius Ruga.

Military Quæstors.

M. Atilius Regulus. L. Publicius Malleolus.

Proconsul against the Samnites, Tarentini and Salentini.

L. Æmilius Barbula. He triumphs over the Tarentini, Samnites, and Salentini.

Pro-quæstor.

Q. Servilius Cæpio.

YEAR OF ROME, 474.

173. CONSULSHIP.

P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
P. DECIUS MUS.

Prætor.

TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles.

Ser. Cornelius Merenda. C. Fabius Dorso Licinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Trebius Nepos. Q. Silius Nerva.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Genucius Clepsina. P. Sallonius Sarra. L. Villius Nepos. Q. Silius Nerva. Q. Manilius Nepos. L. Trebius Nepos. A. Acutius Nepos. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens. C. Pompilius Nepos. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Fabius Pictor. D. Junius Pera.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Mamilius Turinus. Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

YEAR OF ROME, 475.

174. Consulship.

C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Lucani, Brutii, Tarentini, and Samnites.

Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, a second time.

Prætor.

C. Genucius Clepsina.

Curules Ædiles.

L. Titius Nepos. T. Popilius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Licinius Nepos. C. Sempronius Gracchus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Titinius Nepos. N. Sextius Sextinus. L. Furius Nepos. T. Minucius Augurinus. M. Aulius Cerretanus. M. Titius Rufus. C. Curatius Nepos. T. Veturius Calvinus. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. C. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ap. Claudius Crassus. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Mamilius Vitulus. T. Clœlius Siculus.

YEAR OF ROME, 476.

175. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS, a second time.

C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Lucani and Brutii.

Prætor.

L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Clœlius Siculus. Q. Valerius Falto.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Apuleius Pansa. C. Plautius Decianus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus. Sp. Icilius Ruga. Q. Pomponius Nepos. M. Fulvius Curvus. C. Sempronius Tuditanus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus. Cn. Pupius Nepos. M. Livius Denter. Cn. Fulvius Pætinus. C. Atinius Labeo.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Papirius Maso. A. Posthumius Albinus.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumalus. M. Duilius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 477.

176. Consulship.

Q. FABIUS MAX. GURGES, a second time. He triumphs over the Lucani and Brutii.

C. GENUCIUS.

Dictator.

P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.

General of the Horse.

C. Ælius Pætus.

Prætor.

Ser. Cornelius Merenda.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Quinctius Claudus. C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Genucius Clepsina. P. Sallonius Sarra.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Sempronius Sophus. C. Atinius Longus. T. Popilius Nepos. C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. Cn. Apuleius Pansa. M. Fulvius Pætinus. M' Marcius Nepos. Q. Petilius Nepos. Q. Lutatius Catulus. L. Alienius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Fulvius Flaccus. N. Fabius Pictor.

Military Quæstors.

L. Julius Libo. Cn. Apronius Limo.

YEAR OF ROME, 478.

177. Consulship.

M' CURIUS DENTATUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Samnites and king Pyrrhus.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, who has the surname of Caudinus given him. He triumphs over the Samnites and Lucani.

Censors.

C. Fabricius Luscinus.

Q. Æmilius Papus.

THE THIRTY-THIRD LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

C. Fabius Dorso Licinus.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio. Q. Servilius Cæpio.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Titius Rufus. N. Sextius Lateranus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Atilius Regulus. Q. Considius Nepos. L. Trebius Nepos. L. Lucerius Nepos. L. Volscius Fictor. L. Publicius Malleolus. L. Anicius Prænestinus. M Trebius Nepos. M. Acutius Nepos. Ti. Villius Tappulus.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Otacilius Crassus. M' Otacilius Crassus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Quinctius Capitolinus. L. Papirius Crassus.

YEAR OF ROME, 479.

178. Consulship.

M' CURIUS DENTATUS, a third time.
SER. CORNELIUS MÆRENDA.

Prætor.

L. Genucius Clepsina.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Fabius Pictor. Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus. P. Sempronius Sophus.

Tribunes of the People.

D. Junius Pera. M. Minucius Fessus. C. Curatius Nepos. Q. Papirius Turdus. C. Minucius Augurinus. Q. Mamilius Turinus. M. Titinius Nepos. P. Furius Nepos. T. Veturius Calvinus. C. Minucius Rufus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ap. Claudius Caudex. Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Sempronius Atratinus. L. Flaminius Chilo.

YEAR OF ROME, 480.

179. Consulship.

C. FABIUS DORSO LICINUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA, a second time. He triumphs over the Lucani, Samnites, and Brutii.

Prætor.

C. Quinctius Claudus.

Curule Ædiles.

T. Clœlius Siculus. Ap. Claudius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Fluvius Petinus. Q. Lutatius Catulus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Mamilius Vitulus. M' Juventius Thalna. Q. Aulius Cerretanus. L. Pomponius Nepos. Cn. Flavius Nepos. M. Aquilius Florus. Sp. Carvilius Max. Ruga. L. Ælius Petus. M. Pomponius Matho. Cn. Fulvius Pœtinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M' Cornelius Cethegus. T. Manlius Torquatus.

Military Quæstors.

T. Otacilius Crassus. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

YEAR OF ROME, 481.

180. Consulship.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a second time. He triumphs over the Tarentini, Samnites, Lucani, and Brutii.
SP. CURVILIUS MAXIMUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Lucani, Brutii, Samnites, and Tarentini.

Censors.

M. Curius Dentatus.
L. Papirius Cursor.

THE THIRTY-FOURTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Publicius Malleolus. Q. Considius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Atilius Regulus. D. Junius Pera.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus. T. Sempronius Gracchus. C. Atilius Regulus. C. Plautius Proculus. M. Alienus Nepos. M. Duilius Nepos. Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus. M' Marcius Nepos. Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. L. Considius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Fabius Ambustus. M' Valerius Maximus.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Minucius Fessus. C. Duilius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 482.

181. Consulship.

C. QUINCTIUS CLAUDUS.
L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

Prætor.

C. Fabius Pictor.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Julius Libo. N. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Mamilius Turinus. M. Minucius Fessus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Fulvius Flaccus. P. Sempronius Sophus. C. Otacilius Crassus. C. Racilius Nepos. L. Flaminius Chilo. Cn. Apronius Limo. C. Plætorius Nepos. C. Apustius Fullo. C. Numiterius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Posthumius Megellus. L. Valerius Flaccus.

Military Quæstors.

D. Junius Brutus Scæva. C. Aquilius Flo-

YEAR OF ROME, 483.

182. Consulship.

C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA, a second time.
CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO. He triumphs over the Sarsinates.

Prætor.

Ap. Claudius Crassus.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Quinctius Capitolinus. L. Papirius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Mamilius Vitulus. M. Aquilius Florus.

Tribunes of the People.

D. Junius Pera. A. Acutius Nepos. C. Volscius Fictor. A. Silius Nepos. Q. Racilius Nepos. M' Otacilius Crassus. Ti. Pontificius Nepos. C. Metilius Nepos. C. Sallonius Sarra. C. Plætorius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Junius Brutus. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina.

Military Quæstors.

A. Atilius Calatinus. Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.

YEAR OF ROME, 484.

183. Consulship.

Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
C. FABIUS PICTOR.

Silver first coined at Rome.

Prætor.

M. Atilius Regulus.

Curule Ædiles.

Ap. Claudius Caudex. L. Sempronius Atratinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Duilius Nepos. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Mamilius Vitulus. Q. Considius Nepos. M. Alienus Nepos. C. Plautius Proculus. C. Atilius Regulus. C. Plætorius Nepos. L. Considius Nepos. L. Publicius Malleolus. M' Marcius Nepos. C. Sempronius Longus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Apustius Fullo. C. Atilius Regulus Serranus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Manlius Torquatus. L. Pinarius Natta.

YEAR OF ROME, 485.

184. Consulship.

P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. He triumphs over the people of Picenum.
APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSUS. He triumphs over the same nation.

Prætor.

N. Fabius Pictor.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fulvius Flaccus. C. Apustius Fullo.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Otacilius Crassus. C. Volscius Fictor.

Tribunes of the People.

T. Otacilius Crassus. M' Pomponius Matho. M' Curius Dentatus. C. Ælius Pætus. M. Aulius Cerretanus. M. Flavius Nepos. L. Acilius Glabrio. M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Lælius Nepos. L. Carvilius Maximus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Cornelius Scipio. C. Sulpicius Paterculus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Lætorius Plancianus. Q. Cædicius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 486.

185. Consulship.

M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
L. JULIUS LIBO. They both triumph over the Salentini.

Prætor.

L. Mamilius Vitulus.

Curule Ædiles.

M' Valerius Maximus. L. Posthumius Megellus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Otacilius Crassus. C. Sallonius Sarra.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Minucius Fessus. C. Cæcilius Metellus. Sp. Oppius Cornicen. Q. Terentius Arsa. C. Æbutius Carus. C. Duilius Nepos. Cn. Ogulnius Gallus. T. Juventius Thalna. M. Minucius Fessus. P. Mælius Capitolinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ti. Sempronius Blæsus. Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Hortensius Nepos. A. Sempronius Atratinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 487.

186. CONSULSHIP.

N. FABIUS PICTOR. He triumphs twice: 1st. over the Sarsinates; 2d. over the Salentini and Messapii.

D. JUNIUS PERA. He triumphs twice: 1st. over the Sarsinates; 2d. over the Salentini and Messapii.

Prætor.

AP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Valerius Flaccus. Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Mamilius Vitulus. Cn. Apronius Limo.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Fulvius Flaccus. D. Junius Brutus Scæva. C. Cædicius Noctua. C. Manilius Nepos. C. Antonius Nepos. C. Aquilius Florus. L. Memmius Nepos. M. Antonius Nepos. L. Mamilius Nepos. M. Aquilius Florus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Manlius Vulso Longus. C. Sempronius Blæsus.

Military Quæstors.

A. Manlius Vulso Longus. Q. Marcus Philippus.

YEAR OF ROME, 488.

187. CONSULSHIP.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS GURGES, a third time.

L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

CENSORS.

Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

C. Marcius Rutilus, who was then surnamed Censorinus.

THE THIRTY-FIFTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina. Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

T. Otacilius Crassus. C. Atilius Calatinus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Titius Nepos. M. Junius Brutus. Cn. Ogulnius Gallus. L. Carvilius Maximus. C. Ælius Pætus. M. Claudius Marcellus. A. Atilius Calatinus. C. Oppius Cornicen. C. Lælius Nepos. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Aurelius Cotta. Q. Æmilius Papus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Claudius Canina. M. Horatius Pulvillus.

Four new Quæstors created for the provinces in Italy, which were become subject to the republic.

YEAR OF ROME, 489.

188. CONSULSHIP.

AP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX.

M. FULVIUS FLACCUS. He triumphs over the Volsinenses.

Prætor.

Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Pinarius Natta. L. Manlius Torquatus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Duilius Nepos. Cn. Minucius Fessus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Atilius Regulus Serranus. C. Ælius Carus. M. Popilius Lænas. L. Acilius Glabrio. M. Pœtelius Libo. Q. Terentius Arsa. M. Marcius Nepos. T. Juventius Thalna. C. Plautius Hypsæus. M. Racilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Æmilius Paulus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. Sp. Furius Philus.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Marcius Censorinus. P. Minucius Rufus. T. Æbutius Elva. L. Hortensius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 490.

189. CONSULSHIP.

M' VALERIUS FLACCUS, who was then surnamed MESSALA. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, and king Hiero.

M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS

DICTATOR.

CN. FULVIUS MAXIMUS CENTUMALUS.

General of the Horse.

Q. Marcius Philippus.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Scipio. C. Sulpicius Paterculus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Aquilius Florus. Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Atilius Calatinus. M. Lætorius Plancianus. L. Apustius Fullo. L. Fescennius Nepos. M. Acutius Nepos. Q. Sellius Nepos. Q. Cæditius Nepos. Sp. Antius Restio. C. Sallonius Sarra. C. Pontificius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Servilius Geminus. M. Livius Drusus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Flaminius Nepos. L. Junius Pullus.

Provincial Quæstors.

L. Opimius Pansa. A. Trebonius Asper. Q. Sallonius Sarra. Sex. Pompilius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 491.

190. CONSULSHIP.

L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS.
Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Prætor.

CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Junius Brutus. C. Oppius Cornicen.

Plebeian Ædiles.

A. Atilius Calatinus. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Tribunes of the People.

Ti. Sempronius Blæsus. Q. Titinius Nepos. L. Sextilius Rufus. Q. Hortensius Nepos. A. Virginius Nepos. Ser. Fulvius Petinus Nobilior. M. Antonius Nepos. C. Cædicius Noctua. L. Memmius Nepos. T. Æbutius Carus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio. P. Servilius Geminus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Sergius Fidenas. L. Sicinius Dentatus.

Provincial Quæstors.

Cn. Apronius Nepos. C. Nautius Rutilus. Sex. Titius Nepos. C. Julius Julus.

YEAR OF ROME, 492.

191 CONSULSHIP.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Prætor.

CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Manlius Vulso. A. Manlius Vulso Longus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Atilius Regulus. M. Popilius Lænas.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Aquilius Florus. C. Sempronius Blæsus. L. Lætorius Mergus. A. Ogulnius Gallus. L. Acilius Glabrio. C. Canuleius Nepos. L. Aurelius Cotta. Q. Marcius Philippus. Ti. Claudius Cicero. M. Pupius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges. L. Minucius Thermus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Fabricius Lucinus. C. Livius Drusus.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Furius Pacilus. C. Sempronius Atratinus. Sp. Veturius Crassus. C. Ælius Pætus.

YEAR OF ROME, 493.

192. CONSULSHIP.

CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA.
C. DUILIUS. He was the first who obtained the honour of a naval triumph, for having destroyed the Carthaginian fleet.

Prætor.

C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Ti. Sempronius Blæsus. Q. Cædicius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Apustius Fullo. M. Lætorius Plancianus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Atilius Calatinus. C. Aurelius Cotta. C. Flavius Nepos. C. Plautius Hypsæus. P. Apuleius Saturninus. L. Tullius Nepos. C. Claudius Canina. M' Marcius Nepos. L. Allienius Nepos. L. Trebonius Flavus.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Claudius Pulcher. Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Popilius Lænas. Q. Pætelius Nepos.

Provincial Quæstors.

P. Cornelius Rufinus. P. Plautius Hypsæus. C. Fulcinius Trio. L. Veturius Philo.

YEAR OF ROME, 494.

193. Consulship.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, Sardinians, and Corsicans.
C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

Prætor.

C. Atilius Regulus Serranus.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Æmilius Paulus. Sp. Furius Philus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

T. Æbutius Carus. Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Marcius Censorinus. M. Claudius Marcellus. L. Hortensius Nepos. Q. Sallonius Sarra. M. Acutius Nepos. L. Cæcilius Metellus. P. Ælius Pætus. Sp. Antius Restio. C. Lucerius Nepos. P. Minucius Rufus.

Quæstors of Rome.

A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus. Ser. Cornelius Rufinus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Cornelius Scapula. L. Numitorius Pullus.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Antius Restio. L. Roscius Nepos. L. Atilius Bulbus. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

YEAR OF ROME, 495.

194. Consulship.

A. ATILIUS CALATINUS.
C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS. He triumphs over the Carthaginians and Sardinians.

Censors.

C. Duilius Nepos.
Appius Claudius Caudex.

THE THIRTY-SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

L. Manlius Vulso Longus.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Aurelius Cotta. L. Lætorius Mergus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

A. Ogulnius Gallus. C. Sempronius Blæsus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Cædicius Nepos. A. Trebonius Asper. Sex. Pompilius Nepos. M. Livius Drusus. L. Sextius Calvinus. L. Junius Pullus. P. Silius Nepos. Q. Titinius Nepos. C. Flaminius Nepos. C. Genucius Clepsina.

Quæstors of Rome.

N. Fabius Buteo. C. Atilius Bulbus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Flaminius Nepos. T. Antonius Merenda.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Pompilius Nepos. Q. Antonius Merenda. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens. Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

Proconsul.

C. Aquilius Florus. He triumphs over the Carthaginians.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Roscius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 496.

195. Consulship.

C. ATILIUS REGULUS SERRANUS. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, whom he had beaten at sea.
CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Dictator.

Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

General of the Horse.

M. Lætorius Plancianus.

Prætor.

Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio. P. Servilius Geminus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Aurelius Cotta. C. Claudius Canina.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sicinius Dentatus. L. Cominius Nepos. P. Curatius Nepos. P. Virginius Nepos. Q. Mælius Capitolinus. Cn. Apronius Dentatus. M. Cædicius Nepos. C. Mænius Nepos. L. Papirius Turdus. T. Æbutius Carus.

Quæstors of Rome.

T. Geganius Macerinus. C. Cominius Nepos.

Military Quæstors.

Sp. Nautius Rutilus. M' Æmilius Lepidus.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Sulpicius Longus. L. Æmilius Barbula. P. Sulpicius Saverrio. P. Furius Aculeo.

Proconsul.

A. Atilius Catalinus. He triumphs over the Carthaginians.

YEAR OF ROME, 497.

196. CONSULSHIP.

A. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, whom he had beaten at sea.

Q. CÆDICIUS, who died in his office; and in his room

T. ATILIUS REGULUS was chosen Consul a second time.

Prætor.

M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges. Sp. Veturius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Marcius Censorinus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Minucius Thermus. T. Numicius Nepos. Q. Romuleius Nepos. L. Hortensius Nepos. L. Aurelius Cotta. C. Claudius Cicero. L. Canuleius Nepos. M. Oppius Cornicen. P. Ælius Pætus. C. Fabricius Luscinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Fabius Dorso Licinus. C. Fundanius Fundulus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Veturius Crassus. M. Canuleius Nepos.

Provincial Quæstors.

Cn. Quinctilius Varus. P. Decius Mus. L. Domitius Ænobarbus. M. Licinius Calvus.

YEAR OF ROME, 498.

197. CONSULSHIP.

SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.

M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Prætor.

T. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Furius Pacilus. P. Claudius Pulcher.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Junius Pullus. L. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Aurelius Cotta. C. Claudius Hortator. Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. P. Plautius Hypsæus. M. Antistius Nepos. C. Rabuleius Nepos. Ti. Coruncanius Nepos. P. Popilius Lænas. Q. Petillius Nepos. C. Fulcinius Trio.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Fabius Licinus. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Cornelius Dolabella. P. Quinctilius Varus.

Provincial Quæstors.

P. Mucius Scævola. L. Papirius Maso. Q. Æmilius Barbula. L. Livius Denter.

PROCONSUL.

M. Atilius Regulus.

Pro-quæstor.

M. Canuleius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 499.

198. CONSULSHIP.

CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA, a second time.

A. ATILIUS CALATINUS, a second time.

Prætor.

P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.

Curule Ædiles.

A. Manlius Torquatus. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Papirius Turdus. C. Mænius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Marcius Censorinus. C. Flaminius Nepos. C. Atilius Bulbus. C. Antius Restio. M. Tullius Nepos. L. Marcius Philippus. L. Numitorius Pullus. L. Roscius Nepos. L. Antistius Nepos. M. Albinius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Fabius Buteo. M. Calpurnius Flamma.

Military Quæstors.

C. Sulpicius Gallus. C. Lutatius Catulus.

Provincial Quæstors.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus. Sp. Papirius Cursor. L. Papirius Cursor. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

PROCONSULS.

Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior. He triumphs over the Corcyræans and Carthaginians, whom he had beaten at sea.

M. Æmilius Paulus. He triumphs over the same nations.

YEAR OF ROME, 500.

199. CONSULSHIP.

CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. He triumphs over the Carthaginians.

CENSORS.

D. Junius Pera.

L. Posthumius Megellus. He died in his office, and after his death his colleague abdicated according to custom.

Prætor.

L. Posthumius Megellus, who was Censor at the same time.

Curule Ædiles.

N. Fabius Buteo. T. Antonius Merenda.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Fabricius Luscinus. L. Minucius Thermus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Atilius Bulbus. L. Flaminius Nepos. C. Pompilius Nepos. L. Genucius Aventinensis. L. Mænius Nepos. Q. Fundanius Fundulus. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens. L. Cædicius Nepos. A. Virginius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

T. Sempronius Gracchus. Q. Lutatius Cerco.

Military Quæstors.

P. Valerius Lævinus. Ser. Sulpicius Longus.

Provincial Quæstors.

L. Sextius Lateranus. L. Geganius Macerinus. Sex. Julius Cæsar. A. Virginius Rutilius.

Proconsul.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina. He triumphs over the Carthaginians.

Pro-quæstor.

Sp. Papirius Cursor.

YEAR OF ROME, 501.

200. Consulship.

C. AURELIUS COTTA. He triumphs over the Carthaginians and Sicilians.
P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.

Censors.

M. Valerius Maximus Messalla.
P. Sempronius Sophus.

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

P. Claudius Pulcher.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Æmilius Barbula. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. P. Popilius Lænas.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Junius Pullus. L. Cominius Nepos. C. Fulcinius Trio. T. Numitorius Pullus. C. Antius Restio. P. Furius Aculeo. M. Albinius Nepos. M. Trebius Gallus. L. Roscius Nepos. L. Mecilius Tullus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus. L. Genucius Clepsina.

Military Quæstors.

Ser. Sulpicius Saverrio. L. Æmilius Lepidus

Provincial Quæstors.

Q. Mamilius Turinus. L. Quinctius Flaminius. C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus. L. Albinius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 502.

201. Consulship.

L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. FURIUS PACILUS.
A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus.

Curule Ædiles.

R. Atilius Bulbus. C. Flaminius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Tullius Nepos. L. Marcius Philippus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Fundanius Fundulus. M. Licinius Calvus. L. Domitius Ænobarbus. Q. Silius Nerva. C. Titinius Nepos. M. Canuleius Nepos. P. Decius Mus. M. Metilius Nepos. C. Pompilius Nepos. Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

Quæstors of Rome.

A. Posthumius Albinus. C. Claudius Centho.

Military Quæstors.

P. Licinius Crassus. A. Hostilius Mancinus.

Provincial Quæstors.

Q. Petillius Spurinus. C. Coruncanius Nepos. L. Coruncanius Nepos. Sp. Furius Camillus.

YEAR OF ROME, 503.

202. Consulship.

C. ATILIUS REGULUS, a second time.
L. MANLIUS VULSO, a second time.

Prætor.

N. Fabius Buteo.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fabius Licinus. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Atilius Bulbus. L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Mucius Scævola. N. Sextius Lateranus. L. Mænius Nepos. Ti. Minucius Augurinus. M. Decius Mus. L. Li-

vius Denter. L. Cædicius Nepos. A. Virginius Nepos. C. Licinius Stolo. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Valerius Falto. C. Mamilius Turinus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Quinctius Claudus. Sp. Furius Purpureo.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Licinius Varus. M' Æmilius Numida. C. Fossius Flaccinator. Q. Mucius Scævola.

PROCONSUL.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. He triumphs over the Carthaginians.

Pro-quæstor.

Q. Petillius Spurinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 504.

203. CONSULSHIP.

P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
L. JUNIUS PULLUS.

DICTATOR.

M. CLAUDIUS GLICIA. He was forced to abdicate, and
A. ATILIUS CALATINUS chosen in his room.

General of the Horse.

L. Cæcilius Metellus.

Prætor.

C. FURIUS PACILUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fabius Buteo. C. Sulpicius Gallus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Furius Tullus. L. Mæcilius Trullus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Fundanius Fundulus. M. Sempronius Tuditanus. M. Calpurnius Flamma. Sp. Icilius Ruga. C. Sempronius Tuditanus. C. Lutatius Catulus. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. L. Domitius Ænobarbus. M. Tullius Nepos. Papius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ti. Claudius Nero. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus. P. Sempronius Sophus.

Provincial Quæstors.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. C. Atilius Longus. Ser. Cornelius Merenda. L. Quinctius Claudus.

PROCONSUL.

L. Manlius Vulso.

Pro-quæstor.

Sp. Furius Purpureo.

YEAR OF ROME, 505.

204. CONSULSHIP.

C. AURELIUS COTTA.
P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS. Both a second time.

Prætor.

M. FABIUS LICINIUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fundanius Fundulus. P. Decius Mus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Licinius Calvus. Q. Silius Nerva.

Tribunes of the People.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. L. Sextius Lateranus. P. Publilius Philo. C. Scantius Nepos. C. Pompilius Nepos. Q. Lutatius Cerco. Q. Anicius Prænestinus. Q. Apuleius Pansa. Q. Plætorius Nepos. Q. Mamilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Publicius Malleolus. P. Valerius Falto.

Military Quæstors.

Sp. Carvilius Maximus. L. Marcius Rutilus.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Lutatius Catulus. M. Valerius Potitus. T. Popillius Sabellus. P. Clœlius Siculus.

YEAR OF ROME, 506.

205. CONSULSHIP.

L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, a second time.
M. FABIUS BUTEO.

CENSORS.

A. Atilius Calatinus.
A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus.

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.

C. ATILIUS BULBUS.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Mutius Scævola. L. Livius Denter.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Lutatius Catulus. C. Licinius Stolo.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus. Q. Mamilius Turinus. C. Titinius Nepos. L. Genucius Clepsina. N. Sextius Lateranus. M. Anicius Gallus. C. Sicinius Nepos. M. Titius Rufus. L. Albinius Nepos. L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Publicius Malleolus. L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.

Military Quæstors.

T. Villius Tappulus. T. Clœlius Siculus.

Provincial Quæstors.

M. Claudius Glicia. C. Papirius Maso. L. Mamilius Vitulus. Q. Sextius Capitolinus.

PROCONSUL.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

Pro-quæstor.

Sp. Carvilius Maximus.

YEAR OF ROME, 507.

206. CONSULSHIP.

M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS, a second time.
M. FABIUS LICINUS.

DICTATOR.

TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.

General of the Horse.

M. Fulvius Flaccus.

Prætor.

C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.

Curule Ædiles.

A. Posthumius Albinus. C. Claudius Centho.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Fundanius Fundulus. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Petillius Spurinus. M. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Genucius Aventinensis. C. Cornelius Nepos. L. Coruncanius Nepos. L. Trebius Nepos. P. Licinius Crassus. Ti. Minucius Augurinus. M. Decius Mus. K. Duilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio. C. Calpurnius Piso.

Military Quæstors.

M. Genucius Cipus. P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Fabius Pictor. A. Posthumius Albinus. Cn. Furius Brochus. Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

YEAR OF ROME, 508.

207. CONSULSHIP.

M. FABIUS BUTEO.
C. ATILIUS BULBUS.

Prætor.

L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Valerius Falto. M' Æmilius Numida.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Lutatius Cerco. P. Publilius Philo.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Mamilius Turinus. Cn. Pupius Nepos. C. Sempronius Tuditanus. Q. Anicius Prænestinus. Cn. Apuleius Pansa. C. Licinius Crassus. M. Fulvius Pætinus. C. Atinius Labeo. M. Anicius Gallus. Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.

Quæstors of Rome.

D. Junius Pera. L. Veturius Philo.

Military Quæstors.

L. Furius Bibaculus. M' Pomponius Matho.

Provincial Quæstors.

Q. Sulpicius Rufus. Cn. Pomponius Rufus. Q. Sulpicius Camerinus. M. Livius Denter.

YEAR OF ROME, 509.

208. CONSULSHIP.

A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS, a second time.

Prætor.

C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus. C. Cornelius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Coruncanius Nepos. Q. Petillius Spurinus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus. P. Sempronius Sophus. C. Atinius Longus. Q. Plætorius Nepos. P. Silius Nerva. Q. Ogulnius Gallus. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. Q. Considius Nepos. L. Trebius Nepos. M. Silius Nerva.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Posthumius Albinus. L. Manlius Torquatus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Junius Pera. N. Fabius Pictor.

Provincial Quæstors.

P. Claudius Nero. L. Titinius Nepos. T. Virginius Rutilus. Cn. Apronius Limo.

YEAR OF ROME, 510.

209. CONSULSHIP.

C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.

Prætor.

T. Sempronius Gracchus.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Valerius Falto. M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Fulvius Flaccus. C. Mamilius Turinus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Publicius Malleolus. Sp. Carvilius Maximus Ruga. T. Popillius Sabellus. T. Veturius Calvinus. M. Mamilius Nepos. L. Titius Rufus. Q. Lutatius Catulus. L. Marcius Rutilus. Q. Sicinius Nepos. Q. Mamilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Æmilius Lepidus. M. Pomponius Matho.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. Ap. Claudius Crassus.

Provincial Quæstors.

L. Anicius Gallus. L. Papirius Crassus. Q. Papirius Turdus. Q. Servilius Ahala.

YEAR OF ROME, 511.

210. Consulship.

C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætors.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Q. Valerius Falto.

The Establishment of a second Prætorship.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Lentulus. C. Papirius Maso.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus. C. Licinius Varus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Publicius Malleolus. L. Mamilius Vitulus. Q. Aulius Cerretanus. L. Pomponius Nepos. Cn. Flavius Nepos. Ti. Villius Tapulus. Sex. Curatius Nepos. L. Ælius Pætus. Q. Fulvius Pætinus. M. Claudius Glicia.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus. C. Valerius Lævinus.

Military Quæstors.

Cn. Cornelius Blasio. C. Minucius Rufus.

Provincial Quæstors.

M. Minucius Fessus. M' Otacilius Crassus. M. Juventius Thalna. P. Cornelius Cethegus.

YEAR OF ROME, 512.

211. Consulship.

A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Falisci.
Q. LUTATIUS CERCO. He triumphs over the Falisci.

Censors.

C. Aurelius Cotta.
M. Fabius Buteo.

THE THIRTY-NINTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors.

C. Mamilius Turinus.
P. Valerius Falto.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus. C. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus. C. Sempronius Sophus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Genucius Cipus. Cn. Furius Brochus. M. Fulvius Flaccus. C. Atilius Regulus. C. Calpurnius Piso. C. Plautius Proculus. M. Flavius Nepos. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. C. Atinius Longus. M. Marcius Racca.

Quæstors of Rome.

Cn. Minucius Fessus. C. Minucius Augurinus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Aquilius Florus. C. Otacilius Crassus.

Provincial Quæstors.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus. P. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Atilius Regulus. L. Cornelius Blasio.

Proconsul in Sicily.

C. Lutatius Catulus. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, who were beaten at sea.

Pro-prætor.

Q. Valerius Falto. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, who were beaten at sea.

Pro-quæstors.

Cn. Cornelius Blasio. C. Minucius Rufus.

YEAR OF ROME, 513.

212. Consulship.

C. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Prætors.

M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.
A. Posthumius Albinus.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Sulpicius Rufus. L. Furius Bibaculus.

Dramatic pieces, composed by Livius Andronicus, now first acted at Rome.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Poblicius Malleolus. M. Poblicius Malleolus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Pomponius Matho. Cn. Pomponius Rufus. Q. Pœtelius Libo Visolus. C. Considius Nepos. Sex. Statius Nepos. D. Junius Pera. M. Livius Denter. M. Allienius Nepos. C. Plætorius Nepos. M. Claudius Glicia.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Æmilius Barbula. Cn. Otacilius Nepos.

Military Quæstors.

C. Duilius Nepos. M. Mamilius Vitulus.

Provincial Quæstors.

L. Apustius Fullo. M. Papirius Crassus. T. Quinctius Capitolinus. L. Acilius Glabrio.

Proconsul in Sicily.

Q. Lutatius Cerco.

Pro-quæstor.

Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

YEAR OF ROME, 514.

213. Consulship.

C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
Q. VALERIUS FALTO.

Prætors.

L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.
C. Licinius Varus.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Posthumius Albinus. T. Manlius Torquatus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Sp. Carvilius Maximus Ruga. Q. Aulius Cerretanus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Junius Pera. C. Arennius Nepos. L. Mamilius Vitulus. Sextius Curatius Nepos. Ti. Vetarius Calvinus. C. Numitorius Nepos. C. Volscius Fictor. L. Titinius Nepos. L. Papirius Turdus. Cn. Apronius Limo.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Fabius Verrucosus. C. Atilius Regulus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Posthumius Megellus. Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Provincial Quæstors.

P. Numitorius Nepos. A. Posthumius Albinus. C. Sallonius Sarra. Ser. Sulpicius Paterculus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

Q. Lutatius Cerco.

YEAR OF ROME, 515.

214. Consulship.

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
P. VALERIUS FALTO.

Prætors.

C. Fabius Pictor.
M. Genucius Cipus.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Æmilius Lepidus. Ap. Claudius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Pomponius Matho. C. Atilius Regulus.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. L. Anicius Gallus. M. Aquillius Florus. M. Aulius Cerretanus. M. Curius Dentatus. M. Pomponius Matho. Q. Papirius Turdus. L. Carvilius Maximus. C. Ælius Pætus. M. Claudius Glicia.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Servilius Nepos. L. Cornelius Cethegus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Lætorius Plancianus. T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Provincial Quæstors.

Q. Cassius Longinus. Cn. Quinctius Capitolinus. M. Pinarius Natta. P. Mælius Capitolinus.

Proconsul.

Q. Valerius Falto.

Pro-quæstor.

C. Atilius Regulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 516.

215. Consulship.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS. He triumphs over the Ligures.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors.

L. Poblilius Malleolus.
L. Furius Bibaculus.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Cornelius Blasio. Q. Fabius Verrucosus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

D. Junius Pera. Cn. Pomponius Rufus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Minucius Rufus. M' Juventius Thalna. Q. Pomponius Nepos. C. Sempronius Longus. M. Marcius Ralla. M. Minucius Fessus. M. Otacilius Crassus. D. Junius Brutus. C. Calpurnius Piso. M. Allienius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

A. Atilius Calatinus. C. Flaminius Nepos.

Military Quæstors.

P. Valerius Flaccus. Sp. Furius Philus.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Lælius Nepos. M. Claudius Marcellus. A. Manlius Vulso Longus. L. Manlius Torquatus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

Q. Valerius Falto.

Pro-quæstor.

C. Atilius Regulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 517.

216. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS.
C. LICINIUS VARUS.

The Secular Games celebrated a third time under the direction of

M' ÆMILIUS, and
M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

Censors.

L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.
Q. Lutatius Cerco. The latter died before his office expired.

Prætors.

L. Posthumius Albinus.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus Ruga.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Papirius Turdus. M. Junius Pera.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Ti. Veturius Calvinus. Cn. Apronius Limo.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Atilius Regulus. C. Minucius Augurinus. Q. Ogulnius Gallus. C. Æbutius Carus. L. Statius Nepos. Cn. Minucius Fessus. C. Otacilius Crassus. C. Aquilius Florus. L. Plætorius Nepos. C. Metilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Valerius Messalla. Q. Æmilius Pupus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Junius Brutus. L. Junius Brutus.

Provincial Quæstors.

Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior. L. Cornelius Scipio. P. Pinarius Natta. C. Apustius Fullo.

Proconsul.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Pro quæstor.

Sp. Furius Philus.

YEAR OF ROME, 518.

217. Consulship.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. He triumphs over the Sardinians.
C. ATILIUS BULBUS.

Prætors.

M' Pomponius Matho.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Æmilius Barbula. M. Papirius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. M. Pomponius Matho.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Apustius Fullo. C. Manilius Nepos. Q. Cædicius Noctua. L. Memmius Nepos. L. Acilius Glabrio. M. Pontificius Nepos. C. Antonius Nepos. C. Cædicius Noctua. Cn. Octavius Nepos. C. Duilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Valerius Flaccus. M. Fulvius Nobilior.

Military Quæstors.

C. Servilius Cæpio. M. Horatius Pulvillus.

Provincial Quæstors.

L. Manilius Nepos. M. Antonius Nepos. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina. M. Minucius Rufus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Pro-quæstor.

Sp. Furius Philus.

YEAR OF ROME, 519.

218. Consulship.

L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. He triumphs over the Sardinians.

Censors.

C. Atilius Bulbus.
A. Posthumius Albinus.

THE FORTIETH LUSTRUM.

Prætors.

M. Publicius Malleolus.
P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Posthumius Megellus. A. Posthumius Albinus.

Theatrical pieces of Cn. Nævius.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M' Juventius Thalna. M' Otacilius Crassus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Atilius Regulus. P. Numitorius Nepos. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. M. Terentius Nepos. C. Oppius Cornicinus. M. Manlius Vitulus. C. Sallonius Sarra. Q. Minucius Thermus. T. Juventius Thalna. Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Scantinius Capitolinus. L. Æmilius Papus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Æmilius Paulus. M. Livius Salinator.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Centenius Penula. D. Lætorius Mergus. L. Sergius Fidenus. L. Flaminius Cilo.

Proconsul.

M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Pro-quæstor.

M. Minucius Rufus.

YEAR OF ROME, 520.

219. Consulship.

Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRUCOSUS. He triumphs over the Ligures.
M' POMPONIUS MATHO. He triumphs over the Sardinians.

Prætors.

C. Papirius Maso.
M. Junius Pera.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Otacilius Crassus. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Aquilius Florus. M. Atilius Regulus.

Tribunes of the People.

T. Æbutius Carus. C. Æbutius Carus. M. Lætorius Plancianus. P. Mælius Capitolinus. Cn. Minucius Fessus. L. Hortensius Nepos. C. Servilius Nepos. Q. Cassius Longinus. C. Aquilius Florus. Cn. Octavius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Sulpicius Paterculus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Furius Philus. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

Provincial Quæstors.

Q. Ælius Pætus. Ti. Sempronius Longus. C. Acilius Glabrio. Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Proconsul.

A. Posthumius Albinus.

Pro-quæstor.

C. Centenius Penula.

YEAR OF ROME, 521

220. Consulship.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
M. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.

Prætors.

M. Æmilius Barbula.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Valerius Flaccus. Sp. Furius Philus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Apustius Fullo. Q. Cædicius Noctua.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Flaminius Nepos. C. Carvilius Maximus. M. Atilius Calatinus. M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Minucius Augurinus. P. Ælius Pætus. C. Lælius Nepos. M. Cæcilius Metellus. Q. Aulius C[illegible]retanus. C. Claudius Canina.

Quæstors of Rome.

C. Lutatius Catulus. P. Cornelius Scipio Asina.

Military Quæstors.

Sex. Pomponius Nepos. L. Quinctius Flamininus.

Provincial Quæstors.

T. Otacilius Crassus. L. Aurelius Cotta. C. Aurelius Cotta. L. Furius Philus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

M. Junius Pera.

Pro-quæstor.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

YEAR OF ROME, 522.

221. Consulship.

M. POMPONIUS MATHO.
C. PAPIRIUS MASO. He triumphs over the Corsicans, on the hill of Alba.

Dictator.

C. DUILIUS.

General of the Horse.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

CENSORS.

L. Manlius Torquatus.

Quintius Fulvius Flaccus. Their election was defective, and they abdicated.

Prætors.

L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS.
M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Valerius Messala. Q. Æmilius Papus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Atilius Regulus. Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Apustius Fullo. M. Junius Brutus. Ti. Claudius Canina. C. Fabricius Luscinus. C. Flavius Nepos. Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior. L. Junius Brutus. C. Claudius Asellus. L. Tullius Nepos. P. Popillius Lænas.

Quæstors of Rome.

T. Annius Luscus. L. Manlius Vulso.

Military Quæstors.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Nautius Rutilus.

Provincial Quæstors.

L. Junius Pullus. M. Livius Drusus. C. Sergius Fidenas. L. Valerius Messalla.

Proconsul in Sicily.

Sp. Furius Philus.

Pro-quæstor.

P. Cornelius Scipio Asina.

YEAR OF ROME, 523.

222. CONSULSHIP.

M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
M. JUNIUS PERA.

CENSORS.

Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

THE FORTY-FIRST LUSTRUM.

Prætors.

M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
M. ATILIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Servilius Cæpio. M. Valerius Flaccus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Servilius Nepos. Q. Cassius Longinus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Minucius Rufus. L. Manilius Nepos. A. Atilius Bulbus. M. Antonius Nepos. M. Fulvius Nobilior. M' Marcius Nepos. C. Marcius Censorinus. Q. Petillius Nepos. P. Plautius Hypsæus. P. Apuleius Saturninus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Terentius Culeo. L. Ælius Pætus Tubero.

Military Quæstors.

P. Cornelius Scipio. P. Scantinius Capitolinus.

Provincial Quæstors.

L. Marcius Philippus. Q. Sulpicius Paterculus. C. Furius Pacilus. C. Sulpicius Longus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

Sp. Furius Philus.

Proconsul in Sardinia and Corsica.

M. Pomponius Matho.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Manlius Vulso. T. Anius Luscus.

YEAR OF ROME, 524.

223. CONSULSHIP.

L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS, a second time.
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.

Prætors.

P. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
L. APUSTIUS FULLO.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Æmilius Papus. M. Æmilius Paulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Flaminius Nepos. T. Æbutius Carus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Scantinius Capitolinus. C. Centenius Penula. L. Apuleius Saturninus. L. Racilius Nepos. L. Roscius Nepos. M. Livius Salinator. L. Lætorius Mergus. L. Allienius Nepos. L. Trebonius Flavus. M. Antius Restio.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Æmilius Paulus. M. Æmilius Barbula.

Military Quæstors.

C. Atilius Serranus. Cn. Pupius Nepos.

Provincial Quæstors.

L. Opimius Pansa. C. Fulcinius Trio. Cn. Furius Pacilus. Q. Servilius Geminus.

Proconsul in Liguria.

M. Æmilius Barbula.

Proconsul in Sicily.

Sp. Furius Philus.

Proconsul in Corsica and Sardinia.

M. Pomponius Matho.

Pro-quæstors.

P. Cornelius Scipio. L. Manlius Vulso. T. Annius Luscus.

YEAR OF ROME, 525.

224. CONSULSHIP.

SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS, a second time.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS VERRUCOSUS, a second time.

Prætors.

M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.
C. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Furius Philus. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Apustius Fullo. M. Junius Brutus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Minucius Rufus. Q. Ælius Pætus. Q. Bæbius Tamphilus. C. Acilius Glabrio. A. Sellius Nepos. M. Claudius Marcellus. Ti. Sempronius Longus. A. Trebonius Asner. C. Lucerius Nepos. C. Scaptius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Veturius Philo. M. Fabius Licinus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Claudius Pulcher. C. Terentius Varro.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Lætorius Mergus. M. Marcius. Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus. P. Servilius Geminus.

Proconsul in Illyricum.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

Sp. Furius Philus.

Proconsul in Sardinia and Corsica.

M. Pomponius Matho.

Pro-quæstors.

Cn. Pupius Nepos. L. Manlius Vulso. T. Annius Luscus.

YEAR OF ROME, 526.

225. CONSULSHIP.

P. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Prætors.

L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.
C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.

Sicily and Sardinia made a Prætorship.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

M. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Scipio Asina. K. Quinctius Flamininus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

A. Atilius Bulbus. P. Plautius Hypsæus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Lutatius Catulus. Sex. Pomponius Nepos. L. Sextius Calvinus. C. Aurelius Cotta. L. Villius Tappulus. T. Otacilius Crassus. L. Aurelius Cotta. M. Volumnius Flamma. L. Sextilius Nepos. Q. Titius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Valerius Lævinus. Cn. Servilius Geminus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Genucius Clepsina. C. Fundanius Fundulus.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Volumnius Flamma Violens. N. Fabius Buteo. M. Pomponius Nepos. T. Antonius Merenda.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Lætorius Mergus. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

YEAR OF ROME, 527.

226. CONSULSHIP.

M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.
L. APUSTIUS FULLO.

Prætors of Rome.

M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

C. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Scantinius Capitolinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Minucius Rufus. L. Lætorius Mergus.

Tribunes of the People.

T. Annius Luscus. Q. Ælius Pætus. L. Cæcilius Mætellus. M. Livius Drusus. M. Cædicius Nepos. M. Livius Salinator. Ti. Sempronius Longus. L. Junius Pullus. C. Cominius Nepos. P. Curatius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Merenda. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Mucius Scævola. C. Fannius Strabo.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Livius Drusus. L. Petillius Geminus. T. Geganius Macerinus. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

Pro-quæstors.

N. Fabius Buteo. T. Antonius Merenda.

The war between the Romans and the inhabitants of Gallia Cisalpina.

YEAR OF ROME, 528.

227. CONSULSHIP.

L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS. He triumphs over the Gauls.
C. ATILIUS REGULUS.

CENSORS.

C. Claudius Centho.
M. Junius Pera.

THE FORTY-SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætors of Rome.

P. FURIUS PHILUS.
CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO CALVUS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

C. APUSTIUS FULLO.
P. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Scipio. L. Manlius Vulso.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Lutatius Catulus. Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Terentius Culeo. C. Centenius Penula. L. Marcius Philippus. C. Mænius Nepos. P. Furius Aculeo. L. Ælius Pætus Tubero. M. Atilius Serranus. P. Scantinius Capitolinus. C. Virginius Nepos. L. Papirius Turdus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Antistius Nepos. T. Metilius Croto.

Military Quæstors.

L. Apustius Fullo. L. Genucius Clepsina.

Provincial Quæstors.

Ti. Veturius Philo. Q. Sulpicius Longus. L. Papirius Cursor. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

Pro-quæstors.

T. Geganius Macerinus. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

YEAR OF ROME, 529.

228. CONSULSHIP.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, a second time.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, a second time.

DICTATOR.

L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

General of the Horse.

N. Fabius Buteo.

Prætors of Rome.

K. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
A. ATILIUS BULBUS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
P. CORNELIUS ASINA.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Æmilius Paulus. M. Æmilius Barbula.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Livius Salinator. Ti. Sempronius Longus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Atilius Serranus. C. Fulcinius Trio. Sp. Mœlius Capitolinus. M. Canuleïus Nepos. Cn. Pupius Nepos. T. Otacilius Crassus. L. Opimius Pansa. C. Numicius Nepos. A. Ogulnius Gallus. M. Oppius Cornicen.

Quæstors of Rome.

A. Cornelius Mammula. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.

Military Quæstors.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Provincial Quæstors.

M. Æmilius Regillus. L. Porcius Licinus. M. Aurelius Cotta. Ser. Cornelius Rufinus.

Pro-quæstors.

T. Veturius Philo. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

YEAR OF ROME, 530.

229. CONSULSHIP.

C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS. He triumphs over the Gauls.
P. FURIUS PHILUS. He triumphs over the Gauls and Ligures.

Prætors of Rome.

M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

M. FABIUS LICINUS.
P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Ælius Pætus. C. Centenius Penula.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Terentius Varro. T. Annius Luscus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Narcius Sermo. C. Licinius Varus. Q. Decius Mus. T. Coruncanius Nepos. M. Tullius Nepos. Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus. L. Aurelius Orestes. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. C. Livius Denter. L. Flaminius Chilo.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Claudius Flamininus. L. Poblicius Bibulus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Atilius Regulus. M. Minucius Rufus.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Claudius Centho. P. Sempronius Gracchus. L. Papirius Maso. M. Fundanius Fundulus.

Pro-quæstors.

Ser. Cornelius Rufinus. M. Aurelius Cotta.

YEAR OF ROME, 531.

230. Consulship.

CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO CALVINUS.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. He triumphs over the Gauls, Insubres, and Germans.

Prætors of Rome.

M. Livius Salinator.
M. Æmilius Barbula.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.
P. Servilius Geminus.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Veturius Philo. M. Valerius Lævinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Terentius Culeo. L. Ælius Pætus Tubero.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Lætorius Mergus. M. Pompilius Nepos. C. Genucius Clepsina. L. Antistius Nepos. P. Poblicius Philo. C. Volumnius Flamma Violens. C. Fundanius Fundulus. C. Sempronius Gracchus. M. Anicius Gallus. C. Popillius Sabellus.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Metilius Nepos. Vibus Terentius Varro.

Military Quæstors.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher. P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Provincial Quæstors.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. C. Calpurnius Piso. Nævius Priscus. Ap. Claudius Centho.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Papirius Maso. M. Fundanius Fundulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 532.

231. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA. He triumphs over the Istrians.

M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Dictators.

Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRUCOSUS.

M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Generals of the Horse.

C. Flaminius Nepos.
Q. Ælius Pætus.

Prætors of Rome.

L. Æmilius Paulus.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

C. Centenius Penula.
Q. Servilius Geminus.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Merenda. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Atilius Serranus. Cn. Pupius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Mucius Scævola. C. Fannius Strabo. Q. Publilius Philo. C. Publicius Malleolus. L. Albinius Nepos. C. Livius Drusus. L. Petillius Geminus. Q. Petillius Spurinus. Q. Lutatius Cerco. Q. Plætorius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Lentulus. M. Ogulnius Gallus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Quinctius Flamininus. Sex. Julius Cæsar.

Provincial Quæstors.

T. Minucius Augurinus. L. Villius Tappulus. L. Scribonius Libo. Ser. Cornelius Merenda.

Proconsul in Cisalp. Gaul.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

Pro-quæstors.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher. C. Calpurnius Piso. Ap. Claudius Centho.

YEAR OF ROME, 533.

232. Consulship.

L. VETURIUS PHILO.

C. LUTATIUS CATULUS. They abdicated, because there was some defect in their election, and in their room were chosen

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, a second time, and

M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

Censors.

L. Æmilius Papus.
C. Flaminius Nepos.

THE FORTY-THIRD LUSTRUM.

Prætors of Rome.

T. Anius Luscus. C. Servilius Nepos.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

Q. Terentius Culeo.
P. Cornelius Scipio.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Terentius Varro. T. Otacilius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Flamininus Chilo. C. Fundanius Fundulus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Metilius Croto. C. Petillius Spurinus. M. Marcius Sermo. M. Antistius Nepos. L. Apustius Fullo. C. Antius Restio. M. Anicius Gallus. L. Genucius Clepsina. A. Trebius Gallus L. Mæcilius Tullus.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura. Q. Fabius Maximus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Æmilius Lepidus. C. Oppius Salinator.

Provincial Quæstors.

L. Pomponius Veientanus. Cn. Fulvius Flaccus. Q. Catius Nepos. L. Porcius Licinus.

Prætors of Rome.

L. Scribonius Libo.
Ser. Cornelius Merenda.

YEAR OF ROME, 534.

233. Consulship.

M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Prætors of Rome.

L. Ælius Pætus Tubero.
Q. Ælius Pætus.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

P. Cornelius Merenda.
Cn. Servilius Geminus.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Æmilius Regillus. A. Cornelius Mammula.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Livius Drusus. C. Popilius Sabellus.

Tribunes of the People.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. C. Lætorius Mergus. M. Claudius Marcellus. Ti. Villius Tappulus. C. Titinius Nepos. L. Porcius Licinus. M. Aurelius Cotta. C. Volumnius Flamma Violens. Q. Silius Nerva. Cn. Sicinnius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Hostius Mancinus. L. Cincius Allmentus.

Military Quæstors.

T. Fonteius Capito. T. Popillius Sabellus.

Provincial Quæstors.

Q. Fabius Pictor. C. Aurunculeius Cotta. C. Papirius Maso. P. Licinius Varus.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

Q. Terentius Culeo.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Pomponius Veientanus. L. Æmilius Paulus. Q. Catius Nepos. M. Livius Salinator.

YEAR OF ROME, 535.

234. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

The second Punic War.

Prætors of Rome.

C. Terentius Varro.
C. Atilius Serranus.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

M. Æmilius Lepidus.
L. Manlius Vulso.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Mucius Scævola. C. Fannius Strabo.

Plebeian Ædiles.

T. Metillius Croto. L. Apustius Fullo.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Claudius Flamininus. L. Poblicius Bibulus. M. Fundanius Fundulus. M. Titinius Nepos. C. Genucius Clepsina. Q. Apronius Nepos. M. Atilius Regulus. Q. Minucius Rufus. C. Fundanius Fundulus. N. Sextius Lateranus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Genucius Cipus. P. Licinius Crassus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Lucretius Trio.

Provincial Quæstors.

M. Cornelius Cethegus. M. Junius Silanus. C. Sulpicius Gallus. L. Cornelius Lentulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 536.

235. Consulship.

C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS, a second time. He was killed in the battle of the lake Thrasymenus; and in his room was chosen

M. ATILIUS REGULUS, a second time.

Dictator.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS VERRUCOSUS.

General of the Horse.

M. Minucius Rufus.

DICTATOR.

L. VETURIUS PHILO.

General of the Horse.

M' Pomponius Matho.

Prætors of Rome.

M. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS.
M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.

Curule Ædiles.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher. P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Porcius Licinius. M. Antistius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Metillius Nepos. Vibus Terentius Varro. P. Sempronius Tuditanus. Nævius Crispus. Cn. Sicinius Nepos. C. Numicius Nepos. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. C. Calpurnius Piso. M. Mænius Nepos. C. Licinius Stolo.

Quæstors of Rome.

Ti. Sempronius Blæsus. P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Servilius Casca. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Claudius Nero. P. Cornelius Rufinus. Sp. Carvilius Maximus. L. Carvilius Maximus.

Proconsul in Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Cisalp. Gaul.

C. Centenius Penula.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Cornelius Cethegus. C. Papirius Maso.

YEAR OF ROME, 537.

236. CONSULSHIP.

C. TERENTIUS VARRO.
L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, a second time. He was killed in the battle of Cannæ.

DICTATORS.

M. JUNIUS PERA.
M. FABIUS BUTEO.

General of the Horse.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. He was then Curule Ædile.

Prætors of Rome.

M' POMPONIUS MATHO.
P. FURIUS PHILUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.

L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS. He was killed in a battle with the Gauls.

Curule Ædiles.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. C. Lætorius Mergus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Aurelius Cotta. M. Claudius Marcellus Otacilianus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Scribonius Libo. Ti. Minucius Augurinus. L. Villius Tappulus. M. Ogulnius Gallus. P. Decius Mus. M. Claudius Glicia. P. Pupius Nepos. K. Duilius Nepos. M. Domitius Calvinus. C. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors of Rome.

T. Quinctius Crispinus. Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Atilius Bulbus. L. Furius Bibaculus. They were both killed in the battle of Cannæ.

Provincial Quæstors.

C. Arennius Nepos. L. Manlius Acidinus. M. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

PROCONSULS.

Cn. Servilius Geminus.
M. Atilius Regulus. They were both killed in the battle of Cannæ.

Proconsul in Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

T. Otacilius Crassus.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

A. Cornelius Mammula.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Cornelius Cethegus. P. Cornelius Rufinus. Sp. Carvilius Maximus.

YEAR OF ROME, 538.

237. CONSULSHIP.

L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS was designed for Consul a third time, but was killed before he entered upon his office.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS was elected in the room of L. POSTHUMIUS; but he abdicated, because he found his election defective, and in his room
Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRUCOSUS was chosen a third time.

Prætors of Rome.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
M. Valerius Lævinus.

Prætor in Sicily.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

Prætor in Sardinia.

Q. Mucius Scævola.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fabius Maximus, the son of the Consul of the same name.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Claudius Flamininus. M. Atilius Regulus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Oppius Salinator. M. Atinius Labeo. M. Fulvius Flaccus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Pomponius Veïentanus. M. Pomponius Matho. M. Atilius Bulbus. M. Fundanius Fundulus. Cn. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Livius Denter.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Villius Tappulus. M. Lucretius Gallus.

Military Quæstors.

P. Popillius Lænas. P. Manlius Vulso.

Provincial Quæstors.

L. Arennius Nepos. M. Æmilius Papus. L. Veturius Philo. C. Hostilius Tubulus.

Proconsul at Picenum.

C. Terentius Varro.

Proconsul in Campania.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Proconsul in Lucania.

Ti. Sempronius Longus.

Proconsul in Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

T. Otacilius Crassus.

Pro-prætor in Cisalp. Gaul.

M' Pomponius Matho.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Cornelius Cethegus. C. Antonius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 539.

238. Consulship.

Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRUCOSUS, a fourth time.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, a third time.

Censors.

M. Atilius Regulus.
P. Furius Philus. He died before his office expired.

Prætor of Rome.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus. He had no colleague.

Prætor in Apulia.

Q. Fabius Maximus, the son of the Consul.

Prætor in Sicily.

P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Admiral of the Roman Fleet in Sicily.

T. Otacilius Crassus.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Calpurnius Piso. M. Metillius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cincius Alimentus. T. Popillius Sabellus. M. Calpurnius Flamma. Q. Pœtilius Libo. Cn. Apuleïus Pansa. C. Arunculeïus Cotta. T. Fonteïus Capito. C. Plautius Hypsæus. M. Publicius Malleolus. C. Considius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. M. Valerius Messala.

Provincial Quæstors.

L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus. Ser. Sulpicius Galba. C. Poblicius Bibulus. Q. Mamilius Turinus.

Proconsul at Luceria.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Proconsul in Picenum.

C. Terentius Varro.

Proconsul in Lucania.

Ti. Sempronius Longus.

Proconsul in Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

Q. Mucius Scævola.

Pro-prætor in Cisalp. Gaul.

M' Pomponius Matho.

Pro-prætor at Brundusium.

M. Valerius Lævinus.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Æmilius Papus. L. Veturius Philo.

YEAR OF ROME, 540.

239. CONSULSHIP.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, a second time.

DICTATOR.

C. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.

General of the Horse.

C. Fulvius Flaccus.

Prætors of Rome.

M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.

P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Prætor in Campania.

CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Scipio, who was afterward surnamed Africanus.
M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Villius Tappulus. M. Fundanius Fundulus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. L. Licinius Pollio. C. Mamilius Vitulus. L. Porcius Licinius. P. Licinius Crassus. L. Lucretius Gallus. A. Trebius Nepos. Q. Catius Nepos. C. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Anicius Gallus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Fulvius Flaccus. M' Acilius Glabrio.

Military Quæstors.

A. Hostilius Cato. C. Hostilius Cato.

Provincial Quæstors.

Ti. Claudius Asellus. Sp. Lucretius Gallus. Sex. Julius Cæsar. L. Valerius Antias.

Proconsul in Picenum.

C. Terentius Varro.

Proconsul in Sicily.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Proconsul in Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

P. Cornelius Lentulus.

The Prætor to command the Roman Fleet.

T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

Q. Mucius Scævola.

Pro prætor in Brundusium.

M. Valerius Lævinus.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus. M. Valerius Messalla. C. Poblicius Bibulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 541.

240. CONSULSHIP.

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, a third time.
AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Prætor at Rome.

P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS SULLA. He had no colleague.

Prætor in Hetruria.

M. JUNIUS SILANUS.

Prætor at Suessula.

C. CLAUDIUS NERO.

Prætor in Apulia.

CN. FULVIUS FLACCUS, brother to the Consul.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Sulpicius Gallus. P. Manlius Vulso.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Cincius Alimentus. T. Popilius Sabellus.

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Cornelius Maximus. L. Carvilius Maximus. C. Servilius Casca. Q. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Sallonius Sarra. P. Silius Nerva. Sex. Statius Nepos. P. Licinius Varus. M. Scantius Nepos. M. [illegible]ilius Nerva.

Quæstors.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. Cn. Servilius Cæpio. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus. Cn. Octavius Nepos. M. Junius Pennus. M. Pomponius Matho. Q. Lutatius Catulus. M. Æmilius Regillus.

Proconsul in Lucania.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Proconsul in Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor at Ariminum.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Pro-prætor Admiral of the Fleet.

T. Otacilius Crassus.

Pro-prætor at Brundusium.

M. Valerius Lævinus.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

Q. Mucius Scævola.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus. Ti.

Claudius Asellus. C. Poblicius Bibulus. Sp. Lucretius Gallus. Sex. Julius Cæsar. M. Æmilius Papus.

YEAR OF ROME, 542.

241. CONSULSHIP.

P. SULPICIUS GALBA MAXIMUS.
C. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.

Prætors of Rome.

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Licinius Crassus. L. Licinius Pollio.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Arunculeïus Cotta. C. Manilius Vitulus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Sempronius Blæsus. C. Servius Pulex Geminus. M. Aulius Cerretanus. P. Villius Tappulus. C. Sicinius Nepos. Sex. Curatius Nepos. Q. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Manilius Nepos. Cn. Apronius Limo. L. Titius Rufus.

Quæstors.

Tib. Claudius Nero. C. Livius Salinator. M. Servilius Pulex Geminus. P. Ælius Pætus. D. Junius Brutus. L. Æmilius Papus. M. Marcius Ralla. L. Scribonius Libo.

Proconsul in Campania.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

M. Claudius Marcellus. He triumphs on Mount Alba, and receives the honours of an ovation at Rome, for having taken Syracuse.

Proconsul in Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Proconsul before Capua.

C. Claudius Nero.

Pro-prætor in Hetruria.

M. Junius Silanus.

Pro-prætor on the coast of Sicily.

T. Otacilius Crassus.

Pro-prætor at Brundusium.

M. Valerius Lævinus.

Pro-quæstors.

Ser. Cornelius Lentulus. Cn. Octavius Nepos. L. Cornelius Lentulus. M. Æmilius Papus.

YEAR OF ROME, 543.

242. CONSULSHIP.

M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, a second time.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, fourth time.

DICTATOR.

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

General of the Horse.

P. Licinius Crassus.

Prætors of Rome.

L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.
C. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

L. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.
P. MANLIUS VULSO.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Veturius Philo. P. Licinius Varus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Catius Nepos. L. Porcius Licinius.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Atilius Regulus. M. Lucretius Gallus. C. Arennius Nepos. L. Arennius Nepos M. Cæcilius Metellus. P. Silius Nerva. Cn. Lætorius Plancianus. Q. Mamilius Vitulus. Cn. Furius Brocchus. C. Papirius Turdus.

Quæstors.

C. Flaminius Nepos. P. Quinctilius Varus. M. Sextius Sabinus. C. Aurelius Cotta. Q. Fulvius Gillo. P. Ælius Tubero. C. Sulpicius Galba. L. Lætorius Plancianus.

Proconsul on the sea-coasts of Greece.

P. Sulpicius Galba.

Proconsul in Apulia.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

Proconsul in Campania.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Proconsul in Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Hetruria.

C. Calpurnius Piso.

Pro-prætor in Spain.

M. Junius Silanus.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Servilius Pulex Geminus. P. Ælius Pætus. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus. L. Scribonius Libo.

YEAR OF ROME, 544.

243. CONSULSHIP.

Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRUCOSUS, a fifth time. He triumphs over the Tarentini.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, a fourth time.

CENSORS.

M. Cornelius Cethegus.
P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Prætors of Rome.

C. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.
L. VETURIUS PHILO.

Prætors in Capua, and at Sardinia.

T. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS.
C. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus. Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Servilius Pulex Geminus. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Poblicius Bibulus. P. Clodius Asellus. Q. Manlius Turinus. Ti. Claudius Asellus. C. Veturius Calvinus. C. Minucius Rufus. M. Pomponius Matho. Q. Cassius Longinus. C. Minucius Augurinus. M. Aquilius Florus.

Quæstors.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher. T. Manlius Torquatus. L. Licinius Lucullus. Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. M. Cincius Alimentus. M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Cornelius Lentulus. L. Cornelius Blasio.

Proconsul in Apulia.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

M. Valerius Lævinus.

Proconsul on the sea-coasts of Greece.

P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.

Proconsul in Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Hetruria.

C. Calpurnius Piso.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

L. Cicinius Alimentus.

Pro-prætor in Spain.

M. Junius Silanus.

Pro-quæstors.

Q. Fulvius Gillo. C. Aurelius Cotta. P. Ælius Tubero.

YEAR OF ROME, 545.

244. CONSULSHIP.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
T. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS.

DICTATOR.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

General of the Horse.

C. Servilius Pulex Geminus. He was Curule Ædile at the same time.

Prætors of Rome.

P. LICINIUS VARUS.
L. LICINIUS CRASSUS DIVES.

Prætors in Sicily and at Tarentum.

SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
Q. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Mamilius Vitulus. M. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the People.

Ti. Claudius Asellus. Sp. Lucretius Gallus. P. Villius Tappulus. M. Hortensius Nepos. Q. Ogulnius Gallus. M. Aulius Cerretanus. Q. Pomponius Nepos. M. Acilius Glabrio. M. Otacilius Crassus. L. Carvilius Maximus.

Quæstors.

T. Quinctius Flamininus. M. Fabius Buteo. M. Valerius Falto. C. Tremellius Flaccus. L. Æmilius Lepidus. Q. Æmilius Lepidus. L. Apustius Fullo. Q. Minucius Rufus.

Proconsul at Capua.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

M. Valerius Lævinus.

Proconsul on the coasts of Greece.

P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.

Proconsul in Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Hetruria.

C. Hostilius Tubulus.

Pro-prætor at Aretium.

C. Terentius Varro.

Pro-prætor in Cisalp. Gaul.

L. Veturius Philo.

Pro-prætor on board the Roman Fleet.

L. Cincius Alimentus.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

C. Aurunculeius Cotta.

Pro-prætor in Spain.
M. Junius Silanus.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Flaminius Nepos. C. Aurelius Cotta. M. Cincius Alimentus. C. Cornelius Lentulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 546.

245. CONSULSHIP.

C. CLAUDIUS NERO.
M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

DICTATOR.

M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

General of the Horse.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Prætor at Rome.

C. HOSTILIUS CATO.

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.

M. PORCIUS LICINUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

A. HOSTILIUS CATO.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Mamilius Turinus. M' Pomponius Matho.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Helvius Blasio. Cn. Octavius Nepos. Q. Lutatius Catulus. Cn. Pompeius Rufus. L. Flavius Timbria. Q. Fulvius Pætinus. M. Junius Pennus. T. Otacilius Crassus. D. Junius Brutus. Q. Flavius Nepos.

Quæstors.

L. Furius Purpureo, the son of Spurius. L. Furius Purpureo, the son of Lucius. Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus. L. Terentius Massa. L. Villius Tappulus. L. Cornelius Merula. L. Atilius Regulus. L. Cassius Longinus.

Proconsul in Bruttium.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Proconsul on the coasts of Greece.

P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.

Pro-prætor at Capua.
C. Hostilius Tubulus.

Pro-prætor at Tarentum.
Q. Claudius Flamininus.

Pro-prætor at Narnia.
L. Mamilius Acidinus.

Pro-prætor in Spain.
M. Junius Silanus.

Pro-prætor in Hetruria.
C. Terentius Varro.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Flaminius Nepos. C. Aurelius Cotta. M. Livius Salinator. C. Claudius Nero.

YEAR OF ROME, 547.

246. CONSULSHIP.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
L. VETURIUS PHILO.

Prætors at Rome.

M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

TI. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Ti. Claudius Nero. P. Quinctilius Varus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Sp. Lucretius Gallus. Cn. Octavius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Marcius Ralla. P. Ælius Pætus. M. Pætilius Libo Visolus. A. Allienius Nepos. C. Livius Salinator. L. Scribonius Libo. P. Villius Tappulus. L. Flaminius Nepos. C. Considius Nepos. M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

Quæstors.

L. Valerius Flaccus. Q. Quinctius Flamininus. Q. Minucius Thermus. M' Acilius Glabrio. M. Helvius Blasio. Cn. Sergius Plancus. M. Sergius.

Proconsul in Hetruria.

M. Livius Salinator.

Proconsul in Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Proconsul on the coasts of Greece.

P. Sulpicius Galba.

Pro-prætor at Capua.
C. Hostilius Tubulus.

Pro-prætor at Tarentum.
T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Flaminius Nepos. L. Cassius Longinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 548.

247. CONSULSHIP.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
F. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

DICTATOR.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

General of the Horse.

L. Veturius Philo.

Prætor at Rome.

CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Prætor at Ariminum.

SP. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Lentulus. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Ti. Claudius Asellus. M. Junius Papus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Navius Pollio. Q. Trebellius Calca. M. Sextilius Sabinus. Q. Fulvius Gillo. L. Plætorius Nepos. L. Statius Nepos. C. Aurelius Cotta. P. Ælius Tubero. L. Lætorius Plancianus. P. Numitorius Pullus.

Quæstors.

C. Cornelius Cethegus. Q. Bæbius Tamphilus. Ti. Sempronius Longus. L. Stertinius Nepos. C. Sempronius Tuditanus. M. Minucius Rufus. L. Quinctius Flamininus. C. Valerius Flaccus.

Proconsul in Hetruria.

M. Livius Salinator.

Proconsul at Aretium.

M. Valerius Lævinus.

Proconsul in Bruttium.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Proconsul in Hith. Spain.

L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Proconsul in Farth. Spain.

L. Manlius Acidinus.

Proconsul on the coasts of Greece.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Proconsul at Tarentum.

T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Proconsul at Capua.

C. Hostilius Tubulus.

Proconsul at Rhegium.

Q. Pleminius Nepos.

Pro-quæstor.

M. Sergius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 549.

248. CONSULSHIP.

M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

CENSORS.

M. Livius Salinator.
C. Claudius Nero.

THE FORTY-FIFTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome.

M. MARCIUS RALLA.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

Prætor in Sicily.

M' POMPONIUS MATHO.

Prætor in Sardinia.

TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Livius Salinator. M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Ælius Pætus. P. Villius Tappulus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Claudius Marcellus. M. Cincius Alimentus. Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. L. Licinius Lucullus. C. Scantinius Capitolinus. M. Pontificius Nepos. P. Manlius Nepos. C. Duilius Nepos. L. Fescennius Nepos. Sex Pompilius Nepos.

Quæstors.

M. Porcius Cato. M. Fulvius Nobilior. C. Fabricius Luscinus. L. Manlius Vulso. M. Porcius Læca. M' Curius Dentatus. C. Atinius Labeo. C. Scribonius Curio Maximus.

Proconsul in Gaul.

M. Livius Salinator.

Proconsul in Bruttium.

P. Licinius Crassus Dives.

Proconsul in Hith. Spain.

L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Proconsul in Farth. Spain.

L. Manlius Acidinus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Ariminum.

Sp. Lucretius Gallus.

Pro-prætor at Capua.

C. Hostilius Tubulus.

Pro-prætor at Tarentum.

T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Pro-prætor on the coasts of Sardinia.
Cn. Octavius Nepos.

Pro-prætor at Locres.
Q. Pleminius.

Pro-quæstors.
C. Cornelius Cethegus. L. Stertinius Nepos. C. Sempronius Tuditanus. M. Minucius Rufus. L. Quinctius Flamininus.

YEAR OF ROME, 550.

249. CONSULSHIP.

CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.

DICTATOR.

P. SULPICIUS GALBA MAXIMUS.

General of the Horse.
M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

Prætor at Rome.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Prætor at Ariminum.
P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Prætor in Sicily.
L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Prætor in Sardinia.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Curule Ædiles.
M. Fabius Buteo. M. Valerius Falto.

Plebeian Ædiles.
M. Sextius Sabinus. C. Tremellius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People.
C. Oppius Cornicinus. P. Titinius Nepos. L. Apustius Fullo. Q. Minucius Rufus. C. Mamilius Turinus. L. Titinius Nepos. Q. Sicinius Nepos. Q. Cominius Nepos. C. Antonius Nepos. Q. Cædicius Noctua.

Quæstors.
M. Sergius Silus. Q. Fulvius Nobilior. C. Acilius Glabrio. L. Porcius Læca. Q. Fabius Butæo. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. T. Juventius Thalna. Sex. Digitius Nepos.

Proconsul in Cisalp. Gaul.
M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Proconsul in Bruttium.
P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Proconsul in Hith. Spain.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Proconsul in Farth. Spain.
L. Manlius Acidinus.

Proconsul in Africa.
P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Liguria.
Sp. Lucretius Gallus.

Pro-prætor on the coasts of Sardinia.
M' Pomponius Matho.

Pro-prætor on the coasts of Italy.
The Prætor M. Marcius Ralla.

Pro-quæstors.
M. Porcius Cato. C. Cornelius Cethegus. M. Manlius Vulso. M. Porcius Læca. C. Atinius Labeo. C. Sempronius Tuditanus. C. Scribonius Curio Maximus.

YEAR OF ROME, 551.

250. CONSULSHIP.

TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.
M. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.

DICTATOR.

C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.

General of the Horse.
P. Ælius Pætus.

Prætor of Rome.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætor at Ariminum.
M. SEXTIUS SABINUS.

Prætor in Bruttium.
C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

Prætor in Sicily.
C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.

Curule Ædiles.
L. Licinius Lucullus. Q. Fulvius Pætinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.
P. Ælius Tubero. L. Lætorius Plancianus. M. Cincius Alimentus. C. Scantinius Capitolinus.

Tribunes of the People.
L. Terentius Massa. L. Villius Tappulus. L. Memmius Gallus. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. C. Æbutius Carus. Sex. Ælius Pætus. L. Cassius Longinus. P. Mælius Capitolinus. T. Æbutius Carus. Sp. Veturius Calvinus.

Quæstors.
C. Lælius Nepos. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. Cn. Manlius Vulso. L. Oppius Salinator. C. Ursanius Nepos. Ap. Claudius Nero. C. Attilius Serranus. L. Scribonius Libo.

Proconsul in Hetruria.
C. Servilius Nepos.

Proconsul in Cisalp. Gaul.
M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Proconsul in Hith. Spain.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Proconsul in Farth. Spain.

L. Manlius Acidinus.

Proconsul in Africa.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Liguria.

Sp. Lucretius Gallus.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Pro-prætor on the sea coasts of Sicily.

P. Villius Tappulus.

Pro-prætor on the coasts of Sardinia.

Cn. Octavius Nepos.

Pro-prætor on the sea coasts of Italy.

M. Marcius Ralla.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Cornelius Cethegus. Sex. Digitius Nepos. T. Juventius Thalna.

YEAR OF ROME, 552.

251. CONSULSHIP.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Prætor of Rome.

M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Prætor in Campania.

M. VALERIUS FALTO.

Prætor in Sicily.

P. ÆLIUS TUBERO.

Prætor in Sardinia.

M. FABIUS BUTEO.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Valerius Flaccus. T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Apustius Fullo. Q. Minucius Rufus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Minucius Thermus. M' Acilius Glabrio. C. Helvius Blasio. L. Atilius Regulus. M. Minucius Rufus. L. Canuleius Dives. L. Hortensius Nepos. M. Helvius Blasio. M. Minucius Fessus. C. Terentius Varro.

Quæstors.

Q. Marcius Rex. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. P. Manilius Vulso. C. Cornelius Merenda. C. Atinius Labeo. T. Romuleïus Nepos. M. Junius Brutus. Q. Oppius Salinator.

Proconsul in Hetruria.

M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

Proconsul in Hith. Spain.

L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Proconsul in Farth. Spain.

L. Manlius Acidinus.

Proconsul in Africa.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-prætor on the coasts of Sardinia.

Cn. Octavius Nepos.

Pro-prætor on the sea coasts of Greece.

M. Valerius Lævinus.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Cornelius Cethegus. C. Lælius Nepos. P. Cornelius Scipio. L. Oppius Salinator.

Scipio triumphs over Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Syphax king of Numidia.

YEAR OF ROME, 553.

252. CONSULSHIP.

P. SULPICIUS GALBA MAXIMUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.

The Macedonian War.

Prætor of Rome.

CN. SERGIUS PLANCUS.

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.

L. FURIUS PURPUREO. He triumphs over the Gauls.

Prætor in Bruttium.

Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

Q. FULVIUS GILLO.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Claudius Marcellus. Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Terentius Massa. Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Sempronius Tuditanus. M. Minucius Rufus. L. Ogulnius Gallus. Q. Bæbius Tamphilus. Ti. Sempronius Longus. M. Domitius Calvinus. L. Stertinius Nepos. Q. Ogulnius Gallus. Q. Aulius Cerretanus. P. Ælius Pætus.

Quæstors.

L. Cornelius Scipio. L. Valerius Tappus. M. Junius Brutus. D. Junius Brutus. M. Valerius Messala. L. Porcius Licinus. M. Fundanius Fundulus.

Proconsul in Hith. Spain.

C. Cornelius Cethegus.

Proconsul in Farth. Spain.

L. Manlius Acidinus.

Pro-prætor on the sea coasts of Greece.

M. Valerius Lævinus.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia

M. Valerius Falto.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Junius Brutus. Cn. Cornelius Merenda. L. Cornelius Lentulus. Upon his return from Spain he receives the honours of an ovation.

YEAR OF ROME, 554.

253. Consulship.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Censors.

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus.
P. Ælius Pætus.

THE FORTY-SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor of Rome.

L. Quinctius Flamininus.

Prætor at Ariminum.

Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. Valerius Flaccus.

Prætor in Sardinia.

L. Villius Tappulus.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Valerius Flaccus. C. Cornelius Cethegus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Porcius Cato. C. Helvius Blasio.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Porcius Læca. M. Fulvius Nobilior. M' Curius Dentatus. C. Scribonius Curio. C. Fabricius Luscinus. T. Otacilius Crassus. C. Cæcilius Metellus. Ti. Claudius Canina. L. Aurelius Orestes. C. Flaminius Nepos.

Quæstors.

Q. Ælius Tubero. M. Sempronius Tuditanus. M. Licinius Lucullus. M. Bæbius Tamphilus. M. Tuccius Nepos. A. Cornelius Mammula. C. Livius Salinator. L. Arunculeïus Cotta.

Proconsul in Macedon.

P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.

Proconsul in Hith. Spain.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Proconsul in Farth. Spain.

L. Stertinius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Bruttium.

Q. Minucius Rufus.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Valerius Tappus. D. Junius Brutus. L. Porcius Licinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 555.

254. Consulship.

T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS.

Prætor of Rome.

L. Cornelius Merula.

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.

C. Helvius Blasio.

Prætor in Sicily.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Prætor in Sardinia.

M. Porcius Cato.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Minucius Thermus. Ti. Sempronius Longus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Sempronius Tuditanus. M. Helvius Blasio.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. Sex. Digitius Nepos. C. Ælius Pætus. C. Claudius Canina. P. Rutilius Rufus. T. Juventius Thalna. Sp. Carvilius Maximus. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Porcius Licinus. C. Cosconius Nepos.

Quæstors.

C. Licinius Lucullus. C. Plætorius Nepos. C. Sallonius Sarra. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Cn. Fulvius Flaccus. C. Atinius Labeo. C. Cornelius Blasio. Cn. Cornelius Merula.

Proconsul in Cisalp. Gaul.

L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Proconsul in Hith. Spain.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Proconsul in Farth. Spain.

L. Stertinius Nepos.

Pro-prætor on the coasts of Greece.

L. Quinctius Flamininus.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Licinius Lucullus. M. Tuccius Nepos. A. Cornelius Mammula. L. Arunculeïus Cotta.

YEAR OF ROME, 556.

255. CONSULSHIP.

C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS. He triumphs over the Insubres and Cænomani.
Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS. He triumphs over the Ligures and Boii, on the hill of Alba.

Prætors of Rome.

M. SERGIUS SILUS.
M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. MANLIUS VULSO.

Prætor in Sardinia.

L. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Prætor in Hith. Spain.

C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Prætor in Farth. Spain.

M. HELVIUS BLASIO.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. Cn. Manlius Vulso.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M' Acilius Glabrio. C. Lælius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Oppius Salinator. Q. Fulvius Nobilior. C. Acilius Glabrio. C. Atinius Labeo. C. Ursanius Nepos. L. Porcius Læca. L. Scribonius Libo. C. Rutilus Rufus. K. Duilius Nepos. Cn. Pupius Nepos.

Quæstors.

L. Æmilius Regillus. L. Plautius Hypsæus. L. Bæbius Dives. Q. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Cecilius Metellus. M. Claudius Marcellus. Q. Marcius Philippus. Sex. Pomponius Nepos.

Proconsul in Macedon.

T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Pro-prætor on the sea coasts of Greece.

T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Sallonius Sarra. Cn. Cornelius Merula. L. Arunculeïus Cotta. Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

YEAR OF ROME, 557.

256. CONSULSHIP.

L. FURIUS PURPUREO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. He triumphs over the inhabitants of Coma and the Insubres.

Prætors at Rome.

L. APUSTIUS FULLO.
M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

T. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

Prætor in Hith. Spain.

Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.

Prætor in Farth. Spain.

Q. FABIUS BUTEO.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fulvius Nobilior. C. Flaminius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. C. Scribonius Curio.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Marcius Rex. C. Atinius Labeo. M. Romuleïus Nepos. C. Atilius Serranus. M. Junius Brutus. Q. Oppius Salinator. Sex. Tullius Nepos. L. Flavius Nepos. L. Marcius Censorinus. C. Livius Drusus.

Quæstors.

Q. Fabius Labeo. L. Aurelius Cotta. Sp. Posthumius Albinus. P. Sempronius Blæsus. C. Sterlinius Nepos. C. Aurelius Scaurus. M. Furius Luscus. T. Mænius Nepos.

Proconsul in Macedon.

T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Pro-prætor on the sea coasts of Greece.

L. Quinctius Flamininus.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Sallonius Sarra. Cn. Cornelius Merula. L. Arunculeïus Cotta. Cn. Cornelius Blasio. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. He receives the honours of an ovation.

YEAR OF ROME, 558.

257. CONSULSHIP.

M. PORCIUS CATO.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors of Rome.

C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
C. ATINIUS LABEO.

Prætor in Sicily.

CN. MANLIUS VULSO.

Prætor in Hith. Spain.

P. MANLIUS VULSO.

Prætor in Farth. Spain.

A. CLAUDIUS NERO.

Prætor in Hetruria.

P. PORCIUS LÆCA.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Scipio. M. Valerius Messala.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Juventius Thalna. Sex. Digitius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Fundanius Fundulus. L. Valerius Tappus. M. Junius Brutus. D. Junius Brutus. L. Porcius Licinus. C. Æbutius Carus. Q. Minucius Thermus. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. M' Marcius Ralla. C. Numicius Nepos.

Quæstors.

P. Claudius Pulcher. L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus. M. Furius Crassipes. C. Sempronius Blæsus. C. Calpurnius Piso. Q. Fabius Pictor. Q. Nævius Matho. C. Afranius Stellio.

Proconsul in Greece.

Ti. Quinctius Flamininus.

Pro-prætor on the coasts of Greece.

T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

Ti. Sempronius Longus.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Sallonius Sarra. C. Aurelius Scaurus. Cn. Cornelius Merula. M. Helvius Blasio, Pro-prætor in Hither Spain. He receives the honours of an ovation. *Q. Minucius Thermus.* He triumphs over Hither Spain.

YEAR OF ROME, 559.

258. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS, a second time.
TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

Censors.

Sextius Ælius Pætus Catus.
C. Cornelius Cethegus.

THE FORTY-SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors of Rome.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
T. Juventius Thalna.

Prætor in Sicily.

Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

Prætor in Hith. Spain.

Sex. Digitius Nepos.

Prætor in Farth. Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Atilius Serranus. L. Scribonius Libo.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Junius Brutus. Q. Oppius Salinator.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Ælius Tubero. C. Livius Salinator. L. Arunculeïus Cotta. Q. Salonius Sarra. C. Lutatius Catulus. P. Popilius Lænas. M. Tuccius Nepos. A. Atilius Serranus. M. Bæbius Tamphilus. Q. Lutatius Catulus.

Quæstors.

L. Posthumius Tympanus. Ap. Claudius Pulcher. P. Sulpicius Galba. P. Sempronius Gracchus. C. Sempronius Rutilus. Q. Terentius Culeo. C. Decimius Flavus. C. Atilius Serranus.

Proconsul in Cisalp. Gaul.

L. Valerius Flaccus.

Proconsul in Hith. Spain.

M. Porcius Cato.

Proconsul in Greece.

T. Quinctius Flamininus. He triumphs over Macedon, and King Philip, for three days together.

Proconsul on the coasts of Greece.

L. Quinctius Flamininus.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Sempronius Blæsus. C. Sallonius Sarra. C. Afranius Stellio. M. Furius Crassipes. C. Calpurnius Piso. Q. Nævius Matho. Marcius Porcius Cato. He triumphs over Hither Spain.

YEAR OF ROME, 560.

259. Consulship.

L. CORNELIUS MERULA.
Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.

Prætors of Rome.

C. Scribonius Curio.
M. Valerius Messalla.

Prætors in Sicily.

L. Cornelius Scipio.
L. Porcius Licinus.

Prætor in Hither Spain.

C. Flaminius Nepos.

Prætor in Further Spain.

M. Fulvius Nobilior.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Æmilius Lepidus. L. Æmilius Paulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Oppius Salinator. M. Junius Brutus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus. M. Titinius Nepos. C. Titinius Nepos. M. Licinius Lucullus. Cn. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Juventius Thalna. C. Antistius Nepos. L. Publicius Bibulus. L. Plautius Hypsæus. C. Licinius Lucullus.

Quæstors.

G. Valerius Tappus. Ser. Sulpicius Galba. P. Cornelius Sulla. L. Quinctius Crispinus. M. Claudius Marcellinus. P. Sempronius Longus. L. Posthumius Tympanus. Cn. Sicinius Nepos.

Proconsul in Cisalp. Gaul.

Ti. Sempronius Longus.

Proconsul in Farth. Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Decimius Flavus. C. Afranius Stellio. Q. Nævius Matho. C. Atilius Serranus.

YEAR OF ROME, 561.

260. Consulship.

L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Prætors of Rome.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
L. Scribonius Libo.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. Valerius Tappus.

Prætor in Sardinia.

Q. Sallonius Sarra.

Prætor in Bruttium.

M. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

A. Atilius Serranus.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Tuccius Nepos. D. Junius Brutus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Livius Salinator. C. Arunculeïus Cotta.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Atinius Labeo. P. Puppius Nepos. Sex. Pomponius Nepos. L. Bæbius Dives. Q. Marcius Philippus. M. Cæcilius Mætellus. P. Plautius Hypsæus. L. Apuleïus Saturninus.

Quæstors.

Q. Petilius Spurinus. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. P. Cornelius Cethegus. M. Aburius Geminus. A. Terentius Varro. L. Mummius Nepos. L. Puppius Nepos.

Proconsul in Liguria.

Q. Minucius Thermus.

Pro-prætor in Hith. Spain.

C. Flaminius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Farth. Spain.

M. Fulvius Nobilior.

Pro-prætor on the coasts of Italy.

L. Oppius Salinator.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Quinctius Crispinus. Cn. Sicinius Nepos. L. Posthumius Tympanus. C. Atilius Serranus.

War with Antiochus the Great.

YEAR OF ROME, 562.

261. Consulship.

M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
He triumphs over the Boii.

Prætor of Rome.

M. Junius Brutus.

Prætor in Bruttium.

A. Cornelius Mammula.

Prætor in the Fleet sent against Antiochus.

C. Livius Salinator.

Prætor in Sicily.

M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Prætor in Sardinia.

L. Oppius Salinator.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

L. Æmilius Paulus.

Curule Ædiles.

Sp. Posthumius Albinus. Q. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Plautius Hypsæus. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Sempronius Blæsus. C. Stertinius Nepos. C. Aurelius Scaurus. L. Albinius Nepos. M. Allienius Nepos. C. Centenius Penula. T. Mænius Nepos. C. Terentius Massa. C. Albius Carrinas. L. Apustius Fullo.

Quæstors.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus. Sp. Posthumius Albinus Paullulus. C. Terentius Istra. L. Cæcilius Denter. L. Duronius Nepos. C. Fannius Strabo. Q. Petillius Spurinus. Q. Mummius Nepos.

Proconsul in Cisalp. Gaul.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Proconsul in Liguria.

Q. Minucius Thermus.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

L. Valerius Tappus.

Pro-prætor in Hith. Spain.

C. Flaminius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Epirus and Greece.

M. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Pro-prætor on the sea coasts of Greece.

A. Atilius Serranus.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Quinctius Crispinus. L. Posthumius Tympanus. L. Pupius Nepos. M. Aburius Geminus. L. Mummius Nepos. M. Fulvius Nobilior. He receives the honours of an ovation at his return from Farther Spain.

YEAR OF ROME, 563.

262. Consulship.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.

Prætors of Rome.

L. Arunculeius Cotta.
Cn. Fulvius Flaccus.

Prætor in Hetruria.

D. Junius Brutus.

Prætor in Apulia and Bruttium.

M. Tuccius Nepos.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. Atinius Labeo.

Prætor on board the Fleet designed to act against Antiochus.

L. Æmilius Regillus.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Claudius Pulcher. L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Claudius Marcellus. Q. Marcius Philippus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Aurelius Cotta. T. Sempronius Rutilus. C. Calpurnius Piso. M. Ogulnius Gallus. Ti. Sempronius Rutilus. M. Furius Crassipes. M. Furius Luscus. M. Albinius Nepos. P. Petilius Nepos. M. Considius Nepos.

Quæstors.

C. Furius Aculeo. Ti. Minucius Augurinus Molliculus. M. Valerius Lævinus. L. Julius Cæsar. P. Valerius Lævinus. P. Cornelius Sisenna. A. Manlius Vulso. P. Cornelius Cethegus.

Proconsul in Cisalp. Gaul.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

Proconsul in Greece.

M' Acilius Glabrio. He triumphs over King Antiochus and the Ætolians.

Proconsul in Liguria.

Q. Minucius Thermus.

Proconsul in Farth. Spain.

L. Æmilius Paulus.

Pro-prætor in Ætolia.

A. Cornelius Mammula.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

L. Valerius Tappus.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

L. Oppius Sallinator.

Pro-prætor in Hith. Spain.

C. Flaminius Nepos.

Pro-quæstors.

Q. Petilius Spurinus. C. Fannius Strabo. L. Posthumius Tympanus. M. Aburius Geminus.

YEAR OF ROME, 564.

263. Consulship.

CN. MANLIUS VULSO.
M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

Censors.

T. Quinctius Flamininus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

THE FORTY-EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor of Rome.

Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

Prætor in Sicily.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Prætor in Sardinia.

Q. Fabius Pictor.

Prætor in Hither Spain.

L. Plautius Hypsæus.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

L. Bæbius Dives.

Prætor on the sea coasts of Greece.

Q. Fabius Labeo.

Curule Ædiles.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher. P. Sulpicius Galba.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Sempronius Gracchus. C. Sempronius Rutilus. Q. Terentius Culeo. C. Atilius Serranus. C. Petilius Spurinus.

Q. Fictorius Nepos. Q. Plætorius Nepos. C. Decimius Flavus. C. Mænius Nepos. C. Nævius Crispus.

Quæstors.

Q. Fabius Buteo. P. Cornelius Mammula. L. Posthumius Albinus. Q. Mucius Scævola. P. Ælius Ligus. T. Æbutius Carus. M. Titinius Curvus. M. Pinarius Posca.

Proconsul in Cisalpine Gaul.

C. Lælius Nepos.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

L. Æmilius Paulus.

Pro-prætor in Hetruria.

D. Junius Brutus.

Pro-prætor in Bruttium.

M. Tuccius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

L. Oppius Salinator.

Pro quæstors.

C. Valerius Lævinus. C. Fannius Strabo. P. Cornelius Cethegus. Q. Petillius Spurinus. A. Manlius Vulso. P. Cornelius Sisenna.

L. Æmilius Regillus has a naval triumph for having beaten Antiochus's fleet.

L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus triumphs for having vanquished Antiochus.

Q. Fabius Labeo triumphs after his happy expedition in the island of Crete.

YEAR OF ROME, 565.

264. Consulship.

C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

Prætor of Rome.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Prætor in Sicily.

Q. Marcius Philippus.

Prætor in Sardinia.

C. Stertinius Nepos.

Prætor in Hither Spain.

L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

Q. Atinius Labeo.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Sylla. L. Quinctius Crispinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Licinius Lucullus. T. Mænius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Valerius Nepos. M. Claudius Marcellinus. Q. Nævius Matho. Cn. Sicinius Nepos. M. Racilius Nepos. M. Decimius Nepos. P. Minucius Rufus. P. Sempronius Longus. L. Posthumius Tympanus. Sex. Roscius Nepos.

Quæstors.

Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Licinius Crassus. P. Licinius Crassus. C. Claudius Nero. P. Mucius Scævola. M. Titinius Nepos. T. Fonteius Capito. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Proconsul in Ætolia.

M. Fulvius Nobilior.

Proconsul in Asia.

Cn. Manlius Vulso.

Pro-prætor in Bruttium.

M. Tuccius Nepos.

Pro-quæstors.

Q. Mucius Scævola. P. Cornelius Sisenna. P. Cornelius Cethegus. L. Posthumius Albinus. A. Manlius Vulso.

YEAR OF ROME, 566.

265. Consul.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

Prætors at Rome.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
Q. Terentius Culeo.

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.

M. Furius Crassipes.

Prætor at Tarentum.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. Terentius Massa.

Prætor in Sardinia.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Cethegus. A. Posthumius Albinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Sempronius Blæsus. M. Furius Luscus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Petillius Spurinus, the son of Quinctus. Q. Petillius Spurinus, the son of Caius. M. Nævius Crispus. C. Minucius Augurinus. L. Mumunius Nepos. Q. Mumunius Nepos. C. Fannius Strabo. T. Sempronius Gracchus. M. Aburius Geminus. L. Pupius Nepos.

Quæstors.

C. Claudius Pulcher. Cn. Cornelius Scipio. C. Numicius Nepos. L. Aquilius Gallus. M. Popilius Lænas. M. Licinius Crassus. M. Fulvius Flaccus. P. Valerius Lævinus.

Pro-prætor in Hither Spain.

L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus.

Pro-prætor in Farther Spain.

C. Atinius Labeo.

Pro-quæstors.

Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Licinius Crassus. P. Valerius Lævinus. A. Manlius Vulso. M. Fulvius Nobilior. He triumphs over the Ætolians and Cephalenians.
Cn. Manlius Vulso. He triumphs over the Asiatic Gauls.

YEAR OF ROME, 567.

266. CONSULSHIP.

SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Prætor of Rome.

M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

P. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Prætor in Sardinia.

C. AURELIUS SCAURUS.

Prætor in Hither Spain.

L. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Sisenna. Sp. Posthumius Albinus Paululus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Nævius Matho. C. Decimius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Ogulnius Gallus. C. Terentius Istra. L. Acilius Glabrio. Q. Opimius Nepos. Q. Opimius Pansa. A. Terentius Varro. L. Cæcilius Denter. L. Duronius Nepos. M. Trebonius Flavus.

Quæstors.

A. Hostilius Mancinus. L. Villius Tappulus. L. Posthumius Albinus. C. Popilius Lænas. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus. C. Valerius Lævinus. C. Lucretius Trio. C. Cluvius Saxula.

Pro-prætors in Spain.
The same as the last year.

Pro-quæstors.

Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Licinius Crassus. M. Fulvius Flaccus. P. Valerius Lævinus, the son of Publius. *P. Valerius Lævinus*, the son of Marcus. *A. Manlius Vulso.*

YEAR OF ROME, 568.

267. CONSULSHIP.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Prætors.

P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
C. AFRICANUS STELLIO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLINUS.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS TYMPANUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Julius Cæsar. M. Valerius Lævinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Cn. Sicinius Nepos. L. Puppius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Nævius Crispus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus. A. Trebius Gallus. C. Trebonius Asper. L. Mædius Tullus. T. Minucius Augurinus Molliculus. Q. Catius Nepos. M. Trebius Gallus. Sp. Antius Restio. P. Scantinius Capitolinus.

Quæstors.

Ti. Claudius Nero. A. Picinius Nerva. C. Quinctius Flaminінus. C. Aburius Geminus. T. Annius Luscus. C. Memmius Gallus. C. Arennius Nepos. T. Metilius Croto.

Pro-prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

L. Quinctius Crispinus. C. Calpurnius Piso.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Lucretius Trio. M. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Clavius Saxula. P. Valerius Lævinus Fulvianus. L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus. He receives the honours of an ovation, at his return from his proprætorship in Spain.

YEAR OF ROME, 569.

268. CONSULSHIP.

P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

CENSORS.

L. Valerius Flaccus.
M. Porcius Cato.

THE FORTY-NINTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome.

C. Decimius Flavus.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. Sempronius Blæsus.

Prætor in Sardinia.

Q. Nævius Matho.

Prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

A. Terentius Varro.
P. Sempronius Longus.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Ogulnius Gallus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Mummius Nepos. T. Cæcilius Denter.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Titinius Curvus. L. Minucius Thermus. P. Villius Tappulus. M. Fannius Strabo. C. Fundanius Fundulus. Q. Mucius Scævola. M. Scaptius Nepos. M. Pompilius Nepos. Q. Titius Nepos. Q. Apronius Nepos.

Quæstors.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio. Ap. Claudius Centho. C. Papirius Turdus. Ser. Cornelius Sylla. C. Cassius Longinus. M. Atilius Serranus. C. Valerius Lævinus. M. Mattienius Nepos.

Pro-prætor at Tarentum.

L. Posthumius Tympanus.

Pro-quæstors.

P. Valerius Lævinus. C. Arennius Nepos. M. Fulvius Flaccus. T. Metilius Crota. C. Calpurnius Piso. He triumphs over the Lusitanians and Celtiberians.
L. Quinctius Crispinus. He triumphs over the same nations.

YEAR OF ROME, 570.

269. Consulship.

Q. FABIUS LABEO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Prætors of Rome.

P. Cornelius Sisenna.
C. Valerius Flaccus.

Prætor in Apulia.

L. Pupius Nepos.

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.

L. Julius Cæsar.

Prætor in Sicily.

Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

Prætor in Sardinia.

Cn. Scrinius Nepos.

Curule Ædiles.

A. Manlius Vulso. Q. Fabius Maximus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Duronius Nepos. M. Pinarius Posca.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Mucius Scævola. T. Fonteïus Capito. C. Furius Aculio. Q. Antonius Balbus. M. Genucius Cipus. P. Ælius Ligus. C. Licinius Crassus. L. Antius Nepos. C. Sextius Calvinus. A. Virginius Nepos.

Quæstors.

Q. Ælius Pætus. L. Papirius Maso. M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis. C. Cicereïus Nepos. L. Claudius Asellus. L. Cornelius Dolabella. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella. C. Mattienius Nepos.

Proconsul in Liguria.

L. Porcius Licinus.

Proconsul in Hither and Farther Spain.

A. Terentius Varro.
P. Sempronius Longus.

Pro-quæstors.

Ser. Cornelius Sylla. C. Valerius Lævinus. C. Arennius Nepos. M. Mattienius Nepos. T. Metilius Croto.

YEAR OF ROME, 571.

270. Consulship.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Prætors of Rome.

M. Ogulnius Gallus.
M. Valerius Lævinus.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. Cæcilius Denter.

Prætor in Sardinia.

C. Terentius Istra.

Prætor in Hither Spain.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

P. Manlius Vulso.

Curule Ædiles.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. A. Hostilius Mancinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

T. Minucius Augurinus Molliculus. C. Mænius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

T. Æbutius Carus. C. Numicius Nepos. P. Licinius Crassus. C. Genucius Clepsina. M. Titinius Nepos. M. Popilius Lænas. M. Fulvius Flaccus. P. Licinius Stolo. M. Sextilius Nepos. M. Licinius Crassus.

Quæstors.

N. Fabius Buteo. M. Jun s Pennus. M. Claudius Marcellus. Cn. Sicinius Nepos. Ser. Sulpicius Paterculus. Sp. Cluvius Saxula. L. Arennius Nepos. C. Furius Bibaculus.

Proconsuls in Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul.

Q. Fabius Labeo.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

Pro-prætor in Apulia.

L. Pupius.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Claudius Asellus. L. Cornelius Dolabella. T. Metilius Croto. C. Cicereius Nepos. C. Arennius Nepos. A. Terentius Varro. He receives the honours of an ovation, after having conquered the Celtiberians.

YEAR OF ROME, 572.

271. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Prætors at Rome.

Q. Petillius Spurinus.
Q. Fabius Maximus.

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.

Q. Fabius Buteo.

Prætor in Apulia.

L. Duronius Nepos.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. Claudius Nero.

Prætor in Sardinia.

M. Pinarius Posca.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio. C. Valerius Lævinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Mucius Scævola. P. Mucius Scævola.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Orcius Nepos. L. Aquilius Gallus. C. Popilius Lænas. Cn. Furius Brocchus. C. Veturius Calvinus. M. Aquilius Florus. C. Cluvius Saxula. D. Quinctius Nepos. T. Numicius Nepos. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Quæstors.

L. Cornelius Scipio. P. Furius Philus. Sp. Lucretius Gallus. L. Hortensius Nepos. C. Hostilius Tubulus. M. Fabius Buteo. P. Licinius Varus. M. Fabius Dorso.

Proconsuls in Liguria.

Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus.
L. Æmilius Paulus. He triumphs over the Ligures.

Pro-prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus. P. Manlius Vulso.

Pro quæstors.

Cn. Sicinius Nepos. Sp. Cluvius Saxula. L. Arennius Nepos. M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Furius Bibaculus. L. Cornelius Dolabella.

YEAR OF ROME, 573.

272. Consulship.

A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
C. CALPURNIUS PISO. The latter dies in his office, and is succeeded by
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors at Rome.

A. Hostilius Mancinus.
Ti. Minucius Augurinus Molliculus.
C. Claudius Pulcher.

Prætor in Sicily.

P. Cornelius Mammula.

Prætor in Sardinia.

C. Mænius Nepos.

Prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
L. Posthumius Albinus.

Curule Ædiles.

Ti. Claudius Nero. C. Quinctius Flamininus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Ticinius Curvus. P. Ælius Ligus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Villius Tappulus. C. Caninius Rebilus. M. Caninius Rebilus. M. Cæcilius Denter. Q. Bæbius Sulca. T. Annius Luscus. M. Marcius Ralla. T. Metilius Croto. C. Memmius Gallus. C. Arennius Nepos.

Quæstors.

C. Marcius Figulus. C. Lucretius Gallus. Cn. Octavius Nepos. T. Manlius Torquatus. Q. Mænius Nepos. M. Cornelius Mammula. C. Lutatius Cerco. C. Fæbius Licinius.

Proconsuls in Liguria.

P. Cornelius Cethegus.
M. Bæbius Tamphilus. They both triumph over the Ligures.

Pro-prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.

Q. Fabius Buteo.

Pro-prætor at Tarentum.

L. Duronius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

M. Pinarius Posca.

Pro-prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
P. Manlius Vulso. The former triumphs for having conquered Hither Spain.

Pro-quæstors.

Sp. Lucretius Gallus. Ser. Sulpicius Paterculus. P. Licinius Varus. L. Cornelius Dolabella. C. Cicereïus Nepos. C. Furius Bibaculus. M. Fabius Dorso.

YEAR OF ROME, 574.

275. Consulship.

L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS FULVIANUS.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, brothers. The latter triumphs over the Ligures.

Censors.

M. Ælius Lepidus.
M. Fulvius Nobilior.

THE FIFTIETH LUSTRUM.

Prætors of Rome.

P. Mucius Scævola.
Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus.

Prætor in Sicily.

Q. Mucius Scævola.

Prætor in Sardinia.

C. Valerius Lævinus.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio. Ap. Claudius Centho.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Numisius Nepos. M. Popilius Lænas.

Tribunes of the People.

T. Juventius Thalna. A. Terentius Varro. C. Cassius Longinus. L. Minucius Thermus. C. Matticnius Nepos. P. Aquillius Gallus. M. Atilius Serranus. C. Lucretius Trio. P. Matticnius Nepos. T. Otacilius Crassus.

Quæstors.

Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. L. Anicius Gallus. M. Servilius Pulex. L. Porcius Licinus. M. Marcius Sermo. C. Sulpicius Galba. L. Furius Philus. P. Fonteïus Capito.

Pro-prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. L. Posthumius Albinus.

Quæstors.

T. Manlius Torquatus. M. Fabius Dorso. C. Fabius Licinus. L. Cornelius Dolabella.

YEAR OF ROME, 575.

274. Consulship.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
A. MANLIUS VULSO.

Prætors at Rome.

M. Titinius Curvus.
Ti. Claudius Nero.

Prætor in Sicily.

P. Ælius Ligus.

Prætor in Sardinia.

T. Æbutius Carus.

Prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

M. Titinius Nepos.
T. Fonteius Capito.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Papirius Maso. M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Popilius Lænas. L. Aquillius Gallus.

Tribunes of the People.

A. Licinius Nerva. C. Papirius Turdus. Q. Ælius Pætus. L. Egilius Nepos. C. Cicereïus Nepos. L. Canuleïus Dives. C. Matticnius Nepos. M. Matticnius Nepos. L. Claudius Asellus. M. Racius Nepos.

Quæstors.

Sex Julius Cæsar. Q. Cassius Longinus. Q. Apuleius Pansa. C. Servilius Geminus. T. Manlius Torquatus. C. Papirius Carbo. P. Fonteïus Balbus. C. Decimius Flavus.

Pro-prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. He triumphs over the Celtiberians.
L. Posthumius Albinus. He triumphs over the Lusitani and Raccæi.

Pro-quæstors.

Ti. Manlius Torquatus. L. Furius Philus. M. Fabius Dorso. L. Fabius Livinus. P. Fonteïus Capito. L. Cornelius Dolabella.

YEAR OF ROME, 576.

275. CONSULSHIP.

C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. He triumphs over the Ligures and Istri.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Prætors at Rome.

P. ÆLIUS TUBERO.
C. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

Prætors in Cisalpine Gaul.

C. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles.

Ser. Cornelius Sylla. N. Fabius Buteo.

Plebeian Ædiles.

T. Annius Luscus. C. Memmius Gallus.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Fulvius Flaccus Nobilior. C. Sallonius Sarra. L. Terentius Massa. M. Claudius Marcellus. Sp. Carvilius Maximus. Cn. Sicinius Nepos. L. Flavius Nepos. M. Junius Pænnus. L. Decimus Flavus. Sp. Cluvius Saxula.

Quæstors.

Ser. Cornelius Lentulus. L. Apuleïus Saturninus. M. Fonteïus Capito. L. Livius Denter. C. Licinius Nerva. Q. Marcius Ralla. C. Sulpicius Gallus. P. Terentius Lucanus.

Proconsuls at Aquileia and in Istria.

M. Junius Brutus.
A. Manlius Vulso.

Proconsul at Pisa.

Ti. Claudius Nero.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

T. Æbutius Carus.

Pro-prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

M. Titinius Nepos. T. Fonteïus Capito.

Pro-quæstors.

Q. Apuleïus Pansa. C. Papirius Carbo. C. Decimius Flavus. C. Servilius Geminus. P. Fonteïus Balbus. P. Fonteïus Capito.

YEAR OF ROME, 577.

276. CONSULSHIP.

CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALLUS.
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS. The former dies in his office, and is succeeded by
C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS. The latter was killed in Liguria.

Prætors at Rome.

L. PAPIRIUS MASO.
M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. AQUILLIUS GALLUS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
M. CORNELIUS SCIPIO MALUGINENSIS.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Furius Philus. N. Fabius Buteo.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Cassius Longinus. M. Atilius Serranus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Aburius Geminus. L. Hortensius Nepos. C. Munatius Plancus. P. Licinius Varus. C. Servilius Casca. Sp. Lucretius Gallus. A. Pompeïus Nepos. Cn. Licinius Nerva. M. Aurelius Cotta. Sex. Pompilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. A. Manlius Torquatus. M. Acilius Glabrio. M. Claudius Marcellus. M. Fulvius Nobilior. C. Titinius Nepos. M. Æbutius Elva. P. Clœlius Siculus.

Proconsul in Cisalpine Gaul.

L. Claudius Pulcher.

Proconsul at Pisa.

Ti. Claudius Nero.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

T. Æbutius Carus.

Pro-prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

M. Titinius Nepos. T. Fonteïus Capito.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Fonteïus Capito. C. Papirius Carbo. C. Decimius Flavus. L. Livius Denter. P. Fonteïus Balbus.

The Consul Valerius triumphs over the Ligures.

YEAR OF ROME, 578.

277. CONSULSHIP.

P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Ligures.

Prætors.

C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.

Prætor in Sardinia.

SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Canuleius Dives. C. Licinius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Villius Tappulus. C. Caninius Rebilus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Marcius Figulus. Q. Mænius Nepos. M. Decimus Flavus. T. Memmius Nepos. Sex. Marcius Rex. C. Lucretius Gallus. C. Lutatius Cerco. Cn. Apuleïus Pansa. C. Furius Brocchus. P. Decius Subulo.

Quæstors.

M. Juventius Thalna. M. Cornelius Cethegus. C. Posthumius Albinus. C. Fannius Strabo. Sex. Sulpicius Galba. Ti. Claudius Nero. P. Quinctilius Varus. P. Cornelius Blasio.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Titinius Nepos. P. Clodius Siculus. M. Æbutius Elva.

YEAR OF ROME, 579.

278. CONSULSHIP.

SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

CENSORS.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
A. Posthumius Albinus.

Prætors at Rome.

C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Prætor in Hither Spain.

P. FURIUS PHILUS.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Sulpicius Galba. L. Furius Philus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Sicinius Nepos. M. Junius Pennus.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. P. Fonteïus Capito. Cn. Octavius Nepos. C. Raeius Nepos. M. Marcius Sermo. L. Anicius Gallus. M. Servilius Pulex Geminus. L. Porcius Licinus. Q. Marcius Figulus. L. Publilius Philo.

Quæstors.

Q. Voconius Saxa. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. P. Cornelius Lentulus. C. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Flamininus. C. Scribonius Curio. Cn. Aufidius Nepos. P. Rutilus Calvus.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

Ser. Cornelius Sylla.

Pro-prætor in Hither Spain.

Ap. Claudius Centho. He vanquishes the Celtiberians, and receives the honours of an ovation.

Pro-quæstors.

Ti. Claudi Nero. C. Titinius Nepos. P. Clœlius Siculus. P. Quinctilius Varus. M. Æbutius Elva.

YEAR OF ROME, 580.

279. CONSULSHIP.

L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Prætors at Rome.

A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.

Prætor in Sicily.

M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.

Prætor in Sardinia.

C. CICEREIUS NEPOS.

Prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

N. FABIUS BUTEO.
M. MATTIENIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles.

T. Manlius Torquatus. Q. Hostilius Tubulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Servilius Casca.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Cassius Longinus. C. Papirius Carbo. C. Decimius Flavus. Cn. Fulvius Gillo. L. Petillius Geminus. C. Servilius Geminus. P. Fonteïus Balbus. L. Cœlius Caldus. Q. Trebellius Nepos. M. Poblicius Malleolus.

Quæstors.

C. Tremellius Flaccus. P. Decimius Flavus. L. Posthumius Tympanus. M. Aufidius Nepos. Q. Poblicius Bibulus. A. Bæbius Sulca. L. Cincius Alimentus. Q. Nævius Pollio.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

M. Atilius Serranus.

Pro-prætor in Hither Spain.

P. Furius Philus.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Scribonius Curio. P. Clœlius Siculus. Cn. Aufidius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 581.

280. CONSULSHIP.

C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
P. ÆLIUS LIGUS. Both Plebeians, for the first time.

Prætors at Rome.

C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

SP. CLUVIUS SAXULA.

Prætor in Hither Spain.

M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

SP. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Sulpicius Gallus. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles

Q. Mænius Nepos. C. Marcius Figulus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Lucretius Gallus. M. Marcius Sermo. Q. Marcius Ralla. Q. Apuleïus Pansa. L. Livius Denter. M. Perperna. C. Antistius Labeo. L. Apuleïus Saturninus. P. Terentius Tuscivicanus. L. Junius Silanus.

Quæstors.

M. Valerius Messalla. M. Cornelius Cethegus. L. Bæbius Dives. A. Antonius Nepos. C. Apuleïus Saturninus. A. Posthumius Albinus. M. Antoninus Nepos. M. Pomponius Matho.

Proconsul in Liguria.

M. Pompilius Lænas.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Aufidius Nepos. M. Cincius Alimentus. Q. Nævius Pollio. P. Clœlius Siculus. C. Cicereïus. He triumphs over the Corsicans on the hill of Alba.

The second War with Macedon.

YEAR OF ROME, 582.

281. CONSULSHIP.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Prætors at Rome.

C. SULPICIUS GALBA.
L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Prætor on board the Fleet designed to act against Perses.

P. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. CANINIUS REBILUS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

L. FURIUS PHILUS.

Prætor in Hither and Farther Spain.

L. CANULEÏUS DIVES.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. Cn. Octavius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Fonteïus Capito. L. Anicius Gallus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Furius Nobilior. M. Claudius Marcellus. M. Icilius Glabrio. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. T. Numisius Tarquiniensis. M. Fonteïus Capito. P. Manilius Nepos. C. Licinius Nerva. C. Titinius Nepos. Cn. Anicius Gallus.

Quæstors.

L. Aurelius Orestes. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Ti. Sempronius Longus. C. Sempronius Longus. Ti. Sempronius Musca. L. Nævius Balbus. M. Sergius Silus. Cn. Sergius Plancus.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Cincius Alimentus. Q. Nævius Polleo.

YEAR OF ROME, 583.

282. CONSULSHIP.

A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.
A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Prætors at Rome.

M. RÆCIUS NEPOS.
Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS.

Prætor on the sea-coasts of Greece.

L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba. C. Posthumius Albinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Cassius Longinus. Cn. Fulvius Gillo.

Tribunes of the People.

M' Juventius Thalna. Cn. Aufidius Nepos. C. Fannius Strabo. Q. Mamilius Vitulus. M. Titius Rufus. P. Cominius Nepos. L. Silius Nerva. Q. Manilius Nepos. C. Apronius Limo. C. Cædicius Noctua.

Quæstors.

Cn. Cornelius Dolabella. C. Mamilius Turrinus. Ti. Veturius Calvinus Sempronianus. Sex. Julius Cæsar. Q. Æmilius Lepidus. Q. Valerius Falto. M. Æmilius Ragillus. P. Curatius Nepos.

Proconsul in Macedon.

P. Licinius Crassus.

Proconsul on board the Fleet.

C. Lucretius Gallus.

Pro-quæstors.

Ti. Sempronius Longus. M. Sergius Silus. Ti. Sempronius Musca. L. Cincius Alimentus.

YEAR OF ROME, 584.

283. CONSULSHIP.

Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS, a second time.
CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

CENSORS.

C. Claudius Pulcher.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

THE FIFTY-SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætors of Rome.

C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.

Prætor on the coasts of Greece.

C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

P. FONTEÏUS CAPITO.

Prætor in Spain.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

A. Licinius Nerva. L. Livius Denter.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Flamininus. P. Rutilius Calvus. Q. Voconius Saxa. L. Anicius Gallus. Q. Minucius Rufus. L. Ogulnius Gallus. C. Scribonius Curio. C. Otacilius Crassus. M. Licinius Lucullus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Opimius Nepos. L. Pompeïus Nepos. T. Minucius Rufus. L. Æmilius Lepidus. L. Licinius Pollio. Q. Aulius Cerretanus. Q. Minucius Rufus. C. Aurelius Cotta.

Proconsul in Macedon.

A. Hostilius Mancinus.

Pro-quæstors.

Ti. Venturius Calvinus Sempronianus. M. Æmilius Regillus. P. Curatius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 585.

284. CONSULSHIP.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, a second time.
C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Prætor at Rome.

CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Prætor in Illyricum.

L. ANICIUS GALLUS.

Prætor on the coasts of Greece.

CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Sicily.

M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

Prætor in Sardinia.

C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Prætor in Spain.

P. FONTEIUS BALBUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Claudius Marcellus. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Titinius Nepos. C. Fannius Strabo.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Posthumius Tympanus. P. Decimius Flavus. C. Tremellius Flaccus. Q. Poblicius Bibulus. Q. Ælius Tubero. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Aufidius Nepos. L. Cincius Alimentus. Q. Lollius Nepos. P. Claudius Asellus.

Quæstors.

L. Manlius Acidinus. L. Stertinius Nepos. L. Valerius Flaccus. T. Annius Luscus. L. Marcius Censorinus. L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus. Q. Marcius Rex. T. Claudius Canina.

Proconsul in Cisalp. Gaul.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

P. Fonteïus Capito.

Pro-prætor in Spain.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Æmilius Lepidus. L. Licinius Pollio. C. Aurelius Cotta. P. Curatius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 586.

285. CONSULSHIP.

Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Prætors at Rome.

Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
M. JUVENTIUS THALNA.

Prætor in Sicily.

TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.

Prætors in Sardinia.

A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Prætors in Hither and Farther Spain.

CN. FULVIUS GILLO.
C. LICINIUS NERVA.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Cornelius Cethegus. M. Valerius Messala.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Cn. Aufidius Nepos. L. Silius Nerva.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Antonius Nepos. M. Pomponius Matho. Ti. Sempronius Longus. L. Bæbius Dives. C. Apuleïus Saturninus. M. Porcius Læca. M. Cosconius Nepos. A. Antonius Nepos. P. Rutilius Rufus. M. Curius Dentatus.

Quæstors.

L. Cornelius Scipio. Q. Fulvius Nobilior. P. Licinius Muræna. C. Afranius Stellio. P. Porcius Læca. M. Tuccius Nepos. M. Helvius Blasio. Q. Fulcinius Trio.

Proconsul in Macedon.

L. Æmilius Paulus. He triumphs over Macedon and King Perses for three days together.

Proconsul in Cisalp. Gaul.

C. Licinius Crassus.

Pro-prætor on the coasts of Greece.

Cn. Octavius. He obtains a naval triumph.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

P. Fonteïus Capito.

Pro-prætor in Illyricum.

L. Anicius Gallus. He triumphs over King Gentius and the Illyricans.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Valerius Flaccus. L. Cornelius Lupus. Q. Aulius Cerretanus. L. Marcius Censorinus. C. Aurelius Cotta.

YEAR OF ROME, 587.

286. CONSULSHIP.

C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. He triumphs over the Gauls and Ligures.

Prætors.

L. LIVIUS DENTER.
A. LICINIUS NERVA.
P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
L. APULEIUS SATURNINUS.
P. RUTILIUS CALVUS.
M' FONTEÏUS CAPITO.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fulvius Nobilior. M' Acilius Glabrio.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Anicius Gallus. C. Sulpicius Rufus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Aurelius Orestes. Ti. Sempronius Musca. C. Ursanius Nepos. Sex. Statius Nepos. C. Fescennius Nepos. C. Sempronius Longus. C. Nævius Balbus. T. Pædanius Nepos. C. Numitorius Pullus. P. Sallonius Sarra.

Quæstors.

L. Posthumius Albinus. L. Licinius Lucullus. L. Cornelius Marula. M' Acilius Glabrio. Q. Marcius Philippus. M' Mamilius Nepos. C. Ælius Tubero. Sex. Digitius Nepos.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Helvius Blasio. Q. Fulcinius Trio. Q. Aulius Cerretanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 588.

287. CONSULSHIP.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.

Prætors.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
M. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.
M. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Sex. Julius Cæsar. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Voconius Saxa. P. Decimius Flavus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Mamilius Turinus. P. Curatius Nepos. C. Pontificius Nepos. C. Tarquitius Flaccus. P. Sestius Nepos. C. Cædicius Noctua. Q. Scantius Nepos. M. Urbinius Nepos. L. Tuccius Nepos. L. Julius Sequetris.

Quæstors.

M. Foslius Nepos. Sex. Potitius Nepos. L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsoninus. Cn. Tremellius Flaccus. P. Cornelius Lentulus. M. Manlius Acidinus. C. Helvius Blasio. M. Fundanius Fundulus.

Pro-prætor in Farther Spain.

M. Fonteius Capito.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Helvius Blasio. Q. Fulcinius Trio. Sex. Digitius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 589.

288. CONSULSHIP.

A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS. He dies during his office.

CENSORS.

L. Æmilius Paulus.

Q. Marcius Philippus.

THE FIFTY-THIRD LUSTRUM.

Prætors.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA.
C. FANNIUS STRABO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
CN. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Antonius Nepos. M. Pomponius Matho.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Tremellius Flaccus. L. Posthumius Tympanus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Pomponius Nepos. T. Minucius Rufus. L. Licinius Pollio. C. Aurelius Cotta. M. Servilius Geminus. C Antonius Nepos. Q. Opimius Nepos. Q. Minucius Rufus. Q. Aulius Cerretanus. C. Æbutius Carus.

Quæstors.

L. Mummius Nepos. L. Atilius Regulus. M' Acilius Balbus. C. Cornelius Cethegus. Cn. Cornelius Merenda. L. Rutilius Flaccus. L. Furius Purpureo. C. Rutilius Rufus.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Manlius Acidinus. M. Fundanius Fundulus. Sex. Digitius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 590.

289. CONSULSHIP.

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, a second time.

M' JUVENTIUS THALNA.

Prætors.

M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.
L. ANICIUS GALLUS.
C. SULPICIUS RUFUS.
Q. POBLICIUS BIBULUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus. L. Valerius Flaccus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Ti. Sempronius Longus. L. Aurelius Orestes.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Stertinius Nepos. L. Marcius Censorinus. M. Minucius Fessus. Q. Ogulnius Gallus. M. Decius Mus. T. Annius Luscus. Q. Marcius Rex. C. Terentius Culeo. C. Oppius Cornicinus. M. Cælius Rufus.

Quæstors.

M. Porcius Cato. A. Posthumius Albinus. T. Veturius Philo. M. Opimius Nepos. L. Oppius Salinator. M. Licinius Stolo. L. Pinarius Natta. M' Minucius Thermus.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Rutilius Rufus. Sex. Digitius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 591.

290. CONSULSHIP.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.

C. MARCIUS FIGULUS. But there was some defect in their election; and in their room were chosen

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Prætors.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
Q. VOCONIUS SAXA.
L. BÆBIUS DIVES.
CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
P. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.
A. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Manlius Acidinus. L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Mamilius Turrinus Limitanus. L. Pomponius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Fulvius Nobilior. C. Afranius Stellio. M. Tuccius Nepos. M. Helvius Blasio. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. P. Licinius Muræna. P. Porcius Læca. Q. Fulcinius Trio. Sp. Carvilius Maximus. C. Cosconius Nepos.

Quæstors.

T. Quinctius Flamininus. C. Livius Drusus. Sp. Posthumius Albinus. C. Aurelius Scaurus. A. Gabinius Nepos. L. Æmilius Regillus. C. Cosconius Nepos. L. Fabricius Luscinus.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

M' Acilius Glabrio.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Opimius Nepos. L. Pinarius Natta. L. Oppius Salinator. M. Minucius Thermus.

YEAR OF ROME, 592.

291. CONSULSHIP.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA.
C. FANNIUS STRABO.

Prætors.

M' POMPONIUS MATHO.
SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS TYMPANUS.
P. SEXTIUS NEPOS.
M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Opimius Nepos. C. Antonius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Licinius Lucullus. M' Acilius Glabrio. M' Mamilius Nepos. C. Ælius Tubero. Q. Marcius Philippus. Sex. Pomponius Nepos. Ti. Sempronius Rutilus. Sex. Digitius Nepos. L. Flavius Nepos. L. Atilius Bulbus.

Quæstors.

C. Sempronius Tuditanus. C. Titius Nepos. Q. Ælius Pætus. M. Junius Silanus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus. P. Sempronius Blæsus. M. Atilius Serranus. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Minucius Thermus. L. Fabricius Luscinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 593.

292. CONSULSHIP.

L. ANICIUS GALLUS.
M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

Prætors.

L. ORELIUS ORESTES.
T. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
L. JULIUS SEQUESTRIS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS LUPUS.
T. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
L. TUCCIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fulvius Nobilior. L. Marcius Censorinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

T. Annius Luscus. L. Stertinius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

Cn. Tremellius Flaccus. Sex. Potitius Nepos. L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius. M. Foslius Nepos. M. Fundanius Fundulus. L. Antistius Labeo. C. Albius Carrinus. C. Helvius Blasio. Q. Lutatius Catulus. P. Petillius Geminus.

Quæstors.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus. P. Juventius Thalna. C. Vetillius Nepos. C. Sempronius Blæsus. C. Atinius Labeo. Cn. Helvius Blasio. L. Arunculeius Cotta. M. Aburius Geminus.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Sempronius Tuditanus. L. Fabricius Luscinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 594.

293. CONSULSHIP.

CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

CENSORS.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.
M. Popilius Lænas.

THE FIFTY-FOURTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
L. POMPEIUS NEPOS.
L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.
C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
L. LICINIUS POLLIO.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Marcius Rex. P. Licinius Muræna.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Afranius Stellio. L. Porcius Læca.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Atilius Regulus. M. Acilius Balbus. C. Rutilius Rufus. C. Apustius Fullo. C. Centenius Penula. L. Memmius Nepos. L. Rutilius Flaccus. L. Rufrius Purpureo. A. Bæculonius Nepos. Q. Fictorius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Farther Spain.

M. Tuccius Nepos.

Quæstors.

L. Aurelius Cotta. Ser. Sulpicius Galba. C. Plautius Hypsæus. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. Sp. Mummius Nepos. A. Terentius Varro. Q. Bæbius Tamphilust. C. Apustius Fullo.

Pro-quæstors.

M. Aburius Geminus. C. Sempronius Blæsus. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 595.

294. CONSULSHIP.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
C. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a second time.

Prætors.

Q. Opimius Nepos.
L. Cornelius Merula.
C. Antonius Nepos.
L. Posthumius Albinus.
M' Acilius Glabrio.
Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

Curule Ædiles.

A. Posthumius Albinus. Ti. Veturius Philo.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Licinius Lucullus. M. Manilius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Porcius Cato. M. Opimius Nepos. M. Licinius Stolo. M. Nævius Crispus. M. Urbinius Nepos. C. Sempronius Rutilus. L. Oppius Salinator. Cn. Nævius Crispinus. C. Plætorius Nepos. C. Volumnius Flamma.

Quæstors.

M. Junius Brutus. Q. Nævius Matho. L. Julius Cæsar. Q. Fabius Buteo. Cn. Cicinius Nepos. Q. Catius Nepos. Q. Cotius Achilles. C. Numisius Nepos.

Proconsul in Liguria.

M. Fulvius Nobilior. He triumphs over the Ligures.

Pro-quæstors.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. C. Apustius Fullo. Q. Catius Nepos. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 596.

295. Consulship.

SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES.

Prætors.

L. Stertinius Nepos.
M. Tuccius Nepos.
M. Helvius Blasio.
T. Annius Luscus.
Q. Fulcinius Trio.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus.

Curule Ædiles.

T. Quinctius Flamininus. Sp. Posthumius Albinus Magnus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Cn. Tremellius Flaccus. L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Livius Drusus. C. Aurelius Scaurus. T. Villius Tappulus. C. Silius Nerva. C. Lætorius Mergus. A. Gabinius Nepos. M. Minucius Thermus. L. Fabricius Luscinus. T. Mænius Nepos. Q. Papirius Turdus.

Quæstors.

Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus. Claudius Unimanus. L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus. Q. Fabius Pictor. M. Aurelius Scaurus. L. Valerius Tappus. L. Cornelius Blasio.

Pro-prætor in Farther Spain.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

Pro-quæstors.

Q. Catius Nepos. C. Apustius Fullo. Q. Cotius Achilles.

YEAR OF ROME, 597.

296. Consulship.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS LUPUS.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS, a second time.

Prætors.

Q. Fulvius Nobilior.
Q. Marcius Rex.
P. Porcius Læca.
P. Licinius Muræna.
C. Afranius Stellio.
Sex. Digitius Nepos.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Mummius Nepos. L. Atilius Regulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M' Acilius Balbus. L. Rutilius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Ælius Pætus. M. Fufius Nepos. C. Sempronius Tuditanus. C. Titius Nepos. Q. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Atilius Serranus. C. Cosconius Nepos. M. Junius Silanus. P. Sempronius Blæsus. C. Minucius Augurinus.

Quæstors.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio. C. Lælius Nepos. L. Hostilius Mancinus. C. Nigidius Figulus. C. Valerius Tappus. Ser. Fabius Pictor. P. Cornelius Sylla. L. Posthumius Tympanus.

Pro-quæstors.

Q. Fabius Pictor. L. Cornelius Blasio. L. Valerius Tappus.

YEAR OF ROME, 598.

297. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, a second time.

The former triumphs over the Dalmatians; the latter over the Ligures.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

M' Manilius Nepos.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Porcius Cato. C. Sempronius Rutilus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Oppius Salinator. M. Licinius Stolo.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus. P. Juventius Thalna. C. Sempronius Tuditanus. Cn. Helvius Blasio. C. Atinius Labeo. A. Arunculeïus Cotta. M. Auburius Geminus. C. Veturius Nepos. C. Sempronius Blæsus. T. Numicius Nepos.

Quæstors.

Q. Servilius Cæpio. Ap. Claudius Pulcher. Q. Pompeïus Nepos. M. Titius Nepos. T. Juventius Thalna. L. Cæcilius Denter. C. Arunculeïus Cotta.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

P. Porcius Læca.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Valerius Tappus. Sex. Fabius Pictor. L. Posthumius Tympanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 599.

298. Consulship.

Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS.
L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
The latter died in his office; and in his room was chosen
M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Censors.

M' Valerius Messala.
C. Cassius Longinus.

THE FIFTY-FIFTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.

Curule Ædiles.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Livius Drusus. A. Gabinius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Aurelius Cotta. C. Plautius Hypsæus. A. Terentius Varro. C. Apustius Fullo. M. Porcius Licinus. Cn. Pupius Nepos. Sp. Mummius Nepos. Q. Bæbius Tamphilus. Q. Aulius Cerretanus. Sex. Roscius Nepos.

Quæstors.

C. Terentius Varro. L. Calpurnius Piso. L. Scribonius Libo. Cn. Calpurnius Piso. M. Popilius Lænas. A. Licinius Nerva. L. Lollius Nepos. Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Cæcilius Denter. Ser. Fabius Pictor. L. Posthumius Tympanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 600.

299. Consulship.

Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

L. Mummius Nepos.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Sempronius Tuditanus. M. Fufius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Titius Nepos. Q. Ælius Pætus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Junius Brutus. C. Numicius Nepos. Cn. Sicinius Nepos. C. Claudius Canina. M. Claudius Marcellinus. Q. Cotius Achilles. Q. Nævius Matho. Q. Catius Nepos. Sex. Tullius Nepos. C. Flavius Fimbria.

Quæstors.

P. Licinius Crassus. Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus. D. Junius Brutus. M. Pinarius Posca. C. Ælius Tubero. P. Ælius Ligus. L. Acilius Glabrio. L. Flaminius Nepos.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Cæcilius Denter. Ser. Fabius Pictor.

YEAR OF ROME, 601.

300. Consulship.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, the third time.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS. He died in his office.

Prætor.

Marcus Porcius Cato. He died in his prætorship.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

M. Atilius Serranus.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fabius Æmilianus. Q. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Veturius Nepos. P. Juventius Thalna.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Scatinius Aricinus. M. Atilius Serranus. Claudius Unimanus. L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus. M. Aurelius Scaurus. L. Valerius Tappus. Ti. Sempronius Blæsus. C. Petillius Spurinus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Atilius Bulbus.

Quæstors.

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus. L. Hostilius Tubulus. M. Licinius Crassus. C. Lutatius Cerco. C. Cluvius Saxula. C. Atilius Serranus. Sex. Antistius Nepos. Sex. Albinus Carrinus.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Flaminius Nepos. L. Cæcilius Denter. L. Mummius. Appian only affirms that he triumphed over the Lusitanians.

YEAR OF ROME, 602.

301. Consulship.

L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus. L. Aurelius Cotta.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Hostilius Mancinus. C. Plautius Hypsæus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Lælius Nepos. C. Nigidius Figulus. L. Posthumius Tympanus. M. Fulcinius Nepos. M. Plætorius Nepos. M. Statilius Nepos. C. Valerius Tappus. M. Cincius Alimentus. C. Mulvius Nepos. C. Ricilius Nepos.

Quæstors.

L. Furius Philus. D. Junius Silanus Manlianus. C. Hostilius Mancinus. Ser. Fulvius Flaccus. Sex. Atilius Serranus. L. Duronius Nepos. C. Popilius Lænas. Q. Petillius Spurinus.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

C. Aurelius Scaurus.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Cluvius Saxula. Sex. Albinus Carrinus. Sex. Atilius Nepos. L. Flaminius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 603.

302. Consulship.

T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
M' ACILIUS BALBUS.

Prætors.

C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Q. Ælius Pætus.
M. Albinus Geminus.
M. Fufius Nepos.
C. Titius Nepos.
L. Aurunculeïus Cotta.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio. Q. Servilius Cæpio.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Junius Brutus. Q. Cotius Achilles.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Pompeïus Nepos. M. Furius Crassipes. C. Aurunculeïus Cotta. L. Cæcilius Denter. C. Trebonius Asper. M. Titius Nepos. M. Toranius Nepos. T. Juventius Thalna. M. Turpilius Nepos. A. Trebius Gallus.

Quæstors.

L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Terentius Varro. C. Licinius Crassus. Q. Calpurnius Piso. P. Manilius Nepos. P. Gallonius Nepos. M. Atinius Labeo. Q. Stertinius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Macedon.

C. Cosconius Nepos.

Pro-quæstors.

C. Popilius Lænas. Sex. Albius Carrinas. Q. Petillius Spurinus.

The Third Punic War.

YEAR OF ROME, 604.

303. Consulship.

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.
M' MANLIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

C. Vetilius Nepos.

Prætor in Macedon.

P. Juventius Thalna.

Other Prætors.

Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus.
A. Terentius Varro.
Q. Fabius Pictor.
Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Curule Ædiles.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher. Ser. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. Claudius Unimanus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Scribonius Libo. L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi. Cn. Calpurnius Piso. A. Licinius Nerva. Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus. Sp. Mæcilius Tullus. M. Popilius Lænas. L. Lollius Nepos. Sp. Antius Restio. C. Urbinius Nepos.

Quæstors.

M. Claudius Marcellus. Cn. Servilius Geminus. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus. M. Æmilius Lepidus Porcina. P. Furius Philus. C. Fulvius Flaccus. C. Calpurnius Piso.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

M. Aburius Geminus.

Pro-quæstors.

P. Manilius Nepos. Q. Stertinius Nepos. Sex. Albius Carrinus. P. Gallonius Nepos. Q. Petillius Spurinus.

The Secular Games celebrated the fourth time.

YEAR OF ROME, 605.

304 Consulship.

SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONIUS.

Prætors.

L. Aurelius Cotta.
Q. Nævius Matho.
C. Numisius Nepos.

Prætor on board the Fleet ordered for Africa.

L. Hostilius Mancinus.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

C. Plautius Hypsæus.

Prætor in Macedon.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus. M. Pinarius Posca.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Lælius Sapiens. C. Nigidius Figulus.

Tribunes of the People.

D. Junius Brutus. C. Ælius Tubero. L. Acilius Glabrio. M. Pomponius Nepos. Q. Apronius Nepos. P. Licinius Crassus. P. Ælius Ligus. L. Volumnius Flamma. C. Fundanius Fundulus. M. Sextilius Nepos.

Quæstors.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba. L. Cornelius Lentulus. P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus. T. Didius Nepos. P. Rupilius Nepos. P. Popilius Lænas. Ap. Claudius Centho. M. Sergius Silus.

Proconsul in Africa.

M. Manilius Nepos.

Pro-prætors in Sicily and Hither Spain.

Q. Fabius Pictor. Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Pro-quæstors.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus. P. Manilius Nepos. P. Furius Philus. Q. Petillius Spurinus. P. Gallonius Nepos. Q. Stertinius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 606.

305. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRIC. ÆMILIANUS.
C. LIVIUS MAMILIANUS DRUSUS.

Censors.

L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus.
L. Marcius Censorinus.

THE FIFTY-SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors.

M. Junius Brutus.
L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus.
Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
Q. Cotius Achilles.

Prætor on board the Fleet designed for Africa.

M. Atilius Serranus.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

Claudius Unimanus.

Curule Ædiles.

Sp. Mummius Nepos. Q. Pompeius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Titius Nepos. M. Furius Crassipes.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Flaminius Nepos. L. Lutatius Cerco. C. Atilius Serranus. C. Genucius Nepos. C. Mænius Nepos. L. Hostilius Tubulus. C. Cluvius Saxula. Sex. Antistius Nepos. M. Licinius Crassus. Ti. Memmius Nepos.

Quæstors.

M. Cosconius Nepos. C. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus. L. Plautius Hypsæus. P. Cornelius Cethegus. T. Posthumius Tympanus. Ser. Sulpicius Paterculus. M. Titinius Curvus. P. Virginius Rutilus.

Proconsul in Africa.

L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.

Pro-prætor on board the fleet in Africa.

L. Hostilius Mancinus.

Pro-prætor in Macedon.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

Q. Nævius Matho.

Pro-quæstors.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba. P. Rupilius Nepos. Ap. Claudius Centho. M. Sergius Silus. P. Manilius Nepos. Q. Stertinius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 607.

306. CONSULSHIP.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. MUMMIUS ACHAICUS. He triumphs over the Achaians and Corinthians.

Prætor in Hither Spain.

C. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.

Prætors in several other places.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS SERVILIANUS.
CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
SERVIUS FABIUS PICTOR.
L. POSTHUMIUS TYMPANUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Popilius Lænas. A. Licinius Nerva.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Scribonius Libo. Cn. Calpurnius Piso.

Tribunes of the People.

Sex. Atilius Serranus. C. Hostilius Mancinus. Sex. Albius Carrinas. C. Popilius Lænas. M. Furius Luscus. Ser. Fulvius Flaccus. D. Junius Manlianus. L. Duronius Nepos. A. Virginius Nepos. C. Furius Aculeo.

Quæstors.

C. Atilius Serranus. L. Rupilius Nepos. P. Mucius Scævola. P. Cornelius Lentulus. L. Cornelius Sulla. L. Cornelius Cethegus. M. Titinius Nepos. C. Licinius Nerva.

Proconsul in Africa.

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus. He triumphs over Africa, Carthage, and Asdrubal.

Pro-prætor on board the fleet in Africa.

M. Atilius Serranus.

Pro-prætor in Macedon.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus. He triumphs over Macedon and the false Philip.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus. Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

Pro-quæstors.

L. Plautius Hypsæus. T. Posthumius Tympanus. M. Sergius Silus. Ap. Claudius Centho. P. Virginius Rutilus.

Carthage and Corinth destroyed by Romans.

YEAR OF ROME, 608.

307. CONSULSHIP.

Q. FABIUS MAX. ÆMILIANUS.
L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

Prætor in Hither Spain.

C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.

Prætors in different Countries.

SP. MUMMIUS.
M. TORANIUS.
T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
M. PINARIUS POSCA.
C. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Æmilius Lepidus Porcina. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi. D. Junius Brutus, afterward *Callaïcus.*

Tribunes of the People.

C. Licinius Crassus. Q. Calpurnius Piso. P. Manilius. Q. Petillius Spurinus. Q. Stertinius. M. Servilius. P. Gallonius. C. Terentius Varro. M. Atinius Labeo. L. Arennius.

Quæstors.

C. Sempronius Tuditanus. M. Perpenna. C. Memmius Gallus. M' Aquilius. C. Livius Salinator. P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura. Q. Antonius Balbus. C. Persius Flaccus.

YEAR OF ROME, 609.

308. CONSULSHIP.

SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætors.

M. Titius.
Q. Servilius Cæpio.
L. Lollius.
Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus.
Q. Pompeius.
M. Furius Crassipes.

Curule Ædiles.

Sex. Atilius Serranus. C. Hostilius Mancinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

D. Junius Silanus Manlianus. L. Hostilius Tubulus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Calpurnius Piso. C. Furius Brocchus. L. Lætorius Plancianus. C. Papirius Turdus. C. Fulvius Flaccus. C. Æbutius Carus. C. Lucretius Trio. D. Quinctius. C. Servilius Casca.

Quæstors.

Cn. Octavius. L. Valerius Flaccus. T. Annius Luscus. A. Gabinius Nepos. Sp. Lucretius Gallus. T. Villius Tappulus Annalis. L. Cornelius Sisenna.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

C. Lælius Sapiens.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus.

YEAR OF ROME, 610.

309. Consulship.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, who triumphs over the Salassi.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MACEDONICUS.

Prætors.

M. Æmilius Lepidus Porcina.
M. Popilius Lænas.
M. Titius.
Q. Pompeïus, &c.

Curule Ædiles.

P. Furius Philus. L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Ser. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Duronius.

Tribunes of the People.

Titius Didius. The other nine are unknown.

Quæstors.

C. Marcius Figulus. C. Antonius Nepos. L. Aurelius Orestes, &c.

YEAR OF ROME, 611.

310. Consulship.

L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CALVUS.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS SERVILIANUS.

Censors.

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus.
L. Mummius.

THE FIFTY-SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors.

L. Hostilius Tubulus.
A. Licinius Nerva.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Fannius Strabo. The other nine are unknown.

Quæstors.

L. Tremellius, Flaccus, Scrofa, &c.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.

YEAR OF ROME, 612.

311. Consulship.

CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
Q. POMPEIUS.

Prætors.

D. Juventius Silanus Manlianus.
L. Hostilius Tubulus, &c.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Mucius Scævola. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

Q. Cæcilius Macedonicus.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.

YEAR OF ROME, 613.

312. Consulship.

C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.
Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Prætors.

L. Cornelius Lentulus, &c.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Memmius Gallus. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

Q. Pompeïus.

YEAR OF ROME, 614.

313. Consulship.

CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Prætors.

C. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus.
L. Calpurnius Piso.

Tribunes of the People.

A. Gabinius. Ti. Claudius Asellus. The other eight are unknown.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

Q. Servilius Cæpio.

YEAR OF ROME, 615.

314. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA SERAPIO.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAICUS.

Prætors.

T. Didius, &c.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Curatius. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

M. Popilius Lænas.

YEAR OF ROME, 616.

315. Consulship.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS PORCINA.
C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS, who abdicated.

Prætors.

P. Manilius Nepos.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cassius Longinus, who published a law for voting by tablets. M. Antius Briso. The other eight are unknown.

Quæstors.

T. Sempronius Gracchus, &c.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

D. Junius Brutus Callaïcus.

YEAR OF ROME, 617.

316. Consulship.

P. FURIUS PHILUS.
SEX. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Censors.

App. Claudius Pulcher.
Q. Fulvius Nobilior.

THE FIFTY-EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors.

P. Mucius Scævola.
P. Cornelius Lentulus, &c.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Furius Brocchus. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

D. Junius Brutus Callaïcus.

YEAR OF ROME, 618.

317. Consulship.

SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS, who triumphs over the Vardæi, a people of Illyricum.
Q. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Prætors.

C. Calpurnius Piso.
M. Cosconius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Rupilius Rufus. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in the country of the Veneti in Italy.

Sex. Atilius Serranus.

YEAR OF ROME, 619.

318. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS.
ÆMILIANUS, a second time.
C. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors.

C. Hostilius Mancinus.
L. Plautius Hypsæus, &c.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Fannius Strabo. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

D. Junius Brutus Callaïcus.

YEAR OF ROME, 620.

319. Consulship.

P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Prætors.

[illegible]. Annius Luscus Rufus.
C. Octavius, &c.

Curule Ædile.

Q. Lucretius Flavus Vespillo.

Tribunes of the People.

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who was killed in his office. M. Octavius Cæcina. Q. Mummius. L. Rubrius Varro. P. Apuleïus Saturninus. Q. Ælius Tubero, &c. &c.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

D. Junius Brutus Callaïcus.

Proconsuls in Campania.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.
Cn. Servilius Cæpio.

YEAR OF ROME, 621.

320. CONSULSHIP.

P. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
P. RUPILIUS.

Prætors.

C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Pompeïus Rufus. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

D. Junius Brutus Callaïcus, who triumphs over the Lusitanians and Gallicians.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio Afric. Æmilianus, who takes Numantia, and obtains a triumph at Rome.

YEAR OF ROME, 622.

321. CONSULSHIP.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS MUCIANUS, the Pontifex Maximus.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS, the flamen of Mars.

CENSORS.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.
Q. Pompeïus.

THE FIFTY-NINTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Papirius Carbo. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Sicily.

P. Rupilius, who received the honour of an ovation, after he had reduced the slaves in Sicily.

YEAR OF ROME, 623.

322. CONSULSHIP.

C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
M. PERPENNA.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Atinius Labeo. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Asia.

P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus.

YEAR OF ROME, 624.

323. CONSULSHIP.

C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS, who triumphs over the Iapidians, a people of Istria.
M. AQUILLIUS.

Proconsul in Asia.

M. Perpenna.

YEAR OF ROME, 625.

324. CONSULSHIP.

CN. OCTAVIUS.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS RUFUS.

Proconsul in Asia.

M. Aquillius.

YEAR OF ROME, 626.

325. CONSULSHIP.

L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA.

Proconsul in Asia.

M. Aquillius.

YEAR OF ROME, 627.

326. CONSULSHIP.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES.

The Secular Games, for the fourth time.

CENSORS.

Q. Fabius Max. Servilianus.
L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus, who both abdicated.

Prætor in Sicily.

T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Junius Pennus. The other nine are unknown.

Quæstor in Sardinia.

C. Sempronius Gracchus.

Proconsul in Asia.

M. Aquillius, who triumphs.

YEAR OF ROME, 628.

327. CONSULSHIP.

M. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

CENSORS.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
L. Cassius Longinus.

THE SIXTIETH LUSTRUM.

Prætors.

C. FANNIUS STRABO.
L. OPIMIUS.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, &c.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

L. Aurelius Orestes.

Pro-quæstor in Sardinia.

C. Sempronius Gracchus.

YEAR OF ROME, 629.

328. CONSULSHIP.

C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.

Proconsul in Transalpine Liguria.

M. Fulvius Flaccus.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

L. Aurelius Orestes.

Proconsul in Fregellæ.

L. Opimius.

Proconsul at Hither Spain.

Q. Fabius Maximus.

YEAR OF ROME, 630.

329. CONSULSHIP.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS BALEARICUS.
T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

Prætors.

SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
Q. MARCIUS REX.
Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.
L. JULIUS CÆSAR, &c.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Sempronius Gracchus. Aufeïus Nepos. The other eight are unknown.

Proconsul in Transalpine Gaul.

C. Sextius Calvinus.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

L. Aurelius Orestes.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

Q. Fabius Maximus.

Proconsul in Transalpine Gaul.

M. Fulvius Flaccus, who triumphs over the Ligures, Vocontii, Saluvii, &c.

YEAR OF ROME, 631.

330. CONSULSHIP.

CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
C. FANNIUS STRABO.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Sempronius Gracchus. M. Livius Drusus. Q. Rubrius Varro. M. Bæbius Tamphilus. The other six are unknown.

Proconsul in the Baleares islands.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Proconsul in Transalpine Gaul.

C. Sextius Calvinus, who triumphs over the Ligures, Vocontii, Saluvii, &c.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

L. Aurelius Orestes, who triumphs over the Sardinians.

YEAR OF ROME, 632.

331. CONSULSHIP.

L. OPIMIUS.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS ALLOBROGICUS.

Prætor in Asia.

QUINTUS MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Minucius Rufus. L. Calpurnius Piso Bestia. C. Licinius Nerva. The other seven are unknown.

Quæstor in Asia.

P. Rutilius Rufus.

Proconsul in Transalpine Gaul.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Proconsul in the Baleares islands.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Balearicus.

YEAR OF ROME, 633.

332. CONSULSHIP.

P. MANLIUS NEPOS.
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

CENSORS.

L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Balearicus.

THE SIXTY-FIRST LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Decimus Mus. M. Octavius Nepos. The other eight are unknown.

Proconsuls in Transalpine Gaul.

Q. Fabius Maximus, who triumphs over the Allobroges and Bituitus, king of the Arverni.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, who triumphs over the Gauls and the Arverni.

YEAR OF ROME, 634.

333. CONSULSHIP.

L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS DALMATICUS.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætors.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS EBURNUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Marius Nepos. The other nine unknown.

YEAR OF ROME, 635.

334. CONSULSHIP.

M. PORCIUS CATO.
Q. MARCIUS REX.
The first died during his magistracy; and in his place was substituted
Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.

Proconsul in Dalmatia.

L. Cæcilius Metellus, who triumphs over the Dalmatians.

YEAR OF ROME, 636.

335. CONSULSHIP.

L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
Q. MUTIUS SCÆVOLA.

Proconsul in Liguria.

Q. Marcius Rex, who triumphs over the Stæni.

YEAR OF ROME, 637.

336. CONSULSHIP.

C. LICINIUS GETA.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS EBURNUS.

YEAR OF ROME, 638.

337. CONSULSHIP.

M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS, who triumphs over the Carni.
M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

CENSORS.

L. Cæcilius Metellus Dalmaticus.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

THE SIXTY-SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætors.

P. DECIMUS MUS.
C. MARIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Rupilius Rufus. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in the country of the Carni.

M. Æmilius Scaurus, who triumphs over the Carni.

YEAR OF ROME, 639.

338. CONSULSHIP.

M. ACILIUS BALBUS.
PORCIUS CATO.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

C. MARIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Illyricum.

T. DIDIUS NEPOS.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

M. Cæcilius Metellus.

YEAR OF ROME, 640.

339. CONSULSHIP.

P. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CAPRARIUS.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Prætor, a second time for capital crimes.

LUCIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Sex. Peduceius Nepos. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

M. Cæcilius Metellus, who triumphs over the Sardi.

Proconsul in Macedonia.

C. Cæcilius Metellus Caprarius, who triumphs over the Thracians and Macedonia.

Pro-prætor against the Scordisci.

T. Didius Nepos, who triumphs over the Scordisci and Macedonia.

YEAR OF ROME, 641.

340. CONSULSHIP.

M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO FRUGI.

YEAR OF ROME, 642.

341. CONSULSHIP.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO BESTIA.

Prætors.

L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
SER. SULPICIUS GALBA, &c.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Memmius Gallus.
C. Bœbius Sulca.

Quæstor in Numidia.

P. Sextus Nepos.

Proconsul in Macedonia.

M. Livius Drusus.

YEAR OF ROME, 643.

342. CONSULSHIP.

M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor at Rome.

Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
Q. SERVILIUS CŒPIO.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Licinius Crassus Dives. C. Manlius Limetanus. L. Annius Nepos. L. Lucilius Balbus. The other six are unknown.

Proconsul in Macedonia.

M. Livius Drusus, who triumphs over the Scordisci.

YEAR OF ROME, 644.

343. CONSULSHIP.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NUMIDICUS.
M. JULIUS SILANUS.

CENSORS.

M. Æmilius Scaurus.
M. Livius Drusus, who died during his magistracy.

Proconsul in Macedonia.

M. Minucius Rufus.

Proconsul in Numidia.

Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

Q. Servilius Cœpio.

YEAR OF ROME, 645.

344. CONSULSHIP.

SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS, who did not enter upon the exercise of his office: and in whose place was substituted
M. AURELIUS SCAURUS.

CENSORS.

Q. Fabius Allobrogicus.
C. Licinius Geta.

THE SIXTY-THIRD LUSTRUM.

Proconsuls in Numidia.

Q. Cæcilius Numidicus.
Q. Servilius Cœpio, who triumphs over the Lusitani.
M. Minucius Rufus, who triumphs over the Scordisci and Triballi.

YEAR OF ROME, 646.

345. CONSULSHIP.

L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
C. MARIUS NEPOS.

The first was killed during his magistracy: and in his place was substituted
M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS II.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Manlius Mancinus. C. Cœlius Caldus. Sp. Thorius Balbus. The other seven are unknown.

Quæstors in Numidia.

L. Cornelius Sulla. Cn. Octavius Rufus. Q. Cæcilius Numidicus, who triumphs over the Numidians and Jugurtha.

YEAR OF ROME, 647.

346. CONSULSHIP.

C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
Q. SERVILIUS CŒPIO.

Prætors.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
C. ANNIUS BELLIENUS.
C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA, &c.

Ædiles.

P. Licinius Crassus. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Mucius Scævola. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Numidia.

C. Marius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Africa.

L. Annius Bellienus.

Pro-quæstor in Numidia.

L. Cornelius Sulla.

YEAR OF ROME, 648.

347. CONSULSHIP.

P. RUTILIUS RUFUS.
CN. MALLIUS MAXIMUS.

Prætor in Sardinia.

T. ALBUCIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Licinius Crassus. C. Cassius Longinus. The other eight are unknown.

Quæstor in Sardinia.

Cn. Pompeius Strabo.

Proconsul in Narbonne Gaul.

Q. Servilius Cœpio.

Proconsul in Numidia.

C. Marius Nepos, who triumphs over the Numidians and Jugurtha.

Pro-quæstor in Numidia.

L. Cornelius Sulla.

YEAR OF ROME, 649.

348. CONSULSHIP.

C. MARIUS NEPOS II.
C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA.

Ædile.

C. Aurelius Scaurus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Cassius Longinus. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. C. Servilius Glaucia. L. Marcius Philippus. The other six are unknown.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.

T. Albucius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 650.

349. CONSULSHIP.

C. MARIUS NEPOS III.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES, who died during the term of his magistracy.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. SERVILIUS CASCA.

Prætor in Hither Spain.

M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

Prætor in Macedonia.

C. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONIUS.

Prætor in Asia.

M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Mucius Scævola. L. Licinius Crassus.

YEAR OF ROME, 651.

350. CONSULSHIP.

C. MARIUS NEPOS IV.
L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

CENSORS.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus.
C. Cæcilius Metellus Caprarius.

THE SIXTY-FOURTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

Tribunes of the People.

... Pompeius Rufus. L. Apuleius Saturninus. T. Junius Nepos. The other seven are unknown. M. Antonius, after having given chase to the pirates of Cilicia, obtains at Rome the honour of a naval triumph.

YEAR OF ROME, 652.

351. CONSULSHIP.

C. MARIUS NEPOS V. who triumphs over the Teutones, the Cimbri, and the Ambrones.
M. AQUILIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Acilius Glabrio. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Cisalpine Gaul.

Q. Lutatius Catulus, who triumphs over the Teutones, the Cimbri, and the Ambrones.

YEAR OF ROME, 653.

352. CONSULSHIP.

C. MARIUS NEPOS VI.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors.

C. SERVILIUS GLAUCIA, &c.

Tribunes of the People.

A. Nonnius Suffenas. L. Apuleius Saturninus II. Cn. Bœbius Tamphilus. The other seven are unknown.

Quæstors.

Q. Servilius Cæpio. C. Saufeius Nepos.

Proconsul in Sicily.

M. Aquilius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 654.

353. CONSULSHIP.

M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor in Further Spain.

L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Prætor in Asia.

Q. MUTIUS SCÆVOLA.

Curule Ædiles.

C. Claudius Pulcher. L. Valerius Flaccus

Tribunes of the People.

L. Porcius Cato. Q. Pompeius Rufus. Q. Calidius Nepos. P. Furius Nepos. C. Canuleius Dives. C. Decianus. Sex. Titius Nepos. L. Equilius Firmanus. L. Apuleius Saturninus III. The tenth is unknown.

Quæstors in Macedonia.

C. Junius Norbanus. M. Aquilius, after the defeat of the Sicilian slaves, receives the honour of an ovation.

YEAR OF ROME, 655.

354. CONSULSHIP.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.
T. DIDIUS NEPOS.

Prætor of Rome.

M. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Prætor in Macedonia.

C. Sextius Calvinus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Duronius Nepos. A. Plautius Silvanus. The other eight are unknown. L. Cornelius Dolabella triumphs over the Lusitani.

YEAR OF ROME, 656.

355. Consulship.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Censors.

L. Valerius Flaccus.
M. Antonius Nepos.

THE SIXTY-FIFTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor in Sicily.

L. Hortensius Nepos.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

T. Didius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Macedonia.

C. Sextius Calvinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 657.

356. Consulship.

CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Prætor at Rome.

Sex. Julius Cæsar.

YEAR OF ROME, 658.

357. Consulship.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
Q. MUTIUS SCÆVOLA.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. Claudius Pulcher.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Junius Norbanus. L. Aurelius Cotta. T. Didius Nepos. L. Antistius Rheginus. The other six are unknown.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

T. Didius Nepos.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

P. Licinius Crassus.

YEAR OF ROME, 659.

358. Consulship.

C. CŒLIUS CALDUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Prætor at Rome.

L. Cornelius Cinna.

Prætor in Asia.

L. Valerius Flaccus.

Tribune of the People.

L. Sestius Nepos.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

T. Didius Nepos.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

P. Licinius Crassus.

YEAR OF ROME, 660.

359. Consulship.

C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
M. HERENNIUS NEPOS.

Prætors at Rome.

T. Manilius Nepos.
L. Cornelius Sylla.

Prætor in Sicily.

Cn. Pompeius Strabo.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

T. Didius Nepos, who triumphs over the Celtiberians.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

P. Licinius Crassus, who triumphs over the Lusitani.

YEAR OF ROME, 661.

360. Consulship.

C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
M. PERPERNA NEPOS.

Censors.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
L. Licinius Crassus.

THE SIXTY-SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor in Sicily.

C. Geminius Nepos.

Prætor in Asia.

L. Cornelius Sylla.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

C. Valerius Flaccus.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

YEAR OF ROME, 662.

361. Consulship.

L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.

Prætor at Rome.

Q. Pompeius Rufus.

Prætor in Narbonne Gaul.

M. Porcius Cato Licinianus.

Prætor in Asia.

L. Cassius Longinus.

Curule Ædile.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Livius Drusus. P. Tarquitius Nepos. Q. Varius Hibryda Sucronensis. L. Fufius Calenus. C. Papirius Carbo. Q. Rubrius Varro. L. Luceius Nepos. The other three are unknown.

Quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul.

Q. Sertorius Nepos.

The Marsic War.

YEAR OF ROME, 663.

362. Consulship.

SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
P. RUTILIUS RUFUS, who was killed during his magistracy.

Prætor at Rome.

Q. Varius Hibryda.

Prætor in Narbonne Gaul.

C. Cæcilius Metellus.

Curule Ædile.

C. Julius Cæsar Strabo.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Scribonius Curio. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer. M. Plætorius Nepos. C. Velleius Nepos. The other six are unknown.

Pro-prætor in Asia.

L. Cassius Longinus.

Pro-prætor in Hither Spain.

C. Valerius Flaccus.

YEAR OF ROME, 664.

363. Consulship.

CN. POMPEIUS STRABO, who triumphs over the Asculans and the Picentines.
L. PORCIUS CATO, who was killed during his magistracy.

Censors.

P. Licinius Crassus.
L. Julius Cæsar.

THE SIXTY-SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome.

A. Sempronius Asellio.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
App. Claudius Pulcher.
P. Gabinius Capito.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cassius Longinus. C. Papirius Carbo. M. Plautius Silvanus. The other seven are unknown.

YEAR OF ROME, 665.

364. Consulship.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX.
Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.

Prætor in Africa.

C. Sextilius.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Sulpicius Rufus, who was killed during his tribunate. P. Antistius Labeo. C. Bœbius Sulca. The other seven are unknown.

Quæstor in Asia.

L. Licinius Lucullus.

YEAR OF ROME, 666.

365. Consulship.

CN. OCTAVIUS, who was killed during his magistracy.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA, who was deposed; and in whose place was substituted
L. CORNELIUS MERULA, who put himself to death before the end of his magistracy.

Prætor in Sicily.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Prætor in Apulia.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Proconsul in Asia.

L. Cornelius Sylla Felix.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Virgilius Nepos. P. Magius Chilo. The other eight are unknown.

YEAR OF ROME, 667.

366. Consulship.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA II.
C. MARIUS VII. who died during his magistracy, and in whose place was substituted
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Censors.

L. Marcius Philippus.
Marcus Perperna.

THE SIXTY-EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome.

C. Marius Gratidianus.
P. Antistius Labeo.
L. Licinius Murena.

Prætor in Africa.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Prætor in Macedonia.

Q. Sentius Saturninus.

Proconsul in Asia.

L. Cornelius Sylla.

Quæstor at Rome.

C. Flavius Fimbria.

Quæstor in Asia.

L. Manlius Torquatus.

YEAR OF ROME, 668.

367. Consulship.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA III.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Prætors.

M. Lætorius Mergus.
Q. Granius Nepos.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.
Cn. Granius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

Sex. Lucilius Nepos. M. Petreius Nepos.

Proconsul in Asia.

L. Cornelius Sylla.

Proconsul in Africa.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

YEAR OF ROME, 669.

368. Consulship.

CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO II.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA IV. who was killed before the end of his magistracy.

Tribune of the People.

P. Popilius Lænas.

Quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul.

C. Verres.

Proconsul in Asia.

L. Cornelius Sylla.

Proconsuls in Africa.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
C. Fabius Hadrianus.

YEAR OF ROME, 670.

369. Consulship.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASIATICUS.
C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.

Prætors at Rome.

P. Burrienus.
Q. Lucretius Offella.
Q. Antonius Balbus.
Q. Valerius Soranus.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

Q. Sertorius Nepos.

Prætor in Narbonne Gaul.

C. Valerius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Popilius Lænas. Cn. Aufidius Orestes.
C. Cassius Varus.

Quæstor in Italy.

M. Pupius Piso Frugi Calpurnianus.

Quæstors in Farther Spain.

L. Herculeius Nepos. C. Herennius Nepos.

Proconsul in Italy.

L. Cornelius Sylla.

Proconsul in Campania.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Proconsul in Cisalpine Gaul.

Cn. Papirius Carbo.

Pro-prætor in Africa.

C. Fabius Hadrianus.

Pro-prætor in Asia.

L. Licinius Murena.

YEAR OF ROME, 671.

370. Consulship.

C. MARIUS, who was killed during his magistracy.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO III. who was also killed during his magistracy.

Prætors at Rome.

L. Junius Brutus Damasippus, who was killed during his prætorship.
C. Marius Gratidianus II. who was also killed during his prætorship.

Proconsuls in Italy.

L. Cornelius Sylla.
Q. Metellus Pius.
C. Junius Norbanus.
Q. Lucretius Offella.
Q. Valerius Soranus.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

Q. Antonius Balbus.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

P. Burrienus.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

Q. Sertorius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Africa.

C. Fabius Hadrianus.

Pro-prætor in Macedonia.

C. Sentius Saturninus.

Pro-prætor in Asia.

L. Licinius Murena.

Quæstors in Italy.

C. Verres.

L. Manlius Torquatus.

DICTATOR.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

General of the Horse.

L. Valerius Flaccus.

YEAR OF ROME, 672.

371. CONSULSHIP.

M. TULLIUS DECULA.
CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

DICTATOR.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, who triumphs over Mithridates and Asia for two days.

The creation of eight Prætors for Rome.

Prætors at Rome.

CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
SEX. NONNIUS SUFFENAS.

Quæstors at Rome.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura. *L. Valerius Triarius.*

Proconsul in Sardinia.

L. Marcius Philippus.

Proconsul in Sicily.

M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Proconsul in Spain.

C. Annius Luscus.

Pro-prætor in Asia.

M. Minucius Thermus.

L. Licinius Murena triumphs over Mithridates and Asia.

YEAR OF ROME, 673.

372. CONSULSHIP.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX II.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

Prætors at Rome.

The first instance of eight Prætors.

M. FANNIUS STRABO. The other seven are unknown.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Herennius Nepos. The other nine are unknown.

Proconsul in Macedonia.

Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.

Prætor in Cilicia.

A person of the same name.

Prætor in Hither Spain.

L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Prætor in Farther Spain.

T. DIDIUS NEPOS. The creation of twenty Quæstors.

Quæstors in Cilicia.

C. Poblicius Malleolus. The rest are unknown.

Pompey, as yet a Roman knight, triumphs over Hiarbus and Africa.

YEAR OF ROME, 674.

373. CONSULSHIP.

P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Prætors at Rome.

L. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
Q. CALIDIUS NEPOS, &c.

Prætor in Asia.

C. CLAUDIUS NERO.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Licinius Lucullus. *M. Terentius Varro Lusculus.*

Quæstor in Farther Spain.

C. Urbinius Rufus.

Quæstor in Cilicia.

C. Verres.

YEAR OF ROME, 675.

374. CONSULSHIP.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Cn. Cornelius Dolabella triumphs over Macedonia.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Proconsul in Sicily.

C. Claudius Marcellus.

YEAR OF ROME, 676.

375. CONSULSHIP.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS LEPIDUS.
MAM. ÆMILIUS LIVIANUS.

Prætors at Rome.

CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES AURELIANUS.
L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS, &c.

Proconsul at Rome.

App. Claudius Pulcher.

Proconsul in Italy.

Q. Lutatius Catulus.

Pro-prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Proconsul in Cilicia.

P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

Proconsul in Macedonia.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

Prætor in Sicily.

CN. JUNIUS NORBANUS.

Prætor in Narbonne Gaul.
M. Fonteius Capito.
Pro-prætor in Asia.
Cn. Terentius Varro.
Tribune of the People.
M. Turpilius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 677.

376. Consulship.
CN. OCTAVIUS.
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

Prætors at Rome.
L. Titius Nepos.
M. Terentius Varro Lucullus.
L. Furius Philus, &c.

Prætor in Africa.
L. Licinius Lucullus.
Prætor in Achaia.
L. Gellius Poblicola.
Prætor in Illyricum.
Cn. Aufidius Orestes.
Prætor in Sicily.
Sex. Peduceius Nepos.
Proconsul in Macedonia.
App. Claudius Pulcher.
Proconsuls in Italy.
Mam. Æmilius Lepidus.
D. Junius Brutus.
Tribune of the People.
Cn. Sicinius Nepos, who was killed during his tribunate.
Quæstor in Farther Spain.
C. Memmius Gallus, who was killed during his quæstorship.
Quæstor in Italy.
C. Ælius Stalenus Pætus.
Proconsuls in Spain.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Proconsul in Narbonne Gaul.
M. Fonteius Capito.
Proconsul in Macedonia.
App. Claudius Pulcher.

YEAR OF ROME, 678.

377. Consulship.
L. OCTAVIUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætors at Rome.
Q. Cassius Longinus.
C. Licinius Sacerdos.
P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.
M. Antonius Nepos.
M. Cæsius Nepos, &c.

Tribune of the People.
Q. Opimius Nepos.
Proconsuls in Spain.
Q. Cæcilius Pius Numidicus.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Proconsul in Cilicia.
Servilius Vatia Isauricus.
Proconsul in Macedonia.
C. Scribonius Curio.
Proconsul in Bithynia.
M. Junius Silanus.
Proconsul in Asia.
C. Claudius Nero.
Proconsul in Sicily.
Sex. Peduceius Nepos.
Proconsul in Narbonne Gaul.
M. Fonteius Capito.
Proconsul in Illyricum.
Cn. Aufidius Orestes Aurelianus.
Proconsul in Macedonia.
M. Terentius Varro Lucullus.
Proconsul in Achaia.
L. Gellius Poblicola.
Proconsul in Bithynia.
A. Pompeius Bithynicus.
Pro-quæstor in Sicily.
M. Tullius Cicero.
Pro-quæstor in Bithynia.
L. Volteius Strabo.

YEAR OF ROME, 679.

378. Consulship.
L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
M. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætor at Rome.
C. Verres.
Prætor in Narbonne Gaul.
M. Fonteius Capito.
Tribune of the People.
L. Quinctius.

YEAR OF ROME, 680.

379. Consulship.
M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS.
C. CASSIUS VARUS.

Proconsul in Chalcedon.
M. Aurelius Cotta.
Prætor in Sicily.
C. Verres.

YEAR OF ROME, 681.

380. Consulship.
L. GELLIUS POBLICOLA.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.

Proconsul in Macedonia.

C. Servilius Curio.

Tribune of the People.

M. Lolius Palicanus.

YEAR OF ROME, 682.

381. CONSULSHIP.

CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.

Prætors.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

Proconsul in Pontus.

L. Licinius Lucullus.

Cn. Pompeius triumphs over Spain.

YEAR OF ROME, 683.

382. CONSULSHIP.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

CENSORS.

L. Gellius Poblicola.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus.

THE SIXTY-EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome.

M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.

YEAR OF ROME, 684.

383. CONSULSHIP.

Q. HORTENSIUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS.

Ædiles.

M. Tullius Cicero. M. Cæsonius.

Prætors.

M. PUPIUS PISO, who triumphs over Spain.
Q. LUTANIUS CATULUS.

YEAR OF ROME, 685.

384. CONSULSHIP.

L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, who died before he entered on his office.
Q. MARCIUS REX.

Proconsul in Crete.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.

Proconsul in Pontus.

L. Licinius Lucullus.

YEAR OF ROME, 686.

385. CONSULSHIP.

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Tribunes of the People.

A. Gabinius. L. Roscius Otho. C. Cornelius. C. Manilius.

YEAR OF ROME, 687.

386. CONSULSHIP.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

Prætor in Africa.

L. SERGIUS CATILINA.

Prætors at Rome.

M. TULLIUS CICERO.
P. VATINIUS.

YEAR OF ROME, 688.

387. CONSULSHIP.

L. AURELIUS COTTA.
L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Tribune of the People.

C. Papius.

CENSORS.

Q. Lutatius Catulus.
L. Licinius Crassus. They both abdicate their office.

YEAR OF ROME, 689.

388. CONSULSHIP.

L. JULIUS CÆSAR.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

CENSORS.

L. Aurelius Cotta.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

YEAR OF ROME, 690.

389. CONSULSHIP.

M. TULLIUS CICERO.
C. ANTONIUS.

Quæstor.

T. Fadius.

Prætors at Rome.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CELER.
Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.
C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
C. COSCONIUS NEPOS.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA II.
L. AFRANIUS NEPOS.
C. POMPTINIUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Julius Cæsar. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Servilius Rullus. L. Cæcilius Metellus. T. Atius Labienus. T. Ampius Balbus.

Proconsul against Mithridates.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Proconsul in Apulia.

L. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.

Proconsul in Asia.

P. Orbius.

Pro-quæstors.

P. Plautius Hypsæus. M. Æmilius Scaurus. *L. Licinius Lucullus* triumphs over Pontus and Cappadocia; and over Mithridates and Tigranes.

YEAR OF ROME, 691.

390. CONSULSHIP.

D. JUNIUS SILANUS.
L. LICINIUS MURENA.

Prætors.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR.
Q. TULLIUS CICERO.
C. VIRGILIUS NEPOS.
M. ATIUS BALBUS.
M. VALERIUS MESSALA.
M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos. L. Calpurnius Bestia. M. Porcius Cato. Q. Minucius Thermus.

Quæstors.

P. Sextilius Nepos. M. Curius Nepos.

Proconsul in Pontus.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Proconsul in Macedonia.

C. Antonius Nepos.

Proconsul in Cisalpine Gaul.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.

Proconsul in Illyricum.

C. Marcius Figulus.

Proconsul in Transalpine Gaul.

C. Pomptinius Nepos.

Proconsul in Farther Spain.

C. Cosconius Nepos.

Proconsul in Africa.

Q. Pompeius Rufus.

Proconsul in Asia.

L. Valerius Flaccus.

Quæstor in Macedonia.

P. Sextius Nepos.

Quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul.

T. Fadius Gallus. Q. Cæcilius triumphs for the island of Crete.

YEAR OF ROME, 692.

391. CONSULSHIP.

M. PUPIUS PISO.
M. VALERIUS MESSALA NIGER.

CENSORS.

Unknown.

THE SIXTY-NINTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome.

C. OCTAVIUS RUFUS, the father of the Emperor AUGUSTUS.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONINUS.

Curule Ædile.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Fufius Calenus. C. Cornutus. M. Aufidius Lurco.

Proconsul in Macedonia.

C. Antonius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

C. Virgilius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Farther Spain.

C. Julius Cæsar.

Pro-prætor in Asia.

Q. Tullius Cicero.

President in Syria.

M. Æmilius Scaurus.

President in Narbonne Gaul.

C. Pontinius Nepos.

Pro-quæstor in Macedonia.

P. Sestius.

Pompey triumphs for his conquests over the chief countries of Asia, and over the kings Mithridates and Tigranes.

YEAR OF ROME, 693.

392. CONSULSHIP.

L. AFRANIUS NEPOS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Prætors at Rome.

P. CORNELIUS SPINTHER.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

Ædiles.

M. Terentius Varro. C. Licinius Murena.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Flavius Nepos. C. Herennius Nepos. M. Lollius Palicanus. Q. Minucius Rufus. M. Servilius Geminus. T. Posthumius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Macedonia.

C. Octavius Rufus.

Pro-prætor in Asia.

Q. Tullius Cicero.

Pro-prætor in Narbonne Gaul.

C. Pontinius.

President in Syria.

M. Æmilius Scaurus.

Quæstor in Macedonia.

M. Æmilius Paulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 694.

393. CONSULSHIP.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR.
M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS.

Prætors at Rome.

LICINIUS CRASSUS DIVES.
Q. FUFIUS CALENUS.
Q. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.

T. Vettius.
L. Apuleius Nepos.
L. Piso Cæsonius.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Vatinius Nepos. C. Cosconius Nepos. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. Q. Ancharius Nepos. C. Fannius Strabo. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio. C. Nigidius Figulus.

Quæstors at Rome.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Proconsul in Cisalpine Gaul.
L. Afranius.

Proconsul in Transalpine Gaul.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.

Prætor in Hither Spain.
P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.

Prætor in Syria.
L. Marcius Philippus.

Prætor in Sicily.
C. Virgilius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Asia.
Q. Tullius Cicero.

Pro-prætor in Macedonia.
C. Octavius Rufus.

Quæstor in Campania.
Q. Cæcilius Bassus.

Pro-quæstor in Macedonia.
L. Æmilius Paulus.

YEAR OF ROME, 695.

394. Consulship.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONINUS.
A. GABINIUS NEPOS.

Prætors.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
C. Memmius Gemellus.
L. Flavius Nepos.
L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.
P. Nigidius Figulus.
T. Ampius Balbus.
M. Terentius Varro.

Curule Æediles.

M. Æmilius Scaurus. P. Plautius Hypsæus.

Plebeian Æediles.

L. Calpurnius Bestia. M. Lollius Palicanus.

Tribunes of the People.

P. Claudius Pulcher. L. Antistius Nepos. P. Ælius Ligus. Cn. Manlius Nepos. L. Nevius Nepos. Q. Terentius Culeo.

Proconsul in Transalpine Gaul & Illyricum.
C. Julius Cæsar.

Prætor in Africa.
T. Vettius.

Prætor in Macedonia.
L. Apuleius Nepos.

Prætor in Syria.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.
C. Virgilius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Cyprus.
M. Porcius Cato.

Quæstor in Cyprus.
M. Canidius Crassus.

YEAR OF ROME, 696.

395. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

Prætors at Rome.

L. Cæcilius Rufus.
App. Claudius Pulcher.
M. Calidius Nepos.
C. Cornutus.

Tribunes of the People.

T. Annius Milo Papianus. P. Sextius Nepos. C. Sestilius Nepos. M. Cispius Lævus. T. Fadius Gallus. M. Curius Nepos. Q. Fabricius Nepos. C. Messius Nepos. Sex. Atilius Serrarus. N. Quinctius Gracchus.

Proconsul in Transalpine Gaul & Illyricum.
C. Julius Cæsar.

Proconsul in Macedonia.
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsoninus.

Proconsul in Syria.
A. Gabinius Nepos.

Prætor in Bithynia and Pontus.
C. Memmius Gemellus.

Prætor in Cilicia.
T. Ampius Balbus.

Pro-prætor in Cyprus.
M. Porcius Cato.

YEAR OF ROME, 697.

396. Consulship.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS.
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Prætors at Rome.

C. Claudius Pulcher.
T. Posthumius Nepos.
Q. Ancharius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
M. Æmilius Scaurus.

Curule Æediles.

P. Clodius Pulcher. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Porcius Cato. Sex. Nonnius Suffenas. L. Procilius Nepos. A. Plautius Silvanus. L. Racilius Nepos. C. Cassius Longinus. L. Caninius Gallus.

Antistius Severus. P. Rutilius Lupus. Cn. Plancius Nepos.

Proconsul in the Gauls.

C. Julius Cæsar.

Proconsul in Macedonia.

L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsoninus.

Proconsul in Syria.

A. Gabinius Nepos.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.

Proconsul in Cilicia and Cyprus.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.

Prætor in Sardinia.

App. Claudius Pulcher.

Prætor in Africa.

Q. Valerius Orca.

YEAR OF ROME, 698.

397. Consulship.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, the second time.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS, the second time.

Censors.

M. Valerius Messala Niger.

M. Calpurnius Bibulus.

THE SEVENTIETH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome.

P. Vatinius Nepos.

C. Cosconius Nepos.

C. Fannius Strabo.

C. Fannius Nepos.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Æmilius Paulus. L. Sempronius Atratinus.

Plebeian Ædile.

C. Messius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Trebonius Asper. C. Atteius Capito. P. Aquilius Gallus. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.

Proconsul in the Gauls.

C. Julius Cæsar.

Proconsul in Syria.

A. Gabinius Nepos.

Proconsul in Hither Spain.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.

Proconsul in Cilicia and Cyprus.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.

Proconsul in Macedonia.

Q. Ancharius.

Proconsul in Sardinia.

M. Æmilius Scaurus.

Prætor in Asia.

C. Clodius Pulcher.

Quæstors.

L. Roscius Nepos. C. Scribonius Curio.

YEAR OF ROME, 699.

398. Consulship.

L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Prætors.

T. Annius Milo Papianus.

C. Albius Nepos.

M. Portius Cato.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

Curule Ædiles.

Cn. Plancius Nepos. A. Plautius Silvanus.

Plebeian Ædile.

Q. Pedius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Memmius Nepos. D. Lælius Balbus. Terentius Varro. Q. Mucius Scævola.

Quæstors.

Faustus Cornelius Sylla. A. Hirtius Nepos.

Proconsul in the Gauls.

C. Julius Cæsar.

Proconsul in Spain.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Proconsul in Syria.

M. Licinius Crassus.

Proconsul in Cilicia and Cyprus.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther

Pro-prætor in Asia.

C. Clodius Pulcher.

Quæstors.

M. Licinius Crassus. Q. Cassius Longinus. C. Cassius Longinus. L. Cornelius Balbus. C. Lælius Nepos. M. Tullius Nepos. C. Sextius Gallus. C. Pomtinius Nepos triumphs over the Allobroges.

YEAR OF ROME, 700.

399. Consulship.

CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA.

Prætors at Rome.

L. Æmilius Paulus.

P. Sestius Nepos.

Voconius Nepos.

Ædiles.

M. Favonius Nepos. M. Juventius Laterensis.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Pompeius Rufus. C. Lucceius Hirrus. P. Licinius Crassus Junianus. M. Cœlius Vicinianus.

Proconsul in the Gauls.

C. Julius Cæsar.

Proconsul in Spain.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Proconsul in Syria.

M. Licinius Crassus.

Proconsul in Cilicia and Cyprus.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

YEAR OF ROME, 701.

400. CONSULSHIP.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS alone, the third time. Seven months after he associated with him

C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS SCIPIO.

Prætors at Rome.

A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
L. FABIUS NEPOS.
FAVONIUS NEPOS.
M. CONSIDIUS NONIANUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Pompeius Rufus. T. Munatius Plancus Bursa. C. Sallustius Crispus. M. Cœlius Rufus. Manilius Caninianus. M. Vibullius Rufus. L. Livineius Regulus.

Proconsul in the Gauls.

C. Julius Cæsar.

Under Pompey's orders.

Proconsuls in Spain.

L. Afranius. M. Petreius.

Proconsul in Cilicia and Cyprus.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

Prætor in Achaia.

L. CANINIUS GALLUS.

Quæstor in the Gauls.

M. Antonius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 702.

401. CONSULSHIP.

SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Prætors at Rome.

A. PLAUTIUS SILVANUS.
M. JUVENTIUS LATERENSIS.
M. FAVONIUS.
C. ALFIUS CAPITO.

Pro-prætor in the Gauls.

C. Julius Cæsar.

Pro-prætor in Spain.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Pro-prætor in Syria.

M. Calpurnius Bibulus.

Pro-prætor in Cilicia and Cyprus.

M. Tullius Cicero.

Pro-prætor in Asia.

Q. Minucius Thermus.

Pro-prætor in Africa.

P. Atius Varro.

Quæstors in Cilicia and Cyprus.

Cn. Volusius Saturninus. L. Messiniu. Rufus.

Quæstor in Syria.

Cn. Sallustius Nepos.

Pro-quæstor in the Gauls.

M. Antonius Nepos.

Pro-quæstor in Syria.

C. Cassius Longinus.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther triumphs for Cilicia.

YEAR OF ROME, 703.

402. CONSULSHIP.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

CENSORS.

Appius Claudius Pulcher.
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsoninus.

THE SEVENTY-FIRST LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome.

C. TITIUS RUFUS.
C. CURTIUS PEDUCEIANUS.
M. PORTIUS CATO, the second time.
M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Cœlius Rufus. M. Octavius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Scribonius Curio. C. Furnius Nepos.

Proconsul in the Gauls.

C. Julius Cæsar.

Proconsul in Spain.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Proconsul in Syria.

M. Calpurnius Bibulus.

Proconsul in Cilicia and Cyprus.

M. Tullius Cicero.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.

Furfanius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Africa.

C. Considius Longus.

Quæstor in Cilicia.

C. Cœlius Caldus.

Quæstor in Syria.

L. Marius Nepos.

Quæstor in Macedonia.

T. Antistius.

Pro-quæstor in Cilicia.

L. Messinius Rufus.

Pro-quæstor in Asia.

C. Antonius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 704.

403. CONSULSHIP.

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

DICTATOR.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR.

Prætors.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. ROSCIUS NEPOS.
C. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.
C. SOSIUS NEPOS.

L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
P. RUTILIUS LUPUS.
C. COPONIUS NEPOS.
SEX. PEDUCEIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Antonius Nepos. Q. Cassius Longinus. C. Cassius Longinus. L. Cæcilius Metellus. L. Marcius Philippus. A. Hirtius Nepos. C. Lælius Nepos.

Proconsul in Syria.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Scipio.

Pro-prætor in Sicily.
M. Portius Cato.

Pro-prætor in Sardinia.
M. Aurelius Cotta.

Pro-prætor in Africa.
L. Ælius Tubero.

Pro-prætor in Cilicia and Cyprus.
P. Sestius Nepos.

Pro-prætor in Bithynia and Pontus.
Calvisius Sabinus.

YEAR OF ROME, 705.

404. CONSULSHIP.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, the second time.
P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

Prætors.

C. TREBONIUS NEPOS.
M. CŒLIUS RUFUS.
Q. PEDIUS.
P. SULPICIUS GALBA.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Ædiles.

C. Albius Carrinas. C. Marcius Figulus. L. Cornelius Balbus.

Tribune of the People.
A. Hirtius.

Quæstors.

M. Claudius Marcellus. P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus. C. Plætorius. T. Claudius Nero.

YEAR OF ROME, 706.

405. CONSULSHIP.

Q. FUFIUS CALENUS.
PUBLIUS VATINIUS.

DICTATOR II.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR.

General of the Horse.
M. Antonius.

Prætors.

L. MUSSIDIUS LONGUS.
C. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Cornelius Balbus. P. Cornelius Dolabella. L. Trebellius. C. Asinius Pollio, &c.

Quæstor in Asia.
M. Apuleius.

Quæstor in Syria.
Sex. Julius Cæsar.

Quæstor in Cyprus.
C. Sextilius Rufus.

YEAR OF ROME, 707.

406. CONSULSHIP.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, the third time.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Ædiles.

L. Cornelius Balbus. Vopiscus Julius Cæsar.

Tribune of the People.
P. Ventidius Bassus.

YEAR OF ROME, 708.

407. CONSULSHIP.

DICTATOR III.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR.
Consul IV. sine collega.

General of the Horse.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Before the end of the year, Cæsar nominates to the Consulship.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.
CAIUS TREBONIUS, who dies, and in whose place is substituted
C. CANINIUS REBILUS.

Tribunes of the People.

Pontius Aquila. L. Munacius Plancus.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Hortensius Nepos. P. Sura Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

L. Trebellius Nepos. L. Ælius Lamia.

Quæstor in Syria.
C. Antistius Vetus.

Quæstor in Farther Spain.
L. Cornelius Balbus.

YEAR OF ROME, 709.

408. CONSULSHIP.

DICTATOR IV.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR,

Consul V. with
M. ANTONIUS.
Before the end of the year Cæsar appoints to his place
CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Prætors.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS CŒPIO.
CAIUS CASSIUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People.
L. Cesetius Flavus. C. Epidius Marullus. C. Helvius Cinna.

YEAR OF ROME, 710.
409. CONSULSHIP.
A. HIRTIUS.
C. VIBIUS PANSA.
In whose room were substituted
C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS.
Q. PEDIUS.
And, in the room of these,
P. VENTIDIUS.
CAIUS CARRINNAS.

Prætors.
Q. GALLIUS LUPERCUS.
M. CORNUTUS.
M. ACILIUS CRASSUS.
CN. MUNACIUS PLANCUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People.
P. Servilius Casca. P. Titius. P. Apuleius, &c.

YEAR OF ROME, 711.
410. CONSULSHIP.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II.
L. MUNACIUS PLANCUS.

Prætors.
L. CORNELIUS BALBUS.
L. ÆLIUS LAMIA.

YEAR OF ROME, 712.
411. CONSULSHIP.
L. ANTONIUS.
P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS II.

Prætors.
T. CLAUDIUS NERO.
L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS, &c.

Quæstors.
C. Rubellius. Q. Considius Gallus. L. Egnatius Rufus. P. Servilius Posthumus, &c.

YEAR OF ROME, 713.
412. CONSULSHIP.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
C. ASINIUS POLLIO.
In whose room were substituted
Q. CORNELIUS BALBUS.
P. CANIDIUS CRASSUS.

Prætors.
M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA.
C. COPONIUS.

Tribune of the People.
P. Falcidius.

YEAR OF ROME, 714.
413. CONSULSHIP.
L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.
C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.

YEAR OF ROME, 715.
414. CONSULSHIP.
APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

Curule Ædile.
P. Rutilius Rufus.

YEAR OF ROME, 716.
415. CONSULSHIP.
M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA.
L. CANINIUS GALLUS.

Ædile.
M. Oppius Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 717.
416. CONSULSHIP.
L. GELLIUS POBLICOLA.
M. COCCEIUS NERVA.

Curule Ædile.
Q. Catulus Nepos.

YEAR OF ROME, 718.
417. CONSULSHIP.
L. CORNIFICIUS.
SEXT. POMPEIUS.

YEAR OF ROME, 719.
418. CONSULSHIP.
M. ANTONIUS II.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

YEAR OF ROME, 720.
419. CONSULSHIP.
C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS II.
L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

Ædile.
M. Agrippa.

YEAR OF ROME, 721.
420. CONSULSHIP.
CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.
C. SOSIUS.

Tribune of the People.
Nonius Balbus.

YEAR OF ROME, 722.
421. CONSULSHIP.
C. JUL. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS III.
M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS.

Quæstor.
M. Æmilius Anianus Flaccus.

YEAR OF ROME, 723.
422. CONSULSHIP.
C. JUL. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS IV.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

YEAR OF ROME, 724.
423. CONSULSHIP.
C. JUL. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS V.
SEX. APULEIUS.

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